

Becoming other(ed): A study of minority ethnic identities in two non-urban primary schools.

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At a time of profound change in the educational sector, and when there are significant demands on strained resources, it is challenging for schools to open their doors and facilitate the long-term nature of doctoral research. For this reason, I owe a depth of gratitude to the two schools that welcomed my involvement in their settings. The pupils and teachers at both St Anthony's Primary and Hopton Primary were ever courteous and supportive of my work.

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Any shortcomings or errors in the work are entirely of my own making and responsibility.

Abstract

This thesis is primarily concerned with immigrant pupils and their identity formation in primary schools. In particular, the research advances understanding about the experiences of pupils in non-urban settings and their educational experiences. It charts how narrative pathways of identities are unpredictable and charged with affectivities, emotions and power flows. The nuanced interrelationships are revealed between: wider policy contexts, school level processes, and the identity categories around which educational inclusions, exclusions and inequalities orbit.

The research paradigm drew on a Deleuzian philosophical approach and also took into consideration learning from Critical Race Theory (CRT). The former provided a conceptual framework which facilitated a discussion of bounded potentialities which were open to reinterpretation and future creativities – things do not have to be as they are. While the latter perspective helped to explain the ways in which inequalities were replicated in the researched settings.

The findings indicate that, for the pupils concerned, policy formations and their interpretations within schools have profound implications for pupils' experiences by assigning pupils to particular spaces within classrooms. In turn, these spaces begin to assume meanings that impact on the formation of personal and educational identities. To some extent, spaces are charged with racial and ethnic significance. Overall, the school arena is one which responds to a wider drive towards standardisation and, as such, it was challenging for the schools involved to incorporate individual cultural and linguistic differences, though this varied according to setting. The findings have relevance for teacher education and for how the professional and cultural identities of teachers also influence the wider possibilities for cultural and linguistic inclusion and creativity within schools.

Key words

Identities, ethnicity, race, cultural diversity, linguistic diversity, non-urban schools, intersectionalities, Deleuze, Critical Race Theory.

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Acronyms

DfE	Department for Education
DfES	Department for Education and Skills
EAL	English as an additional language
FSM	Free school meals (frequently used as an indicator of school social disadvantage)
HLTA	Higher level teaching assistant
HMI	Her Majesty's Inspectorate
KS	Key stage
OFSTED	Office for standards in Education, children's services and skills
QTS	Qualified teacher status
SA	School action (an indicator that a pupil has been identified as requiring additional educational in-school support)
SA +	School action plus (an indicator that a pupil has been identified as requiring in-school and outside of school professional interventions)
SATS	Standardised achievement tests
SEN	Special educational need
SENCo	Special educational needs coordinator
STAT	A salutatory statement enabling pupils to access additional supports to ameliorate a special educational need
TA	Teaching assistant.

1. Introduction

1.1 OVERVIEW OF THE CHAPTER

This dissertation is concerned with pupils and their identities, it is also concerned with my ethical development as a professional. The research charts how narrative pathways of identities and personal ethical changes are unpredictable and charged with affectivities, emotions and power flows. The following chapter consists of two sections, the first provides a foregrounding of the research and the second presents a discussion of the socio-cultural context in which the research took place. The chapter aims to explore the nature of the research problem and identify the key considerations as the research progressed, ultimately leading to a reflection on the contextual nature of the work and its overall significance. The second section in the chapter situates the question within an historical and topical socio-political and cultural context.

1.2 SECTION ONE: FOREGROUNDING THE RESEARCH

1.2.1 Research background

Influential research into the educational experiences of pupils who are identified as coming from a minority ethnic background has generally focused on children in multi-ethnic urban schools (Blair et al, 1998; Gillborn and Gipps, 1996; Smith and Tomlinson, 1989; Troyna and Williams, 1986). Given continued demographic changes in the UK, there is a significant lacuna in identity research pertaining to less urbanized areas such as rural or town settings (Cline et al, 2002: 8; Gillborn, 2008). As a teacher educator working in a university which services a large rural constituency, where many teachers with whom I work will engage with pupils from a diversity of ethnic and linguistic minorities, I was concerned about the capacity of current programmes to ensure teachers access requisite reflective and interrogative skills to engage effectively with those who might be perceived to be

‘different from the norm’. Through research, I wished to strengthen my own conceptual interrogation of the nature of immigrant pupil identities.

This research focus was intimately bound up with my own sense of self, my personal and professional journeys and my multiple identities as an immigrant outsider, yet White and male and middle classed privileged person. Having travelled extensively, I am intrigued by the use of language and languages and how these are employed to assert power and exclude others as well as for enabling understanding, for disrupting oppressive systems and for providing alternative cultural perspectives. In coming to a greater understanding of what lay behind my evolving dissertation, I drew on the influence of Taylor (2009) and her recognition of Pels’ (1999: 64) theoretical stance ‘which celebrates the traveller, the migrant, the exile, the stranger or the nomad as the quintessential post-modern subject’. In looking to the experiences of immigrant pupils’ identities, I was also concerned with the ways in which larger systems fashioned choices available as to who these pupils might become and how their teachers and schools might influence their becoming other(ed).

1.2.2 Research significance, ideas and challenges

This research addresses a lacuna in knowledge regarding how immigrant educational and social identities are developed in more rural areas. As global migration increasingly permeates into rural schools, there is a need to share creative professional responses as to how best researchers and practitioners might build alliances for inclusive learning and teaching. The study provides an original synthesis of methodological approaches using both Deleuzian philosophy and Critical Race Theory (CRT). This approach incorporates creative potentials for researchers and teachers to engage ethically within their professional practice to bring about personal and site-based changes. Recommendations from the research suggest that teachers incorporate a profoundly ethical and affective dimension within their professional practice, there are significant implications for

how teacher formation and development are realised, and how they might become other than what they are.

It is argued that concepts of 'race' and ethnicity have continued to shape 'fundamental social structures and individual identities' (Winant, 2004: 3) and this has taken on a particular importance in light of the murder of Stephen Lawrence and the subsequent publication of the Macpherson Report (1999) which first articulated notions of institutional racism. In contemporary contexts, the conceptual importance of identities and recognition politics has increased because there is an emerging political and academic orientation towards 'post-race' arguments disputing the place of race and ethnicity and their implications for education (Hooks and Miskovic, 2011; Kitching, 2011; Raible and Irizarry 2010).

From a policy perspective, there may not be an overt intention to develop segmented spaces for students from ethnic and cultural communities. However, the notion of personalisation of learning has classified individuals into groups that fit presumed particular 'learner outcome' potentials (Ball, 2013). This in turn creates an expectation about pupil performances and expectations. Resulting performatives (Butler, 1997; Youdell, 2011) become particularly problematic when attributes of pupil subjectivities are taken into consideration and where notions of difference in terms of: gender, (dis)ability, ethnicity and language combine to bracket off particular pupils as 'impossible'. A role of the ethical educator then is to interrogate where, when and why these processes are taking place and to disrupt them. Some challenges associated with this longer-term project, might include: how to incorporate greater awareness of socio-cultural and racial stratification in teacher education, or how might subjectivities inform policy which is currently almost exclusively based on a tyranny of normative data and resultant stratifications.

1.2.3 Identification of the research problem

The research problem was concerned with an investigation of identity formation of immigrant pupils in rural settings. I sought to provide a better understanding of pupils' identities and their ascribed and adoptive characteristics. While investigating the nature of the research, I developed a growing understanding that identities were contingent upon specific contextual interrelationships that were couched in language that categorised different attributes of the 'other'. This subjectivising process of 'othering', or of being ascribed as different, was a relational conceptual construct which:

necessitates an outside or 'other' from which to demark an inside or self. It requires us to recognize race as formed both through structures and through meanings and it requires us to look not for inventories of racial identities, but for the mechanisms by which people's identity is created (Staiger, 2006: 10).

As the process of identity formation was contingent on the interrogation, or at least an active awareness, of additional attributes of identity for example those of: gender, language, social class and perceptions of (dis)ability, the research necessarily incorporated relational intersectionalities (Carbado, 2013; Gillborn et al, 2012; Knudsen, 2005; Reay, 2008; Rollock, 2012). In sharpening the research focus, and in devising a suitable conceptual framework, I drew on the, 'possibilities offered to understandings of race and ethnic identity by post-structural theories... these more nuanced understandings of the constitution of race and ethnic identities have not been taken up broadly in educational research' (Youdell, 2003: 5). Nevertheless, as the mechanisms for conducting research through a critical lens materialised, the problem of how to identify and explain creative, unpredictable or resistant features of the process remained. A conceptualisation of how to map the internal to person and school, as cultural and dynamic organisation, to the external world of policy formation where sensibilities about immigrants abounded, also proved problematic.

Ultimately, I drew on a Deleuzian philosophical approach which helped to interrogate the series of flows, counter flows and slippages that made up the educational assemblage. The assemblage too had scope to become disrupted in its ascribing of identities so that individual identities might approximate a rhizome which, 'has no centre or grounding. Its connections grow and intersect. It signals neither beginnings nor endpoints, only entry and exit points that allow for more connections to be continuously created' (Masny, 2010: 341). This perspective was augmented by the use of Critical Race Theory (CRT) which provided insights into the more systematic inequalities associated with identity, ethnicity, language and race. From a research perspective, the ethical problem of engaging with 'the other' became a core research consideration.

1.2.4 Research aims, objectives and outline of the work

The research aim was to better inform my professional practice as a teacher educator in a university that served a catchment area where schools were becoming increasingly diverse. I wished to understand the processes by which immigrant pupils' identities were formed and to interrogate the implications for myself, for teacher education, and for wider policy formation. In seeking solutions to the problems identified above, I conducted a critical review of relevant literature and arrived at the following key questions:

1. How do external policies and wider social values and practices influence the ways schools 'do' education?
2. How do internal dynamics and associated school-based values and attitudes influence school cultures and what might be the implications for pupils from minority ethnic communities?
3. How do enactments of teaching, learning and the curriculum, as entanglements of socio-historical, political, affective and imminent encounters, inform the ways in which ethnic identities are performed?

4. How are identity subjectivities and performatives choreographed within the defined time and space of the research process, and what are the implications for notions of race and ethnicity?
5. What forms do identity intersectionalities take within the spatial, temporal and interpersonal parameters of the research, and what significance might these have for pupils' social and educational experiences?

In seeking to address these questions, it is important to provide a contextual analysis of the wider socio-cultural and political context in which the research took place, this is addressed in the following section.

1.3 SECTION TWO: SOCIO-CULTURAL AND POLITICAL CONTEXT

There is an argument that children's enactments of cultural identities with peers and teachers, 'do not take place through legislation and policy developmentrather, they occur through practising differently in the everyday, from moment to moment, across school spaces' (Youdell, 2006b: 40). However, such practices are also very much embedded within school-based social and cultural contexts, which are in turn influenced by regional and national policies and practices that provide an historical foundation upon which micro engagements might be interpreted. So it is necessary to consider the wider societal and political changes which influence schools' values, behaviours and practices. While a comprehensive overview of the current statutory and policy context is beyond the scope of the current research, it is important to provide a brief synthesis of the recent significant policy changes because, as identified in the literature (Ainscow et al, 2006; Busher, 2005), such external forces of power and policy impact on school cultures with the potential to influence interpersonal engagements.

The Department for Education (DfE) maintains that pupils' ethnic backgrounds influences attainment and engagement with the curriculum (DfE, 2010a). However, there are conflicting perspectives as to how schools are expected to address

societal inequalities and their impacts on pupils' learning. On the one hand it is proposed that 'equality and diversity are important to learners' success (*and*) learners cannot achieve well unless individual needs are met, the provider is inclusive, and equality and diversity are promoted well' (Ofsted, 2011a: 11). On the other hand, inspections will move away from reviewing the culture or ethos of the school and 'place greater emphasis on the impact for learners and reduce the focus on policies and procedures' (Ofsted, 2011a: 11). A potential outcome resulting from the sharp focus on results may be that schools attribute underperforming traits to specific cohorts of pupils who may subsequently be identified as problematic and deserving of external supportive interventions. This has the potential of shifting a focus onto 'failing students cohorts' rather than looking more critically at how schools meet individual learning requirements, or problematising how they may isolate and stigmatise specific student cohorts. There is a need to move beyond a strictly delimiting focus on assessment and to examine the types of facilitative cultures within schools which are effective in catering to the learning requirements of a socio-culturally and linguistically diverse student body (Gillborn, 2008; Busher, 2006; Gomolla, 2006).

Current policy and legislative orientations in England provide schools with greater independence and decision making powers. Accordingly, the Government 'will ensure that all schools, whatever their status, are freed from unnecessary bureaucracy, and enjoy progressively greater autonomy, with their own funding, ethos and culture' (DfE, 2010b: 52). It is possible that increased latitude for schools to identify their own priorities may result in more effective inclusive practices. However, concomitant with a greater focus on outcomes and data, social practices are no longer a core concern for policy makers, there has been a significant shift away from providing advice, support and resources for schools regarding how they might engage effectively with pupils from ethnic minorities. The current inspection framework (Ofsted, 2012a) manifests a dramatic departure from previous guidance provided to schools and inspectors. For example, some ten years ago schools were provided with a vision for how the concept of inclusion

might be realised within and beyond the school. Head teachers, staff and inspectors were informed that:

An educationally inclusive school is one in which the teaching and learning, achievements, attitudes and well-being of every young person matter. Effective schools are educationally inclusive schools. This shows, not only in their performance, but also in their ethos and their willingness to offer new opportunities to pupils who may have experienced previous difficulties. This does not mean treating all pupils in the same way. Rather it involves taking account of pupils' varied life experiences and needs (Ofsted, 2002: 7).

The guidance acknowledged the complex cultural contexts within which schools operated and recognised that these would fashion how particular schools might respond to unique situations. At the heart of the project of becoming an inclusive school was a realisation that processes were important and had the potential to impact on ethos. Significantly, schools were encouraged to move beyond a narrow focus on attainment and to consider other aspects of pupils' lives in order to develop a comprehensive approach to learning engagement. Later in the guidance, the importance of developing pupil and staff personal attitudes, values and ethical awareness is highlighted as a means by which racism, sexism and other forms of discrimination could be interrogated. Additionally, teachers were encouraged to incorporate pupils' cultural and linguistic experiences while mediating the curriculum (Ofsted, 2002: 9-19).

Historically, there was some clarity regarding requirements for promoting a culture of inclusion for minoritized learners. For example, in 2003 a key DfES consultation paper prompted schools to engage effectively with cultural diversity by including core attributes such as incorporating pupils' linguistic heritages (DfES, 2003). Schools were encouraged to draw on effective data-informed leadership which had the potential to raise attainment levels and promote achievements for vulnerable learners. However, such data aware leadership was posited in a wider context wherein teachers were advised to incorporate the cultures and identities of

representative communities within their lessons. Teachers were encouraged to carefully consider the curriculum content and to reflect on the ways in which such content was planned and taught because the socio-cultural dimension mattered and it was 'particularly important for children and young people from minority ethnic groups who may not see their culture, history and values reflected in their school experience' (DfES, 2003: 18). For these children, 'teachers need the confidence, competence and materials to use the existing flexibility within the curriculum to make subjects more relevant to pupils' own experience and to reflect their cultural heritage' (DfES, 2003: 14). Schools promoting a culture of inclusion and respect were also encouraged to ensure that children's voices were heard and their perspectives were taken into consideration to inform the development of a school's curriculum and culture. While policies were explicit about the types of strategies required, pedagogical and human resources to support implementation were not made available from central government. It became the remit of local authorities to interpret and provide for national policy directives pertaining to education (Garner, 2004).

More recently, the official narrative of cultural inclusion is increasingly obscured by a focus upon drivers for improving standards through competition and adherence to outcomes oriented practices (Ainscow et al, 2006b). These external constraints define the ever restrictive boundaries within which schools and teachers operate and place limitations on the requisite latitude to be creative and inclusive (Glazzard, 2011). While teachers are instructed to have ever higher expectations for all children, there is generally a lack of consideration afforded to the ways in which wider cultural values inform school based practices. This is reflected, for example, in surveys of newly qualified teachers which identify a lack of preparedness for engaging with linguistic and cultural diversity among both primary and secondary school trainees (Teaching Agency, 2012). Nor is there evidence to suggest that teachers and schools recognise the extent to which the curriculum could be made representative of learners' experiences, or that they have requisite knowledge regarding the availability of resources which are of relevance to learners (Banks et al, 2005; Gillborn, 2008).

As has been identified by critical theorists (Ball, 2013; Connell, 2013; Gillborn et al, 2012; Ortiz and Jayshree, 2010; Youdell, 2011,) practices of cultural, linguistic or ethnic elision may be expected within a systematically unequal society where legal and professional progress is, 'quietly cut back by narrow interpretation, administrative obstruction, or delay. In the end, the minority group is left little better than it was before' (Delgado and Stefancic, 2001: 24). While recent guidance maintains a policy veneer of paying attention to pupils' spiritual, moral, social and cultural development, the language is couched in terms of raising all students' attainment rather than focusing upon those who have the potential to be marginalized (Ofsted, 2011c). Importantly, Ofsted also highlights that one of the major focuses will be on 'white working class boys', thus shifting the focus from other minoritized groups (Ofsted, 2011c: 6) and this focus may lead to a perception that this cohort forms the most disengaged group of pupils in schools (Gillborn, 2008).

An example of how the diminution of the importance afforded to cultural diversity is becoming more prevalent is reflected in the policy discourse of English as an Additional Language (EAL). A core consideration for linguistic and cultural heritage is presented as follows;

The Government recognises the benefits that derive from the maintenance of ethnic minority linguistic and cultural traditions, but believes the main responsibility for maintaining mother tongue rests with the ethnic minority community themselves (Overington, 2012: 3).

It appears that while linguistic and cultural traditions are acknowledged, this acknowledgement does not extend to the ways in which schools might engage creatively with their local communities to incorporate linguistic diversity as a positive attribute of curriculum. Research indicates that effective provision for ethnic minority students occurs when there is cohesive and strategic interaction between the national, local and school based approaches (OECD, 2010). Until relatively recently, local and regional policy implementation addressing minority ethnic experiences and achievement in schools had occurred primarily through

activities dependent upon the Ethnic Minority Achievement Grant, or EMAG. According to Blair's Government policy in 2004, the intention was that the grant should be used to 'narrow achievement gaps for pupils from those minority ethnic groups who are at risk of underachieving and to meet particular needs of bilingual pupils' (DfES, 2004: 2).

However, there have been dramatic changes to the ways in which EMAG has been funded and how those funds are subsequently accessed and used (NALDIC, 2013). Previously, the grant went to local authorities to improve their EAL programmes with the intention that services would be made available to meet learning requirements of pupils for whom English was an additional language and to address learning of pupils from minority ethnic backgrounds. However, these funds are now provided directly to schools and only made available on the basis that there are EAL students who have attended the school for three years or less. Moreover, funding is no longer ring-fenced and has been dramatically reduced (Jones, 2011; NASUWT, 2012). Additionally, schools will now have to contribute part of these funds back into their local authority (LA) if they wish to maintain provision and expertise for the inclusion of EAL and Black and Minority Ethnic students. In a context where individual school budgets are increasingly subject to cuts, for rural schools where there are a minority of pupils for whom English is an additional language such a payback option is an unlikely one. Because continuity of funding is no longer guaranteed for LAs, it is difficult to ensure sustained and sustainable access to professional services.

Currently, local policy and provision for the inclusion of those from minority ethnic communities would appear to be in a state of flux resulting in a fragmentation of services where it is increasingly challenging for schools and teachers to access previously available supports and professional advice (Chowdry and Sibieta 2011; NASUWT, 2012). Such services were identified as providing a pivotal role in assisting teachers to engage more effectively with cultural and linguistic diversity (Tikly et al, 2005; White et al, 2006). In this context, it is important to gauge

interrelationships between the dramatically shifting policy landscape and associated school based pedagogies and practices.

1.4 OVERVIEW OF THE FORTHCOMING CHAPTERS

There are five remaining chapters in the dissertation. Firstly, a thorough review of the literature assists in defining the key concepts and forms the basis for a conceptualisation of the research project. The methodology and research design chapter commences with an interrogation of the ontological and epistemological perspectives which informed subsequent data collection and analysis. This chapter also presents a review of the research methods and the contexts in which they were applied. A chapter on the research findings draws provisional meaning from all of the data gathered and presents it according to the perspectives of subjects and using my interpretations of experiences and affectivities. An analysis of the findings reengages with pertinent literature and aligns this with the research data to provide responses to the key research questions. The final chapter presents a critically reflective analysis of the totality of the project and it explores the significance of the research as well as providing recommendations for future lines of inquiry.

2. Review of the Literature

2.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter provides a review of the literature in the field of identity formation and how this impacts on pupils' engagement within schools, it does so particularly mindful of the experiences of students from ethnic minority backgrounds. The chapter commences with a brief critical engagement with the limited research pertaining to the pupil identity formation in more rural schools. Then the concept of culture within schools is explored and problematised. A critical engagement with literature leads to the development of a conceptual framework. An argument is developed for the adoption of critical, post-structuralist perspectives enabling the research to interrogate systematic and patterned forms of interactions and social engagements. The contested and complex aspects of identity formation are also explored resulting in a working definition of 'identities' and how they may interface with the adoption of school roles and positioning for individuals and groups of pupils.

2.2 POLICIES AND PRACTICES IN THE NON-URBAN SETTING

Since the 1970s, a body of research has addressed ethnicity as impacting on the educational experiences of learners. This research has focused primarily on the experiences of Black, Asian and Hispanic heritage students in urban schools on both sides of the Atlantic (Ogbu, 1978; Tronya and Williams, 1986; Reay 2008, 2004; Blustein et al, 2010). In the UK, the work of Gillborn and Mirza (2000) articulated how racism towards Black and Asian students was systematically ingrained across urban schools and this concept was further explored more thoroughly by Gillborn in later publications (2006, 2008). The negative educational experiences of many students were compounded by additional social identity markers such as gender and class (Archer and Francis, 2007; Busher, 2006). Benjamin's (2002) ethnographic study of how 'intersectionalities', or meeting points

delineating convergences of disadvantage and exclusion as reflected in 'race', gender and 'special needs', added a significant new dimension to the study of educational experiences in urban environments and informed subsequent research of student identities. Additionally, a very limited amount of research has been conducted into how race and racism was a feature of the educational landscape for children from Black or Asian backgrounds attending rural schools (Carroll, 2002; De Lima, 2001).

Despite the growing empirical evidence linking ethnicity with failure and success in educational achievement (Archer and Francis 2007; Chan 2007; Sewell 1996), educationalists have identified a significant lacuna in identity research pertaining to less urbanized areas such as rural or town settings (Gillborn, 2008; Siraj-Blatchford and Clarke, 2000). Furthermore, with the exception of a few studies in the area of refugee children (Bash and Zezlina-Phillips, 2006; Pinson and Arnot, 2007; Rutter 2006; Taylor, and Sidhu, 2012), according to Devine (2009: 521), studies accessing the voice of immigrant pupils and focused upon their educational experiences are rare. Only a mere handful of studies have focused on students' formative ethnic identities where cultural attributes are identified as being of importance (Connolly, 2003: 167).

To date, the most significant British study concerned with educational experiences of ethnic minority pupils in rural areas was conducted by Cline et al (2002). This research was particularly concerned with the dual relationship between identity formation and academic engagement in schools where 4-6% of the students were described as 'minority ethnic'. The research relied on a mixed methods methodology and involved collating data from a total of 34,000 students in primary and secondary schools in some 35 local authorities (LAs). The research also involved conducting case studies within 14 of the schools (Cline et al, 2002: 3). Whilst undoubtedly expansive in relation to the quantitative data that was collated and analysed, there are particular features of the research which were problematic.

The work employs a rather superficial notion of identity by focusing exclusively on overt symbols such as language, religion, traditions of dress, cuisine and race which were identified as being key elements that combined to underpin a person's sense of ethnic identity (Cline et al, 2002: 12). The concept that identity may be ascribed from without (Saldhana, 2012), as well as being an overt expression of communal cultural heritage, leading to an identification of the 'other' as outside of the norm was not explored. Additionally, a focus only upon overt cultural signifiers failed to recognise the complexity of ethnic identity formation and the importance of intersectionalities of gender, class and other signifiers. Also neglected are the conflicting allegiances and associations which are performed within larger socio-cultural contexts framed by relationships of power. This leaves a significant gap in the research regarding the experiences of learners from diverse cultural and ethnic minorities and how the role of school culture influences their continued formation of identities, particularly where pupils form a minority cohort within schools. An investigation of school culture, as an exemplification of a school's values base is also an important focus for determining how pupils from ethnic minority backgrounds engage with one another, how they engage with the school staff and what their experiences are with the curriculum.

2.3 THE INFLUENCES OF SCHOOL CULTURES

Education plays a crucial role in enabling communities to reflect upon and define how their social and cultural realities are constructed (Osler and Starkey, 2003). Schools are also unique interpreters of intersecting influences involving local, regional and national trajectories of power where students create and are ascribed multiple identities (Busher, 2006; Smith and Wexler et al, 199). The ways in which this dynamic of complex interrelationships is realised contributes to the unique culture of particular schools.

An institution's culture is most clearly exemplified in its policies, practices and rituals (Hofsteade and Hofsteade 2005). In this way, organisations such as schools create cultures which act as 'a body of beliefs and practices in terms of which a

group of people understand themselves and the world and organise their individual and collective lives' (Parekh, 2000: 2-3). Institutional cultures are described as:

Socially constructed beliefs and values of the members of the collectivities, they are likely to change through time through the interactions of members of the collectivities with each other and with the socio-political contexts in which they are embedded (Busher, 2006: 84).

Cultural practices then are temporal, context specific and malleable. While cultural traits within organisations are exceptionally complex, they provide shared conceptual positionings, some of which may be unconscious, regarding what values, beliefs and practices are important at particular junctures in time and space. Cultural practices also guide or elide particular forms of social relationships within which issues of power and social replication are paramount (Bolaffi et al, 2003). In their most overt and public form, the cultural values which underpin formal learning may be gleaned from perspectives reflected in school policy documentation. However, such public pronouncements may conflict with deeper manifestations of cultural enactments revealed in a diversity of ways including; classroom organisation, curriculum mediation, learning participation, and in the application of behaviour and discipline policies and practices.

Schools are places where systems of order, surveillance, norming and ranking contribute to the ways pupils develop their sense of self and internalize the expectations placed upon them within the formal and informal domains where interactions occur (Ball, 2013; Taylor-Webb 2013). School cultures influence the ways in which pupils relate to one another, they inform how their personal identities are developed, and they impact upon relationships between teachers and pupils (Purdie et al 2002: 14). This conceptual understanding of how power flows within schools emanates from how culture and power:

work by shaping the subjectivities of those it moulds. Rather than effect a total manipulation of our everyday conduct, power acts by influencing the

'conduct of conducts' and it shapes individuals to make the right choices from a limited number of acceptable options (Allen 2012: 3).

According to Busher (2006), school based beliefs and practices are exercised in the ways that members of the school as institution interact with one another, through language and behaviour, as well as being embodied in the social structures which are created, maintained and modified over time. In this way, there is scope for the creative reinterpretation of existing cultural systems because, as argued by Mayo (2000), the creative use of language can alter behaviours and practices providing scope for divergent and somewhat temporary systems to arise, these nonetheless alter the initial trajectories of power and discourse. This notion of organic repositioning draws on rhizomic analogies prevalent in the writings of Deleuze (1995a; 1995b).

2.4 FORMATION OF PUPILS' IDENTITIES

School based practices and policies may reflect unproblematised notions of national and or personal identities and reflect them in curricular content and interpersonal relationships (Devine, 2009). However, the notion that there are overarching and immutable school cultures is problematic (Holliday, 2007). Similarly, for individuals and communities, the concept that there is an overarching, singular ethnic identity which can be defined through cultural habits is also erroneous. As articulated by Crenshaw (1995), and interpreted by Knudsen (2005: 2), identity intersectionality approximates the complexity, context specificity, and continuous formational nature of identity. This reinterpretation of identity posits that the meeting places of multiple identities interact to position the individual and situate, however temporarily, one's concept of self. Thus, a study of identity formation may focus upon diverse and marginalized othered positions. Among these defining and evolving positions are the roles of; ethnicity, gender, race, disability, sexuality, class and nationality. They combine and interact to enhance the 'complexity of intersectionality, and influence the transitional nature of

identities' (Knudsen, 2005: 2). It is argued that from a post-structural perspective, identities have moved from being somewhat determinable and solid towards a state of fluctuation and fluidity (Bauman, 2000). Accordingly, identity is amorphous and reflects the consistently boundary altering spaces inhabited by emergent social beings.

2.4.1 Intersectionalities and pupil identities

There are different ways in which intersectionalities might be interpreted and operationalised, but its methodological proponents argue the approach:

Foregrounds a richer and more complex ontology than approaches that attempt to reduce people to one category at a time. It also points to the need for multiplex epistemologies. In particular, it indicates that fruitful knowledge production must treat social positions as relational. Intersectionality is thus useful as a handy catchall phrase that aims to make visible the multiple positioning that constitutes everyday life and the power relations that are central to it (Phoenix and Pattynama, 2006: 187).

This approach to identities research is not without detractors. The use of intersectionalities as a conceptual approach to researching subjectivities has been critiqued as being overly woolly and inconsequential (Nash, 2008). There is a perception that intersectionalities minimise the importance of overarching identity markers such as gender, which it is argued, constitute the predominating forces leading to inequalities that perpetuate the dominant status of male narratives in power-infused social constructions of gendered positionings (Davis, 2008; Nash 2008). However, these interpretations run the risk of being essentialist. There is a danger that by ignoring the complexity of identities individuals are disempowered and their choices as to where and how they might position themselves are decentred.

The concept of intersectionality recognises the systematic nature of inequalities, but it also envisages capacities for agentive liberation because, 'subjects mobilize

particular aspects of their identities in particular circumstances (Nash 2008: 11) in order to resist, claim or negotiate political issues and spaces (Johnson, 2009: 4). This understanding of social identities has implications for researchers who are faced with uncertainty regarding the nature of the subject area and who need to establish insightful ways of recording, analysing and sharing non-essentialised perspectives of identity (Richards, 2006: 27). The danger is that by focusing on one of the influencers of identity formation, one runs the risk of fragmenting the individual and of decentring experiences which occur as a totality. Nevertheless, while recognising the complex and multifaceted nature of identity, there is a necessity for research to focus upon specific attributes of societal groups which are identified by their difference from perceived norms and which may result in societal marginalisation.

The necessity to reconceptualise the porous and elastic parameters within which identity is negotiated has given rise to a strong ethnographic tradition of research within schools. Studies of school and classroom cultures have focused on interpersonal and spatial engagements enabling the researcher to reveal how power and privilege are reflected in the normalcy of relationships (Benjamin, 2002; Creese et al, 2006; de Freitas, 2012; Clark and Gieve, 2006). Additionally, researchers have utilised particular identity 'markers', which of themselves must be recognized as being contested and contestable, to elucidate the pervasive impact of social class on educational success and failure (Hargreves, 1967; Willis 2003). Such an approach was also a feature of the early research work conducted by Hammersley and Turner (1980) who focused upon diversity within school cultures and who observed that:

Pupils have various latent identities and cultures which they bring with them to school. Furthermore, these different latent cultures may be interrelated in various ways producing multiple sub-cultures. We can even playfully speculate that conformity to 'official' goals might sometimes be the product of failure to succeed in other sub-cultures (1984: 165).

Additionally, studies of masculinities (Arnot and Mac an Ghaill, 2005; Swain, 2004) and feminist approaches (Paetcher, 2007) have identified how schools ascribe and 'enforce a set of sex and gender roles which are more rigid than those current in the wider society' (Delamont 1990: 5). Intersectionalities across and between multiplicities of identity markers is evidenced in the work of Benjamin (2002) which revealed ways that identity formation was ascribed to and created by a group of female Black students identified as 'being SEN'.

Fragmenting traditional and presumably solid interpretations of ethnicity and racial identity problematises the ascriptive, and at times hegemonic, discussions which rely on labels not generated or controlled by those who are spoken about (Bauman, 2000; Kitching, 2011). The concept of supposedly liberating educational endeavours focusing on individual attributes of 'identity', has been called into question, especially as a locking in of identity markers as part of the supervisory mechanisms incorporated into the educational data machine seeks to separate and divide subjects, making them susceptible to additional separation and scrutiny (Youdell, 2011). As further argued by Youdell, there are dangers in ascribing identity markers because these in turn become exclusionary of others:

To seek to promote equalities for subjects constituted under a particular identity category is to assert and bolster this category. Such an assertion of the proper place of the category inevitably draws the boundary of a new outside, those subjects who have not quite made the entry criteria, and cites once again the prevailing sense of the unitary, enduring, self-knowing subject (Youdell, 2011: 60).

Thus research may call into question the ways in which terminologies, 'act against the interests of the individual and groups so named' (Kitching, 2011: 295). Further, such research may bring to light, 'the embedded rationalities constituting schooling and associated normalizations underpinning 'educated' subjectivity' (Kitching, 2011: 295). The implications are that traditionally accepted notions of educational identities and associated pedagogical content are a legitimate focus for

investigation. Identity research work necessitates a sense of dynamism and retains a focus upon social interactions and the contexts in which they take place.

2.4.2 Identify formation: A Deleuzian perspective

Using a Deleuzian conception of identity formation involves the notion of the subject as acting and being acted upon (Semetsky, 2006; 2008; Cole and Masny, 2012). The subject is situated in a dynamic and intersectional way of being, in time and space, influenced by aspects of gender, age, access to socio-economic resources, having attributes or being ascribed notions of ability and disability, and belonging to community affiliation all of which influence the ways in which one is included or excluded within differing groups and cultures (Bhabha, 1994). In a context where minority ethnic identities become the focus of research, the role of dominant and other languages of instruction and modes of communication used in social and learning contexts also have potential to illuminate ways in which identities are developed. Informed identities research takes cognisance of active tensions between local and global in the formation of hybrid or synthetic identities which may at times become decentred, ambivalent, contradictory, provisional, contextual and most certainly de-essentialised (Bolaffi et al, 2003: 142).

While complex, there is a necessity for positional categories such as gender, or minority ethnic identities, or social class to be interrogated in relation to one another. The process of categorisation should itself be seen, ipso facto, as being problematic with capacities for ascriptive 'othering'. Therefore, one of the key research questions of this project is how syncretic identities may be revealed in students' educational experiences and how these might be authored and topographically mapped by students and researcher using profoundly innovative, chromatic frameworks. Exploration of identities, how they are woven, worn and changed provide the research with a capacity to elucidate differing perspectives with potential to reveal the complexity of the school site and its non-reducibility to essential concepts of identity:

Real-life events become unorthodox ‘texts’ that we should ‘read’ critically and creatively so as to learn from them, thus transgressing formal instruction as a prevalent educational mode. Deleuze’s philosophy focuses on shared deterritorialization, that is, transformations and changes as pertaining to both learning and teaching; as such it may be considered tending towards an ethical position of ‘caring’ as it pertains to moral education (Semetsky, 2012: 47).

Drawing on the artistic work of Dunlop (2005), such an approach provides potentials for children of multiple ethnic and racial identities to shift the notion of home, to challenge the concept of ascription according to fixed ethnic identities, and to formulate reflections of self which resist the existing order and make possible new understandings of self within the subjectivising theatre of school. It provides scope to articulate perceptions of being which militate against the grain of existing dualistic polarities; black, white, included, excluded, dominant, dominated. The self-conscious practices of the subject, and her/his involvement in her/his own constitution, are indicated as potentially ‘practices of liberation’, at the same time as the constrained context in which this subject acts is indicative of ‘practices of subjection’. These acts are identified not as opposite polarities but points of tension within a sphere of action rather than acting along a continuum. The nature of identity is performed according to changed circumstances which alter from one context to the next and this notion of performance and subjectivisation enables a conceptualisation of identity to arise which transgresses essentialised ideological boundaries particularly when this applies to how we may interrogate the identities of those from minoritized ethnic communities (Youdell, 2006: 42; Kitching, 2011: 296).

2.4.3 Place, space and identities

Central to the concept of creativity is how identity formation becomes interwoven with space. Educational experiences are temporal and imminent enabling conflict and creativity to coalesce within particular places which are ascribed or defined as

meaningful according to their spatial nature (Allen, 2013; Gore, 2001; Johnston and Longhurst, 2010). Such a philosophical approach provides:

a form of 'transcendental empiricism'...(and) offers strategies for mapping both modalities of social/subjective 'capture' through notions like territorialization or striated space, for example, but also the possibilities of transformation and becoming, through notions like 'lines' of flight' (Ringrose, 2011: 599).

Citing Deleuze and Guattari (1987: 494), Masny (2013: 81) shares that, 'striated space is homogenous, territorialising and extensive'. As an architectural expression, it is a durable exemplification of the longer term vision. In the context of present educational policy, it is reflected for example in the assemblage of 'rigorous' and relatively immutable systems of classification and testing. This is contrasted with 'smooth space' which enables lines of flight. The latter facilitates movement and disruption:

not from problem-elements towards over-arching theory, but towards the accidents that condition and resolve the problem, with the problem not an obstacle but a 'pro-jection', a movement to surpass that obstacle. A nomad science such as this would develop eccentrically, in a way that is banned or barred by the conditions of State science (Hodgson and Standish, 2006: 568).

Whilst accounting for change, those self-same forces which enable reinterpretations and re-envisionings within the educational sphere are immediately open to 'reterritorialization' by powerful constraining striating forces (Colebrook, 2002, Ringrose, 2011; Youdell, 2011). Thus, the spatial organisation of school is ever open to reinterpretation but also operates under constrained and constraining forces which in turn are open to reinterpretation and change.

2.4.4 Subjectivity and its relationship to role performance

Performatives are identified here as emergent understandings as to how language, practice and symbolic representations create certain expectations about what might be acceptable in terms of action and articulation (Butler, 1997; Tuhkanen, 2009; Youdell, 2011). Further, as Lyotard explains, these are inextricably interwoven with the ways in which power is interpreted and recreated:

This is how legitimation by power takes shape. Power is not only good performativity, but also effective verification and good verdicts. It legitimates science and the law on the basis of their efficiency, and legitimates this efficiency on the basis of science and law. It is self-legitimizing, in the way a system organized around performance maximization seems to be. Now it is precisely this kind of context control that a generalized computerization of society may bring. The performativity of an utterance, be it denotative or prescriptive, increases proportionally to the amount of information about its referent one has at one's disposal. Thus the growth of power, and its self-legitimation, are now taking the route of data storage and accessibility, and the operativity of information (Lyotard, 1984: 47).

The 'operativity of information' in the school setting results in regimes where data becomes an inscription on the body of students as to where they physically might exist, therefore students and teachers invest certain spaces with particular meanings. These spaces come to be interpreted in a symbolic way reflecting how constructions of truth are manifested within schools. This shift in perspective moves processes of observation and analysis away from structural frameworks towards an investigative engagement between symbolic representations, performativity and discursive practices (Kumar, 2000; Youdell, 2006a). Critical here is an understanding that through action and discourse, and of course the unravelling of discourse, the present is always reinvented and that there is scope for the divergent to interrupt existent manifestations or performatives. Thus, as expressed by Deleuze and Guattari:

A rhizome ceaselessly establishes connections between semiotic chains, organizations of power, and circumstances relative to the arts, sciences and social struggles. A semiotic chain is like a tuber agglomerating very diverse acts, not only linguistic, but also perceptive, mimetic, gestural, and cognitive: there is no language in itself, nor are there any linguistic universals, only a throng of dialects, patois, slang, and specialized languages. There is no speaker listener, anymore than there is a homogeneous linguistic community (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987: 7).

Ultimately, uncovering how performatives are enacted has liberating attributes as articulated by Hillis-Miller because the exercise;

blows the gaff on the familial, social, ideological, and political forces that have made me what I now think I am by forcing me to repetitive performances of that role. Once I understand that, the way is open to change society so I can be different, or even, so it appears, to take my identity into my own hands and “perform” myself into becoming some other person (2007:230).

Revealing identities incorporates a focus on performatives and their associated actions and dialogic interactions which occur in particular spaces and which are invested with meanings by actors. Thus, student identities are most immediately identifiable through dialogic relations and how these relations are enacted through the use of language as symbol and through the use of symbol as ichnographically representational of meaning (Frankelberg, 1993; Staiger, 2006). Accordingly, discourse is an important signifier enabling self to relate to others and to interpret how subjects act and explain themselves in and of the world, but language as signifier is not the exclusive determiner of how subjectivities might be understood. Rather than being stable and pre-existing with an immutable core, or being created in isolation from dialogic interactions, identity then is seen as a patchwork in constant formation dependent upon the nature of external, internal and ambient discourses and the spaces in which these are enacted. The dynamic and changing

nature of identity is reflected in the discontinuous and segmented nature of discourse itself:

Whose tactical function is neither uniform nor stable... we must not imagine a world of discourse divided between accepted discourse and excluded discourse, or between the dominant discourse and the dominated one; but as a multiplicity of discursive elements that can come into play in various strategies (Foucault 1978: 100).

The nature of dialogue eschews dichotomous understandings such as those exemplified in a dialectical struggle between those with power and those with limited or no power (Schostak and Schostak, 2013). Rather, dialogue is contingent upon context, which at once constrains the nature of interaction and, at times, creates opportunities for reinterpretation of accepted foundations upon which shared understanding is grounded.

A conceptual positioning of individuals as merely subjected to the whims of power-wielding authorities is contested and replaced by the necessity to interrogate the more subtle and nuanced dialogic interactions between individuals within environments which are laden with symbolic relevance. These interactions are played out as 'performatives' among individuals and their peer 'in groups', between children and their peer 'out groups' and between pupils and a diversity of authority figures.

Through interactions grounded in discourse, data and discipline, shared meanings emerge about the nature of schooling and one's positioning both as an individual and as part of a wider educational society. These understandings become normalized and over time the resultant interpretations form core conceptual notions related to schooling and learning (Jacobson, 2007). This process of 'subjectivisation' is discussed by Youdell (2006a), who argues that the political challenge is to intercept the performatives, which subject the individuals and groups in order to constitute students differently. Nor are such performatives divested of power considerations because, as she argues:

Maintaining the notion of subjectivation in play when thinking about these performative processes underscores that performatives, and the subjects they constitute, are not neutral, but are invested in enduring relations of discursive, productive power (Youdell, 2006a: 48).

Further, she adopts a post-structural conceptual approach which enables educationalists to investigate how power play is enacted, and suggest ways in which it might be reframed. This perspective is critiqued by Marxist theorists who argue for stronger structural interpretations of how subjectivities come about (Cole, 2009; Kelsh et al, 2010). However, such perspectives are potentially delimiting because they detract from individuals' and communities' capacity for action as they have a tendency to frame subjects solely within confining dialogic and binary parameters. Nevertheless, there are also potential shortcomings with aspects of an approach which relies upon the unpredictability of post-structural research. As observed by Gutiérrez-Jones (2001), revealing power relationships within dialogic encounters, may ultimately be ineffective because:

Simply making power and injury visible in no way guarantees a more liberated society. Although of course recognition of these injuries can be a crucial initial step. The key is appropriately mediating between such recognition and the literacy that governs the interpretation of social and cultural problems generally. Without this mediation, the making visible of injury can easily be co-opted into a project in which conflicts are subdued, or worse, robbed of their ability to generate alternative political thought (pp 74-74).

Research which is overly concerned with the minutiae of interpersonal interaction may eschew the problematic nature of how external discourses, performatives and political schemata systematically affect the ways in which power is wielded and remoulded. Research reliant upon post-structuralist perspectives may be in danger of proffering relativist insights where power systems may be fleetingly glimpsed but where everything is open to infinite interpretation. For example, Youdell states, 'nobody is necessarily anything, and so what it means to be a teacher, a student, a

learner might be opened up to radical rethinking' (2006b: 36). This view is also reflected in Butler's perception of the subjective voice within the performative, which is in essence an inherited 'set of voices' or 'echo of others' who speak as the "I" (Butler, 1997). An epistemological perspective which contends that social reality of self is a splintered amalgam of others' mirrored realities, whose selves are in turn amalgams of others', may confuse rather than elucidate the dynamic nature of social interactions by relying on a circular tautology which positions individuals and groups with an endless range of interpretations for actions and social positionings. While this approach has potential for realising imaginative reinterpretations of discursive performances and how they may shape interpersonal engagements, there is also a danger that such fluidity of interpretation may ultimately lack rigour and fail to reflect relationships formed within unequal systems of power and access to resources. For this reason the conceptual framework also draws upon CRT to strengthen a systematic understanding of identity formation. This aspect of the conceptual framework is revisited later in the chapter.

2.5 DEFINING THE RESEARCH PARADIGM

2.5.1 Current perspectives

Explaining how agency might be described and accounted for within institutions and their cultures, while recognising the constrained and constraining parameters within which subjects act, remains a challenge open for educational research (Ball 1994; Harker and May 1995). Initially, I was drawn to the critical framework developed by Bourdieu which purports to explain how inequalities are reconstituted over time (Bourdieu, 1999; Bourdieu, 1979; Bourdieu and Passerson, 1990; Bourdieu and Passerson, 1997; Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992). Bourdieuan critical perspectives set out to interrogate the legitimacy and taken for granted nature of current educational provision which, while packaged in the language of equality, equal opportunities and meritocracy, do nothing other 'than reproduce the legitimate culture as it stands and produce agents capable of manipulating it

legitimately' (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1990: 59-60). Frequently, investigations adopting this approach rely on the two core notions of 'habitus', and 'cultural capital'. The concept of 'habitus' in particular has been used to explore ways in which power relations are defined and replicated. Applied to the school setting, 'habitus' represents the ways in which socialisation and academic norms are developed and imparted (Pollman, 2009; Warren, 2007; Grant and Wong, 2008; Mills and Gale, 2005; Farrell, 2007; Swain, 2004).

Habitus is defined as 'a system of durable, transposable dispositions which functions as the generative basis of structured, objectively unified practices' (Bourdieu 1979, vii). Attributes of structural durability associated with 'habitus' have been critiqued as constraining the potentialities for rebellion and resistance and of hindering the formative reinterpretations of culture (Bauman, 2004) which are also key features of agency within schools (Pelletier, 2009; Youdell, 2006b). Bourdieuan approaches become problematic for conceptualising the nature of creative social change because the theoretical paradigm delimits capacity for a disruptive and novel regeneration of culture. This is because the reproduction of culture must adhere to immutable materialist laws of replication, hidden from those who are oppressed, while simultaneously denied by oppressors leaving severely restricted spaces for altering existing systems (Pelletier, 2009; McLeod, 2005; Biesta and Tedder 2007; Giroux and Shannon, 1997).

2.5.2 Extending creativity: A Deleuzian perspective

Recent interpretations of postmodern critical education have recognised the usefulness of Bourdieuan concepts, but have also questioned whether they provide sufficient scope for re-imagining futures and becomings within the educational arena. Researchers drawing on Deleuzian influences believe;

Rather than habitus, education organised as a system of schools and as a complex of discourses and practices can be better conceived as a dispositive.....a term to include the totality of language resources,

discourses, institutions, organisational procedures and mechanisms – in short, everything created through human action and interaction that in a multiplicity of ways determines, indeed over determines, ways of thinking and behaving (Schostak and Schostak, 2013: 10).

The constructive development of cultural systems within which students develop their identities is at once characterised by durability and change. It occurs in an environment defined by accessibility to resources; curricular, ideational and material, which are garnered from the wider society, but applied within particular socio-cultural contexts. The spatial organising of bodies, the interface with curriculum and its elisions of difference, the power flows between teachers and pupils and among pupils themselves, all conjoin with the minutiae of classroom and school based life to form an assemblage within which pupils' 'othered' identities are formed and subjectivised (Youdell, 2011: 7).

A further analysis of the assemblage posits it as a complex series of territorial or cartographic interactions encompassing both the psychic and the social that are rendered apparent by following the multiple connections of energy and power flows which map 'the fold of both inside and outside: the inside of the outside' (Semetsky, 2006: 21).

2.5.3 Assemblages and enabling spaces for social change

Crucially, power flows are not unidirectional and may comprise and facilitate interruptions as well as brief counter flows and reinterpretations of privilege and normative understandings. This conceptualisation of cultural formation within schools posits its creation and replication within:

a set of dynamic, productive and generative material (and immaterial) practices in the regulation of social conduct and social behaviour that emphasizes personal and social self-management (involving) the

modification of habits, tastes, and styles, political affiliations and trans/national identities (McCarthy et al, 2005: 155).

Referring to the machinations of law and prisons, Bell (2012: 108) describes the nature of assemblages as follows:

Just as the inside is 'merely the fold of the outside, as if the ship were a folding of the sea', as Deleuze wrote of Foucault's analyses (1988: 97), so in the panoptical scene the appearance of certain 'elements'; interior landscapes, guilty subjects, reformed habits are resultants brought into being and sustained through the exteriority's, which is to say power's, attentions; they are in that sense the coerced actualizations of virtual potential in which an assemblage of material elements architectural design, justice processes, steel, glass, sunlight, towers, keys, human judgements, wigs and half-remembered theological precepts are entangled and somehow co-ordinated. And the proof of that diagnosis is, can only be, in its observable trace, viz. its enfolding into the habits and demeanour of the prisoner and henceforth of the 'subjectivity' s/he displays and perhaps articulates, and in the persuasiveness of the argument that posits this analysis as a convincing probability.

Some formative application of assemblages to further tease out the ways in which subjectivities are developed and their interrelationships with durable and transient manifestations of power is exemplified in a diversity of disciplines within the social sciences including; education (Cole, 2009, 2011, 2012; Kumar, 2000; Marble, 2012; Masny, 2010; Sanders, 2011; Semetsky and Masny 2013; Schostak and Schostak, 2013; Youdell, 2010), gender and queer theory (Tuhkanen, 2009) and human geography (Allen, 2011; Koro-Ljungberg and Barko, 2012).

Researchers have noted that drawing on a conceptual framework of assemblages has its challenges (Allen, 2011; Bell, 2012), not least the necessity to provide an ontologically convincing argument regarding the application of what might be perceived as a haphazard and coincidental linking of events and realities which

become chimerical when followed, so singular strands of inquiry are never sufficient. It is in the linking and drawing together of the systems and subsystems to reveal their potentialities as explanations for social thought and action where assemblages can best express how the rhizome of interactivities form, decay, destroy and reform entities and their subjectivities. In this context, the pervasive and systematic influences of race and ethnicity and their sustaining cultural and ideational constraints are important focuses for consideration.

Drawing on learning from Deleuze (1994), Marble (2012) argues that disruption of the norm can still be realised and genuine learning attained when pupils and teachers encounter a shared challenge rather than one that is predefined within existing delivery modes of the prescribed curriculum. This point is supported by May and Semetsky (2008), who argue that a novel re-conceptualisation of curriculum situates it in the classroom setting as an engaging encounter between teacher and pupil where together they, 'begin to experiment in practice with what they might make of themselves and their world' (2008: 150). The development of inclusive school cultures involves a growing capacity for self-critical awareness as 'staffs need to explore what behaviours, procedures and structures facilitate positive or negative interactions and determine who is responsible for initiating change' (Siraj-Blatchford and Clarke, 2000: 12). An additional focus for the research is concerned with the ways in which school cultures are manifested and the juxtapositioning of 'the minority ethnic child' who is 'the other' within this dynamic. A focus for research should investigate the subtle yet traceable links between the school culture and the ways in which the other's concept of self is manifested through the voice of the student. This will be evidenced to some extent by teachers' capacities to have some knowledge about, and skills to engage with students' diverse identities (Suschitzky and Chapman, 1998: 8). It will also be investigated through the ways in which students author their shared identity or multiple identities.

The proposed conceptual framework then, relies primarily upon the epistemological working tools of post-structuralist research. Fundamentally, this

research project is concerned with power and identity and how these becomings are actualized through studying the minutiae of school life and daily engagements, it aims to reveal how students come to be 'performatively constituted', in terms of their social, cultural, academic and other relational identities. The conceptual understanding of how individuals and groups act, react and reform their topographical spheres of teaching, learning and interrelationships within schools is informed particularly by a Deleuzian perspective, enabling subjects to engage in resistant deterritorialization of sedimented practices. The notion that space is created for new interpretations of how school might be and how teachers and learners might become other than heretofore framed is also explored (Cole, 2011; Marble, 2012; Sanders, 2011). It is influenced by, and takes particular note of Youdell's recent research (2006a, 2006b, 2011) where attention to the affective, unconscious, attachments and wishes and needs of the individual are recognised and incorporated as well as the nature and impact of overarching systems. It also incorporates the concept of Deleuzian 'othering' exemplified in the work of Cole (2008) where it is argued that the existence of outsiders leads to particular forms of assemblages. These in turn create performatives typified by control, power and creativity and may result in subjectivities associated with loss, distance and ellipsis of language.

2.5.4 Strengthening the conceptual framework: Critical Race Theory

To strengthen the research paradigm the approach also takes into consideration nuanced and more systematic ways in which organisations as a whole engage subtle and hidden operations of power that have the effect of disadvantaging one or more minority ethnic groups. Drawing on the approach of critical researchers (Calmore, 1992; Caldwell, 1995; Gillborn, 2005; 2006; 2008; Ladson-Billings and Tate, 1995; Delgado and Stefancic 2001; Smith-Maddox and Solorzano, 2002; Solorzano, and Yosso, 2001) post-structural perspectives will be complemented with Critical Race Theory (CRT) to reveal how power becomes entwined with 'taken for granted' racialised concepts, practices and ontological perspectives. The

following section provides a brief historical overview outlining the nascent aspects of CRT, its shared perspectives and its methodological implications, especially for the field of educational theory and practice.

The work of recent authors adopting a CRT approach in the field of education (Gillborn 2005; 2006; 2013; Ibrahim, 2014; Leonardo 2009; 2011; 2013) acknowledges the significance of its historical and geographical beginnings in the United States. CRT emerged from Critical Legal Studies (CLS), a particular strand of the Civil Rights Movement concerned with engagement in, and studies of, school desegregation litigation and anti-discrimination law (Delgado and Stefancic 2000). It can be traced to the early works of Derrick Bell and Alan Freeman who in the mid 1970s were concerned with the slow pace of racial reform and the fact that civil rights gains of the 1960s were being increasingly eroded (Sólorzano and Yosso, 2002). As identified by Ibrahim (2014), CLS was concerned to identify and reveal 'internal and external inconsistencies' of the legal doctrine and reveal the ways that 'legal ideology has helped create, support, and legitimate' (quoting from Crenshaw ,1998: 1350), social inequalities and racialised identities. The influences of CLS began to appeal to a diversity of academics and political activists interested in applying the core tenets of CLS to interrogate the minoritized experiences of Blacks and Hispanics as they interrelated with gender, socio-economic and educational experiences and other dimensions of lived inequalities. In her seminal article on the application of CRT to educational practices, Ladson-Billings identified that, 'Critical Race Theory is, thus, both an outgrowth of and a separate entity from CLS' (1998: 10).

One of the central tenets of CRT is that racism is normal, not aberrant, within society and so has become an ingrained feature of our societal landscape, it appears natural and is thus unquestioned (Delgado, 1995: xiv). This naturalness is affected only peripherally by rules, policies and laws which militate against the most extreme forms of racism and ethnic or religious xenophobia (Gillborn, 2005). Racism therefore is seen as endemic in the ways in which societies and institutions go about their business. This feature of CRT is summarised as follows:

Because racism is an ingrained feature of our landscape, it looks ordinary and natural to persons in the culture. Formal equal opportunity—rules and laws that insist on treating blacks and whites (for example) alike—can thus remedy only the more extreme and shocking forms of injustice, the ones that do stand out. It can do little about the business-as-usual forms of racism that people of color confront every day and that account for much misery, alienation, and despair (Delgado & Stefancic, 2000, p. xvi)

The cultural practices which enable this to take place have their roots in an historical process which are not immediately evident to black and othered persons in society, but it does become manifest in systematic forms of white domination. Its subtleties are expressed in, ‘a series of actions, the ontological meanings of which is not always transparent to its subjects and objects’ (Leonardo, 2009: 47). Leonardo explains how this occurs;

Racial privilege is the notion that White subjects accrue advantages by virtue of being constructed as Whites. Usually, this occurs through the valuation of white skin color, although this is not the only criterion for racial distinction. Hair texture, nose shapes, culture, and language also multiply the privileges of whites or those who approximate them (Leonardo, 2009: 37).

This has the effect of positioning whiteness as a normative condition contrasted to which others are positioned in relational points of opposition (Ladson-Billings, 1998: 10). Positions which are inhabited in this contrastive system can constrain and define the possibilities of being, even if these conditions are somewhat pliable and fluid. The normative position of whiteness has itself become a significant focus of research with the aim of interrogating how white privilege (or white domination) is manifested and its effects on whites and other(ed) people. This strand of CRT constitutes, ‘an assault on the socially constructed and constantly reinforced power of white identifications and interests’ (Gillborn 2006: 13). Further, it seeks to reveal how subjects are brought into being through the performative politics of ‘naming the other’ and responding to the call (Youdell, 2006c). These

processes contribute to the 'performative constitution of identity', which is at once pervasive, deep rooted and almost invisible to those who are implicated (Gillborn 2005: 490). CRT seeks to bring these processes to light in the everyday interactions of educational transactions and interactions to challenge its 'repeated iteration and resignification' (ibid: 490).

A related but separate key attribute of CRT, is its critique of the liberal agenda and its claim to equality, meritocracy and impartiality. Rather, CRT views the claims of legal and practical neutrality, the arguments for research 'objectivity' which eschew the voices of those with least power, and the pervading discourse of 'colour blindness' as reflective of liberal belief systems acting in the interests of powerful entities in order to maintain the status quo of social and racial inequity (Crenshaw, 1988; Tate, 1997: 235). Aligned to this concept is the belief that legal and policy actions to address the most egregious forms of discrimination will only be taken when their outcomes converge with the interests and economic well being of dominant white supremacy and the maintenance of a racialised hierarchy (Bell, 1980; Delgado & Stefancic, 2000; Gillborn, 2013; Ladson-Billings 1998).

As identified by Gillborn (2013: 480), the notion of convergence has been further developed of late to highlight the role of 'interest divergence', which strengthen racialised hierarchies. Political and racialised 'divergence' initiatives seek to purposefully create divisive wedges between racialised groups and by so doing, as argued by Guiner, 'it diverts attention from the unequal distribution of resources and power they perpetuate' (2004: 114). Purposeful racial divergence is usually associated with times of economic strain and it provides 'psychological advantages to poor and working-class whites' (ibid, 2004: 114) as they are informed that either they are underperforming in relation to blacks, or that blacks and migrants (Others) are provided with more resources than whites within schools and in other social services. This approach has been a feature of recent educational pronouncements in the UK which has 'witnessed a campaign by politicians and the media to present the true racial victims in education as 'white working-class' children, especially boys' (Gillborn, 2013: 480).

For example, OFSTED has begun to focus on the 'unique requirements' of white working class pupils (OFSTED, 2008). More recently, a senior politician responsible for educational access and achievement claimed that, 'a fear of racism was responsible for holding back white working class pupils' (Wheeler, 2014). Those who would challenge racism are themselves implicated in supposedly perpetuating 'white underachievement'. In addition to apportioning culpability to proponents of equality, it would appear that the groups affected by low performance may also be targeted as being responsible for their own lack of access to educational resources and for their 'deficiencies'. This perspective is exemplified in the views expressed by the Chairperson of the House of Commons Select Committee on Education, Mr Graham Stuart MP. Mr Stuart is recorded as stating that, 'the main reasons for the lower attainment seemed to be that they did less homework and were more likely to miss school than other children. We don't know how much of the underperformance is due to poor attitudes to school, a lack of work ethic or weak parenting' (Warrell, 2014). These, recent experiences support the findings of Sveinsson who has argued that, 'The interests of the white working class are habitually pitched against those of minority ethnic groups and immigrants, while larger social and economic structures are left out of the debate altogether' (2009: 5). With reference to the US, it is claimed that race is frequently used as a short term decoy and, 'it also masks how much poor whites have in common with poor blacks and other people of color' (Guiner, 2004: 106). Interest convergence and divergence then is a form of policy manipulation at play on both sides of the Atlantic (Gillborn, 2013).

Following from the above, there is an ethical imperative to unmask the ways such policy directives appear to be value-free and rational. Rather, it is necessary to illustrate the central role which they play in the liberal agenda to perpetuate inequalities whilst, in policy speak, they appear to be directed towards 'bridging' or 'closing' gaps. Ladson Billings suggests that, as an epistemological and methodological approach, CRT offers, 'a powerful explanatory narrative for the persistent problems of race, racism, and social injustice' (Ladson-Billings, 1998: 23). She urges teachers and researchers to address the deep-seated problem of

race and subjectivisation in classrooms and schools through study and a re-conceptualisation of the content of the curriculum, the ways in which the curriculum is delivered, and the spaces it creates within schools and classrooms. This necessitates the development of innovative research projects which provide suggested ways out of the current racialised impasse which is a defining feature of the liberal Western educational system.

In seeking to better understand how to approach counter-hegemonic educational research, Ladson-Billings (1989, 2003) has argued for the adoption of critical and reflective approaches which may defy traditional or accepted methodologies. Along with the belief that 'racism is normal' and that liberalism acts to maintain its essence, the use of counter-narrative is the third 'ontological imperative' of CRT (Leonardo, 2013). The use of narrative and personal story telling is used to challenge oppressive hegemonic experiences and to provide a counter valence to the 'truth' of positivistic research which negates the voice of minoritized narrators (Ladson-Billings, 1998). For example, the use of personalised story is used to powerful effect in the writings of Ibrahim (2005). Through story, he provides an insight into the power of the law, in the embodiment of a white police officer as an extension of 'rational societal structures', to name and subjectively the being of Black as commensurate with 'dark', aberrant and with a tendency towards criminality. Narration takes the lie to claims of equality as a dominant belief motif in liberal White society and its presumed objectivity within research (Gillborn, 2006). This approach has implications for relating the tales of pupils in schools, for gleaning their perspectives and revealing the interplay of power and racialised identities in classrooms (Benjamin, 2002).

When concerned with the research of race and identity, there is a necessity to challenge the concept that objective knowledge can be accessed about phenomena when it fails to provide direct access to the experiences and knowledge of those most directly concerned (Leonardo, 2013: 601). The methodology of storytelling and narrative has thus become a significant feature of CRT research (Solorzano & Yosso, 2002) as the approach provides substance to

the 'contextual contours' of lives and experiences which have heretofore been eviscerated (Ladson-Billings, 1998: 11). Counter-narrative places the 'othered' person to the fore and 'insists on firsthand narratives about racial oppression in schools and society' (Leonardo, 2013: 602). In post-structuralist writings, narrative is also seen as an important tool for revealing the processes by which subjectivisation takes place and the ways in which identities may be ascribed and indeed adopted by particular individuals or cohorts.

This can be identified for example in the ways that classrooms are organised to create and perpetuate racialised educational experiences. Gillborn (2009) has argued that the grouping of children according to notions of 'ability' or perceived motivational capacities, results in black or othered children being placed in lower performing sets. Further, it is not unusual for these groupings to cover significantly less curriculum content than their peers. The situation may be exacerbated by the fact that such groups tend to be supervised by teachers who are less qualified and as a result less expert at enabling children progress in their learning. The confluence of pedagogical shortcomings results in a process within schools which, Gillborn states, is systematically disenfranchising (Taylor & Francis, 2009). Through narration, the dynamic interrelationships between normed or predefined racial, cultural and ethnic groupings, their cross-cutting domains, modalities and ways of being may bring to the surface, 'discourses on ethnicity, immigration and identity that reflect the norms and values prevalent in society at large' (Devine, 2005: 52) and which head teachers and teachers may bring to their workplace.

Unwitting prejudice may signify aspects of a non-inclusive school cultures which in turn may be reflective of wider school ideational currencies. In certain instances, the persistence of un-reflected or overt exclusionary practices may lead to disengagement or contribute to the development of oppositional identities and cultures within the school. Conversely, a school with inclusive cultures 'provides resources and opportunities through which children not only learn what is required, but they also manufacture affirming identities' (Thomson et al 2008: 148). Such schools are prepared to reflect and act upon the requirements of individual

students in order to attain positive learning outcomes. They also give due regard to adjusting the methods and content used in teaching and learning and engage with the wider narrative of peripheral families to encourage open and trusting communication between adults and children (Ainscow et al 2006b). These are what might be termed, 'becoming schools' (Youdell, 2011), those taking the strain of an overly determined external shaping landscape to create new topographies, altering and creating new iterations of education which challenge constraint and better incorporate multiple facets of inclusion. CRT recognises that the systematic nature of inequality is pivotal to understanding how social interaction and learning is framed within schools. The following section explores how these attributes of CRT and their application to educational research may be given a generative and purposeful edge when conjoined with Deleuzean approaches.

2.6 SYNTHESISING THE CONCEPTUAL APPROACH

There is a growing body of educational research which seeks to create synergies between differing attributes of CRT and Deleuzean ideas (Gillborn and Youdell, 2009; Graham and Slee, 2008; Ibrahim, 2004, 2014; Leonardo, 2011; Youdell, 2011). As noted in recent philosophical discussions, Deleuzean theorizing enables social activists to conceptualise ways in which the molar flows of racialised subjectivities can be interrupted (Gines, 2012, Tuhkanen, 2010). Such perspectives are evidenced in the black feminist writings of Davidson (2010) and Moulard-Leonard (2005) which have incorporated Deleuzean perspectives to bring about 'lines of flight' that allow for the 'othered' to become unhindered by historical prescriptions and to subvert subjectivised racial predefinitions of being. However, these processes do not occur without reference to the wider and continued existence of powerful forces which urge towards raced and racialised, subjectivising reterritorialisation (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987). There is space to move beyond that which is and to become different, but that space is also bounded. As identified in the literature:

Raced subjects are not self evident, already existing and already subjected to and in uneven relations of power. Rather subjects are made recognisable as subjects, as people, in part through the ascription of race designations at the same time as these ascriptions position the social subjects in prevailing race discourses and their embedded hierarchies (Gillborn and Youdell 2009: 181).

Similarly, Gilroy recognises that the conceptual positionings of racialised identities and subjectivities associated with race are deeply embedded in the language with which they are discussed. This cannot easily be remedied, 'and to imagine that current 'dangerous' meanings can be easily re-articulated into benign, democratic forms would be to exaggerate the power of critical and oppositional interests'. (Gilroy 2000: 12). The question is then promoted as to how subjects might supersede or interrupt the simultaneously socially imagined and very real and powerful racialised categorisations and hierarchies as embodied in language and discourse? The complexities of responding to this challenging question have become an integral concern for theorists exploring the application of CRT to education (Gilroy, 2000; Nayak, 2006; Leonardo, 2011). For example, as Leonardo observes:

The prognostication of race's future asks neither the question of race's current significance nor its real past but more important, its projected destiny. It takes from Nayak's (2006) assertion that 'post-race ideas offer an opportunity to experiment, to re-imagine and to think outside the category of race' (p. 427). To be more precise, post-race ruminations allow educators to recast race, even work against it, as Gilroy suggests, but this move cannot be accomplished with the pretence of thinking outside the category of race (Leonardo, 2011: 679)

Despite Leonardo's reservations about the capacities of actors to engage outside that which defines the nature of race in language, discourse and educational practice, he then recognises that there is somewhat of an ethical imperative to do so. In an extension of more traditional CRT frameworks, he argues that there may

be merit in moving beyond the current conceptualisation of race to exploring a space 'beyond race', the concept, 'does not proceed from the audacious pronouncement that this move is plausible but asks whether or not it is possible and more important, preferable' (Leonardo, 2011: 679). As one realises it is preferable to innovate thinking in this way, one is forced to imagine how language and feeling might be thought of differently and this forcing and stretching of thought is a core feature of Deleuzian philosophy (Deleuze and Parnett, 2007). The act itself is a call to challenge what otherwise might be seen as the 'intractable symbolic order', and in the face of (raced, cultural, linguistic) difference, it requires practitioners, researchers, pupils and teachers to reconfigure the existing assemblage by shifting its current components and by positioning bodies, emotions and words at the heart of the process (Seely, 2013; Tuhkanen, 2010). The focus on words here reflects what is, in Deleuzian terms:

A question of method: instead of moving from an apparent exteriority to an essential 'nucleus of interiority' we must conjure up the illusory interiority in order to restore words and things to their constitutive exteriority (Deleuze, 1988: 43).

In terms of interrogating the possibilities for associated unpredictable futures, it hints at an, 'undoing of race from within rather than from without, of coming to full disclosure about what race has made of us to which we no longer consent' (Leonardo, 2011: 679) . What ensues is a form of death, a passing away of an established historical inevitably, but what comes about, as recognised in the work of Lacan and Deleuze, is 'a point in the process of becoming that brings life' (Seely, 2013: 7).

In writing of the origins of CRT and its use of counter-narrative as an epistemological tool, Leonardo (2005: vii) identifies that it is anchored 'in a kind of racial realism based on the actual lives or life stories of its subjects'. Further, he argues that as CRT has grown with experience and research, it has become more complex and multifaceted. As a result, it has been enabled to contend more confidently with embracing intersecting diversities, especially those of race,

gender, language diversity and culture. In so doing, CRT extends its theoretical positioning towards 'the politics of identity, in relation to territory, geography, history community and nation' (Leonardo, 2005: vii). In a Deleuzian way, among the flux of history, geography and imminence, it may be possible to reorient our conceptualisations of what that realist perspective might offer, to see beyond its possibly bounded imagination and to experience a real 'raced' person become unraced, unimpeded, her tendrils of affectivities moving outward engaging with others, bound up with and unbinding new possible beings; creating alternate stories. This is the setting where, as an educator you might, while working in and through 'race';

Lodge yourself on a stratum, experiment with the opportunities it offers, find an advantageous place on it, find potential movement of deterritorialization, possible lines of flight, experience them, produce flow conjunctions here and there, try out continuums of intensities segment by segment, have a small plot of new land at all time (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987: 161).

Here the narrative of CRT history fuses unpredictably with Deleuzian imminence and emotional flows, having capacity to change endings and to render the real improbable and the improbable real. The 'normal space' holding the normed skin (or accent) becomes reoriented to claim a new terrain (Graham and Slee, 2008). Imperatively, as this shift ensues, the privileged place of whiteness within educational practice must be conceptually problematised and spatially disturbed. Drawing on Butler's work, Youdell (2011) argues that that the abject others, those who have been named, and subjectivised, as 'such-and-such' can reclaim who they are named and simply 'be who we are' (Butler, 2008: 29). In such an ethical process, pupils and teachers are 'becoming authors' (Masny and Cole, 2009), if only fleetingly, of their own bodies and minds, speaking and writing in a myriad of languages which are perhaps incomprehensible to those whose ears are not attuned to multilingual, multilateral, multidimensional alternate modes of learning, teaching and being.

However, just as a 'one size fits all' approach is particularly problematic in contexts of diversity as this negates children's prior cultural and linguistic learning (Bracken et al, 2008; Cummins, 1994; Cummins, 2000; Graf, 2011; Kochman, 1981), so the adoption of an essentialised CRT or post-structuralist conceptual framework would also prove problematic while seeking to capture the complexity of agentic yet constrained options for identity formation. By adopting a conceptual perspective informed by CRT, the research draws upon practical foci that may bring to light the systematic nature of inequalities for example in terms of curriculum content, pedagogy and assessment (areas of particular interest to Ladson-Billings, 1998). It also enables an interrogation of who, in terms of 'race' and identity, is included or excluded in the educational narratives. Such a critical perspective on (anti) identity formations has the capacity to reveal the extent to which learners' experiences are reflected within the curriculum, whether their life stories are included, or whether there is value attached to their families and communities as participants in the educational process (Chakrabarty et al. 2012; Gillborn et al 2012; Solorzano and Yosso, 2001).

In essence, CRT enables the researcher, teacher or learner to dig into and identify manifestations of racial, cultural and linguistic inequality within schools while Deleuzian philosophy provides a generative escape route from the past enabling the drafting of radical new templates to disrupt hegemonic perspectives. Through CRT, educationalists can better understand structural inequalities in racialised experiences which help to explain, 'this is how it is, and this is how it came to be'. Through Deleuzian ideas, those in the educational assemblage can creatively redefine how purposeful ethics leads elsewhere. Further, this conjuring and conjoining of theoretical perspectives seeks to question how knowledge and affectivity might result from learning about pupils' minoritized experiences and perhaps contribute to an extension of Youdell's understandings of an imperative to act through:

The notion of new collectivities and alliances built on an agonistic pluralism (that) demands a consideration of how the individuals who engage in this

are conceived of; the place of both rationality, intentionality and affectivities in these politics; how the contradictions and incommensurabilities inherent in these collectivities are expressed and worked with; and what this might look like in practice (Youdell, 2011: 135).

The remainder of this work uses this synthesis of ideas as a conceptual geoscape within which pupil and teacher narratives are interpreted, thus providing tools to tease out learning for imminent and future self-awareness. The epistemological and ontological perspectives identified also reveal possible application of such learning to teaching and future action.

2.7 CONCLUSION AND EMINATING QUESTIONS

The research aims to illuminate how a mesh of power flows, factors, personalities, bodily interactions, and spaces, operating within and outside of schools, combined in an assemblage (Ball, 2013; Bell, 2012: 108; Cole, 2011; Deleuze and Guattari, 1987; Koro-Ljungberg and Barko, 2012; Saldanha, 2012; Tambouku, 2008) to inform the educational and social experiences of pupils from minority ethnic communities in two primary schools situated in an English West Midlands town. Learning from the experience should inform my own professional development and that of other researchers and teachers. From a review of the literature addressing the key concept of pupil identity formation, five key questions emerged:

1. How do external policies and wider social values and practices influence the ways schools 'do' education (Ainscow et al, 2006; Ball et al, 2012; Busher, 2006; Cole and Masny, 2012; Evans and Davies, 2012; Glazzard, 2011; Gomolla, 2006; Maguire et al, 2011; Taylor-Webb and Gulson, 2013)?
2. How do internal dynamics and associated school-based values and attitudes influence school cultures and what might be the implications for pupils from minority ethnic communities (Benjamin, 2002; Cohen, 2013; Deleuze and Guattari, 1994; Proweller, 1999; Reay, 2004; Schostak and Schostak, 2013; Strand, 2010; Wang et al, 2011)?

3. How do enactments of teaching, learning and the curriculum, as entanglements of socio-historical, political, affective and imminent encounters, inform the ways in which ethnic identities are performed (Allen, 2012; Ball, 2013; Cole and Masny, 2012; McCarthy et al, 2005; Semetsky, 2006, 2012; Thompson and Cook, 2013)?
4. How are identity subjectivities and performatives choreographed within the defined time and space of the research process, and what are the implications for notions of race and ethnicity (Ball, 2013; Foucault, 1998; Hillis-Miller, 2007, Kitching, 2011; Ortiz and Jayshree, 2010; Youdell, 2006, 2010; Zembylas, 2007)?
5. What forms do identity intersectionalities take place within the spatial, temporal and interpersonal parameters of the research, and what significance might these have for pupils' social and educational experiences (Gillborn et al, 2012; Benjamin, 2002; Knudsen, 2005; Nabuzoka and Empson, 2010; Winker and Degele, 2011; Youdell, 2011)?

3. Methodology and research design

3.1 INTRODUCTION

The methodology and research design chapter includes an exploration of the ontological and epistemological perspectives which subsequently inform the ways that data were collected and analysed. A detailing of the hermeneutic approach to ethics is presented and there is a discussion of its influence on the research design and processes. Specific research methods within a case study approach are identified and interrogated for their capacities to inform the research as truthfully as possible. The research project involved working with two schools in a defined geographic location and, in light of the differing school attributes evident within the settings, an argument is presented to retain an element of flexibility towards sampling. The gathering and analysis of data employed iterative and interpretative strategies which are explored in relation to their context specificity and potential for enhancing an understanding of the ways in which identities emerge, are solidified and have space for creative deterritorialisation.

3.2 METHODOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVES

A sound understanding of the philosophical and cultural perspectives informing the nature of research provides the basis for decisions about how ways of knowing are revealed and how knowledge is shared. Researchers' perspectives and values are deeply embedded in their ontological stances. Consequently, there is a need to reveal the 'deeper meaning and commitments of what they say and how they conduct their research' (Pring, 2000: 90), in effect this necessitates an interrogation of one's own ontological understandings.

3.2.1 A brief examination of ontology

According to researcher aims and perspectives differing ontological perspectives, or ways of viewing social reality, may be adopted. Beck (1979) contends that, 'the purpose for social science is to understand the social reality as different people see it and to demonstrate how their views shape the action which they take within

that reality' (quoted in Cohen et al, 2007: 21). This highlights the necessity for researchers to investigate and reveal their perceptions of human knowledge and how these may be further interrogated to provide informed insights about the nature of experience and existence (David and Sutton, 2004). Some researchers argue that the world of social interactions exists independently of what perception informs, it is a rational, external entity and responsive to scientific and positivist modes of inquiry. This tradition has informed the ontological foundations of educational research for some time (Bitter-Davis and Parker, 1997; Gallagher, 2008).

Alternatively, as a researcher concerned with examining socio-cultural phenomena I interrogate social reality as exemplified within particular historical contexts which constrain and facilitate the limits of individual and community action. Thus, I approach the search for an informed interpretation of people's lived experiences through rigorous research, observation and analysis (Graue and Walsh, 1998; Byrne-Armstrong et al 2001). As Pring suggests (2000: 90), both of these ways of coming to the research are informed by historical, cultural and philosophical backgrounds which have to be addressed explicitly. My approach has been informed considerably by the critiques of positivism and grounded theory conducted by Thomas and James (2006) who echo Eisner's (1993) critique of attempts to use quasi-scientific procedures within the social sciences to attain presumed ontological objectivity by effacing the person of the researcher and diminishing his/her capacity for thought, reflection, affective engagement and creating a synthesis of meanings. The research is primarily concerned with social identities and agentive interactions, it is concerned with learning and human development and as such it is ontologically cultural (Artiles et al, 2011; Cole, 2007).

3.2.2 Epistemological positioning

Schools as research sites are infused with interpersonal and cultural dynamics where power is used to control, enable or subvert cultural reproduction and innovation. A challenge for researchers immersed in cultural pools of depth and unpredictability, rather than working in fields of logical certainty, is to adopt what Taylor (2009) calls a disciplined yet flexible demeanour. The epistemological positioning for this research eschews the cartography of fixed points and embraces the notion of a Deleuzian nomadic methodology which is:

an intertextual, cross-boundary or transversal transfer, in the sense of a leap from one code, field or axis into another, not merely in the quantitative mode of plural multiplications, but rather in the qualitative sense of complex multiplicities (Braidotti 2006: 5).

Patterns of linking pathways between the physical space, the partially created, the emotive, the artistic and that which is remembered, form an approach providing the ontological positioning and epistemological tools, 'to say something sensible about a complex, relatively poorly controlled and generally "messy" situation' (Robson, 2002: 3 - 4). There is an incapacity to exert control over events and interactions, while demanding, such unpredictability enables the researcher to 'capitalize on unexpected eventualities' (Robson, 2002: 6) and to focus on the individualised nature of social interactions and surmise how these interconnect with larger organisational cultures and systems of subjectivisation.

It is questionable whether there can be an honest charting of learning journeys for those whose access to power and knowledge has been curtailed by using the same research tools as those which have divested them of power and access to resources in the first place. This point is made by critical race theorists; notably Tuhiwai Smith (2006: 2), whose work is quoted in Hylton (2012), and who argues that 'research is a site of struggle between the interests and ways of knowing of the West and the interests and ways of resisting of the other'. A rationale for this epistemological approach, as reflected in CRT, is also provided by Ladson-Billings

(2003) who recognises that the positivist perspective is appropriate for specific types of research but it is inappropriate to matters of 'race' or culture.

Research concerned with manifestations of socio-cultural realities, specifically those concerned with power relations between individuals and groups require 'deeply contextualised understandings of social phenomena' (Ladson-Billings, 2003: 12). These understandings are imbued with positionings which contest the ways in which power 'is exercised epistemologically in the dual practices of naming and evaluating', (Goldberg, 1993: 150). They are premised on conceptualisation of educational research emphasising the shifting and non-reducible nature of truth and the contested nature of how cultures are replicated. For critical race theorists (Carspecken, 1996; Christians 2007), it is evident that all research has a value base with attendant ethical ramifications and consequentially there is a need to conduct, 'research that allows us to understand everyday realities and challenge the value neutral, apolitical positivism that is de rigour in many research circles' (Hylton, 2012: 35). The implications for ethical research are further explored below.

3.3 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Ethical choices and ways of being incorporate basic tenets of sound research practice advocated by BERA (2011), but extend beyond the simplistic, predetermined and formulaic to problematise the nature of action and to propose new ways of learning from experience. Ways of creating and interpreting ethical understandings are thus closely associated with reflexive and values-developing practice. Such practices, are bound up with, 'the need to constantly interrupt oneself, to make ethico-political decisions to remain alert to the dangers which lurk in the everyday, and to be informed and reflexive of the mundane and obvious and to question the limits of what we do and how we act' (Ball, 2013: 149). An ethics of reflexive action involves the researcher in continuous learning processes that position values and perceptions as a valuable site for questioning (Clough and Barton, 1995). Dynamics rather than stasis become the basis for learning oriented

ethical encounters. This propensity for movement and re-evaluation of the socially informed self where experience is rendered meaningful and where 'self' becomes a site for learning experiences takes place, 'not by grounding empirical particulars in abstract universals but by active experimentation on ourselves in real life' (Semetsky 2012: 48). By adopting a critically reflexive research stance in relation to self and others, one creates possibilities to interrupt sustained and unbearable practices and to realise possibilities of newly developed understandings which facilitate new ways of doing and being which are reflective of becoming different as social actor and researcher.

This is research work which enables one to engage with 'the other' by creating newly shared ideas of what it means to interact through difference because:

Reading and interpreting our experiences is what leads to their re-evaluation: and it is because of the ethical dimension encompassing plural values 'subsisting', as Deleuze would say, in experiential milieu in their virtual form that I refer to this specific literacy as ethical. Being ethically literate, in the framework of Deleuze's philosophy, would amount to an inquiry into who we might become (Semetsky, 2012: 50).

Ethics, as they pertain to culture and identity are not merely concerned with how the research is conducted, they are also profoundly immersed in complex questions of who is involved and how the relationships with those involved are planned and worked out in day-to-day and moment-to-moment interactions. Encounters are intricately woven with meanings which are subject to interrogation and which are rich with capacities 'to affect and to be affected' (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987: xvi). For this to happen, there is a necessity to come to the research site with creative and innovative methods for collaborative research based on sound ethical principles (Beddoes et al, 2010: 21).

3.3.1 Ethical positioning of self as researcher

As researcher, I need to be aware of the potential effects which affective dimensions may have on myself and others. For example, identity exploration may bring to the fore feelings of inadequacy in relation to others, or it may reveal prior trauma in the life of the child as well as the researcher. Ethical development is concerned with the care of self as well as care of other and through the interactive, iterative development of self with other and through encounters with the 'other' new ethical knowledge is created (Ball, 2013). This extends Noddings' (1984, 1993) concern for an ethics of care through mutual empathy.

My growing ethical awareness profoundly affected my ways of thinking and doing and led to the adoption of a cyclical approach towards the research involving reflection, action, reflection and engagement with others. The notion of protection was primarily oriented towards those who had least power; the child research participants. It incorporated principles advocated by Burgess (1989) and Alderson (2004) such as the necessity to consistently cross check the extent to which participants are aware of their engagement in the research and their understanding of their contributions made towards the growing corpus and interpretation of data. It was also consciously immersed with the role of the teacher and school. Ultimately, ethics for this research were concerned with a capacity to be open-minded and to learn from particularities which daily ethical dilemmas brought into relief and which could only be worked through by informed judgement and further professional conversations. The ethical approach was at once systematic, dynamic and responsive and was informed by Simmons and Usher's notion that ethical questions would arise in localised, context specific and non pre-determinable situations (2000: 2).

Given the need for an empathetic and personable yet critical capacity to engage with informants, I recognised that my effacement to the point of invisibility was neither attainable nor desirable. Nevertheless, as my judgements were informed by my cultural and values based interpretations, I interrogated whether and to what extent other interpretations might be feasible and while positing declarations, I

could only do so to the extent that they were applicable from my experiences and in light of my informed judgements. I recognised the necessity to conduct research which was not necessary values free, but which was open to interpretation, interrogation and redefinition (Figueroa, 2000: 86). During the early stages of the design phase, I questioned my own socio-cultural, privileged and gendered capacity to reflect the views of those who were vulnerable and identified as 'other'. I drew on experiences of researchers in the field who had also interrogated their positioning and how having different cultural experience might inform the research (Troyna and Carrington, 1993; Haw, 1996; Figueroa, 2000; Maniam et al, 2004). Additionally, I learned from the particular ethical considerations which pertained from conducting research with children.

3.3.2 Ethical considerations while working with children

The notion that there are differences between ethical research conducted with children and adults is at once accepted and problematised within the literature (Christensen, 2004; Harcourt and Sargeant, 2011; Hill, 2005). It has been argued that children's particular 'vulnerability' within research contexts derives from their lack of prior insight into the conventions of social research, the imbalance in accessibility to social capital and because of 'normative beliefs about their capacities' (Freeman and Mathison, 2009: 28). Hill argues that the main relevant differences 'are with respect to ability and power' (2005: 63). For example, schools as research settings confer high social status on adults and impose certain understandings of behaviour and power positioning which must be taken into consideration during the research design and analysis (Christensen, 2004; Valentine, 1999). Such power differentials may be further compounded in identities based research with children, especially in cases where a researcher from a dominant cultural, linguistic or racial background is conducting research with minoritized children (Connolly, 2008).

However, viewing the concept of power solely as a source of oppression may also prove delimiting because power flows can be channelled constructively they, 'may also be viewed as a productive enabling force...(which is) full of promise

(Gallagher, 2008: 25). There are a variety of ways in which to mitigate some of the problematic attributes of power relations to enhance ethical practices in school based research, including promoting meta-cognition of the significance of space (Sikes, 2006). The research within the two schools took particular cognisance of the physical surroundings of the research interviewing sites. I was conscious of how the choices and positioning of furniture and seating had potential to imbue unconscious significance in the minds of the pupils with whom I worked. I sat in children's seating and generally held conversations alongside pupil informants to diminish the possibilities of appearing physically overbearing.

In addition to acting within a space, researchers also perform within a role and while working with children this role needs to be unambiguously defined especially in educational contexts (Harcourt and Sargeant, 2011: 31). During the research, there were times when the 'researcher qua researcher' and 'researcher as adult educator' role boundaries were compromised and where classroom teachers conferred upon me the status of collegial adult, pedagogue or assistant. While the literature recognises that interpersonal negotiations are pivotal to an understanding of power imbalances while working with children (Buchbinder et al, 2006: 53) there is little research which explores this concept as it pertains to the ways in which adults iteratively seek to negotiate interpersonal positionings and to demark themselves as 'other than child' through researcher and teacher bonding interactions. At times, I felt compromised while adopting the mantle of collaborative teacher, especially so whilst sharing in the winks and nods exchanged between researcher and teacher when pupils may have provided 'humorous' responses to classroom based questions. In hindsight, a more astute reflexive awareness of the interplay between power, space and role positioning with children, and with other adults, should have provided a more salutary insight into the testing of established boundaries and the implications such shifting of relationships may have on the imperative to maintain trust as the basis for conducting ethical research. These ethical insights, attest to 'the unpredictability factor of working with children, and the ethical dilemmas that may be faced often at the most unexpected times' (Greig et al, 2013: 246).

In regards to differentials of capabilities, much of the literature concerned with researching children's experiences highlights the contested concept of informed consent (Bourke and Loveridge, 2014; Crow et al, 2006; Gallagher et al, 2010). The contested nature of 'consent' and its culturally constructed genesis within the parameters of 'white, adult, middle class, Western masculine notion of contractuality and law' (Gallagher, 2008: 17), requires researchers to acknowledge that the concept will most likely be alien to children. Consequentially, there should be significant and persistent scope for interrogating the concept of consent, not as a once off but as a potentially emancipatory option which is consistently available, one which is openly discussed in relation to peer and adult power relations. During interviews with pupils, I consistently cross-checked with the pupils as to whether my interpretation their dialogue best reflected shared meanings they wished to impart. This was done in a context where particular care was taken while working with pupils whom I perceived to be 'more vulnerable'. Because Darius, Tanvi and Wojciech were identified as 'having SEN', or because they manifested individual sensitivities during social interactions (see pupil details Appendix 10), I sought to maintain an acute awareness of their affective well-being and ensured they had a significant level of control during the interviewing process being able to stop the conversations at any time they wished. While being sensitive to possible vulnerabilities, the research also sought to facilitate pupil engagement as much as possible. All of the pupils exhibited an enthusiasm towards the research process and shared a strong willingness to share their stories and were keen to take the time out of class to do so. They felt disappointed whenever dates for visits to the schools were changed and were genuinely eager to participate. Therefore there is a sound ethical argument to be made for keeping to agreed schedules and enabling pupil voices to be articulated as frequently as possible.

Concomitant with consent, a core ethical principal in carrying out the research was the necessity to promote the emotional well being of informants. As identified by Walsh (2005: 69), while working with children, 'sensitive research can involve a measure of risk to participants which renders problematic the collection, holding and/or dissemination of research data'. However, this ethical awareness did not

necessary entail eschewing discussions which had the potential to become emotionally challenging. For example, children were encouraged to reflect and verbalise their feelings about their positioning within 'lower' or 'higher' ability groups. As noted by Alderson and Morrow (2011: 28), when research is well considered, it may provide a conduit for children to talk through aspects of their experiences which are troubling. Such talk may provide emotional relief and validate a child's right to be heard. Outcomes from the research can spotlight institutional practices which are inequitable and as such, should be challenged with the potential to benefit other children in the longer term. For example, the conversations with Bryga in regards to home language and those with Tanvi around grouping of pupils were infused with emotional tensions. Researcher awareness about the dangers associated with emotionally charged questions and the eliciting of experiences which are disturbing requires careful contextualised consideration. On the one hand, it is important for researchers to reveal the, perhaps unintended, affective fallout resulting from classroom practices, while simultaneously positioning the well-being of individual children to the fore.

Being purposefully ethical entails a moral imperative to access and articulate the voices of those who may be potentially marginalised in the research process. It seeks to include those who are identified as having disabilities and children who may be recently arrived in country and whose linguistic skills in the dominant language may preclude fluent information sharing. This involves providing access to translators where required (Connolly, 2003b). Additionally, as noted by Sargeant and Harcourt (2012: 28), as a researcher concerned with the interface between culture and power, I have a responsibility 'to be informed about cultural, religious and any other such differences'. However, in ethnographic research being initially informed about children's identities should only form the basis for subsequent interrogation of taken for granted perspectives relating to those identities.

Ultimately in progressing the research, I adopted a rights-based approach which followed Hill's (2005: 80) typology and recognised each child participant's right to:

1. Satisfactory development and well being (welfare rights)

2. Protection from harm (protective right)
3. Access appropriate services (provision right)
4. Express opinions which are acknowledged and reflected in research feedback and findings (choice or participatory right).

While these general standards were helpful in guiding the research and played a part in the implementation of the framework identified in the next section, a more dynamic interpretation of how best to interact ethically with children was informed by peer discussions and augmented by ethics as a form of 'practical wisdom shaped through an ongoing process of critical reflection, rather than (relying upon) universal prescriptions for action' (Gallagher, 2009: 11). These practical ethical considerations also took cognisance of Alderson and Morrow's (2011: 109) concern for the specific recognition of individual informant difference and how this difference might be affected by children's gender, ethnicity, (perceived) (dis)ability, hopes, fears, values, life plans, temperament and their degree of (in)dependence and submissiveness or assertiveness. This ethical research project involving children also sought to interrupt ways in which such attributes may have been essentialised in normative educational processes or within school settings. The following sub section identifies how these principles were realised over the duration of the research.

3.3.3 A framework for enabling ethical action

In addition to foregrounding the role of ethics in the research, it was important to embed active and reflective ethical practices in all phases of the process. A key attribute of this approach involved working closely with research participants in the development and shared understanding of a collaborative framework which guided interactions with research informants.

The framework addressed five key phases of the research project:

1. Negotiating access and engagement with key informants and their guardians through

- Enabling communication with parents and guardians to ensure that they were apprised of the nature of the research and to ensure that any misgivings were addressed. This involved sending English and Polish letters of consent to parents /guardians regarding the nature of the research (Appendix 1) ;
- Developing a process overview and tentative plan so that all key stakeholders had an overview of their roles in the proposed research activities (Appendix 2);
- Identifying the training required of pupil research participants to ensure their full engagement with the research including in the use of photo narrative ethnography.

2. Identifying barriers and establishing boundaries by;

- Sharing the precise nature of the project and identifying my role in this process including being clear about the extent to which I could intervene in existing relationships within the school, this was discussed with pupils in a pre-meeting before the research commenced as I sought their consent and discussed their likely participation (Appendix 3);
- Issues regarding confidentiality consent and their implications were also discussed with adult informants prior to engagement in the research (Appendix 4);
- Identifying specific timeframes for conducting of the research so that realistic expectations might be developed regarding the nature of my professional relationship with the learners;
- Ensuring that clarification could be sought at any time during the research project so that the participants gained an ever increasing capacity to interrogate their own role and contributions to the research.

3. Strengthening ethical approaches during the planning and design phase by;

- Providing opportunities for professional conversations to shape the direction of the programme through collegial discussions and through the presentation of papers as the research progressed;
- Exploring on the nature of learner engagement particularly during the pilot phase of the research and ensuring that the approaches adopted were appropriate for pupils as collaborative researchers.

4. Creating an effective research environment by:

- Operating on principles of openness, empathy and fairness. These are problematic principles because they may be interpreted differently according to the cultural and professional values of the individual. I enriched my individual interpretations of these principles in discussions with pupils, peers and through a duty of consistently interrogating the appropriateness of my own knowledge in the field;
- Encouraging respect for the pupils' voices by providing individual and group briefing and debriefing sessions.

5. Promoting ethical analysis and reflection upon findings by;

- Maintaining a respect for established research conventions and adopting a suitably circumspect positioning in relation to the findings;
- Involving pupils in discussions about the nature of the research findings and cross referencing their perspectives with other pupils and with the views of others;
- Consistently cross checking my interpretations and experiences with peers through presentations, seminars and the writing of professional papers;
- Being aware of my role, and the values-informed positioning which I may have adopted as researcher required explicit identification and interrogation especially when faced with making judgments about how data might be analysed and interpreted.

The ethical dimensions to the research were based on a critical questioning and reflective hermeneutics (Davidson and Michel, 2011; Roberge, 2011; Van Dijk, 2011) which facilitated practices of deeper understandings that both questioned and arrived at fleeting notions of truth which could be shared and interrogated with others.

3.4 UNDERSTANDING AND SHARING NOTIONS OF TRUTHFULNESS

The research sought to interrogate data and extrapolate learning and new knowledge based on a carefully crafted understanding of experience and how this differed according to differing social, cultural and temporal positionings. It is important to stress that this approach was in no way at odds with a concern for conducting empirical research. Observation of experience and its interrogation to reveal meaning is at the heart of the empirical exercise, indeed as identified by Barnhart and Steinmetz (1999: 430), the etymology of the word 'empiric' reveals that it is primarily concerned with 'emperia' or experience. Therefore, an over-concern with shoehorning concepts of 'validity' and 'reliability' into the research could have proven as a distraction. Cognisant of this, I incorporated the suggestions put forward by Howe (2005: 123) on the necessity for ethnographic research to reconsider the applicability of socially constructed concepts such as validity, reliability, and generalisability, which serve a specific research purpose in the positivist tradition and to develop more appropriate ethnographic research constructs.

The concept of generalisability of the findings was reinterpreted to consider the extent to which the study realises plausible explanations for how individuals and groups act, or what they value and believe, at a particular time, this is what Howe (2005) refers to as perspicacity. The notion of validity, for example, might be reconceptualised to reflect a concern for veracity, that is, the power of perceiving and conveying an individual or shared perspective of truth which is expressed as a result of experience. The research itself remains 'valid' because the validity is

inextricably bound up with an interpretation and understanding of how social actors behave in a social world - and all educational worlds are inevitably social (Thomas and James, 2006: 779).

A diversity of strategies were used for realising high levels of veracity, integrity (honesty) and perspicacity in the research, these included suggestions made by Carlson (2010: 1104) for the rigorous maintenance of audit trails, a consistent capacity for reflexivity - the interrogation of self in research, thick and rich description, triangulation and member checking. The latter, which is described as, 'a way of finding out whether the data analysis is congruent with the participants' experiences' (Curtin and Fossey, 2007: 92), was particularly important because I viewed my actions and thoughts as contributing to the research, the 'I' of researcher was also checked by peers during professional conversations and during conferences when I presented my interpretations of how the research might be developed and discussed the tentative findings as the research progressed.

3.5 CASE STUDY

3.5.1 Defining the nature of case studies

The problematic nature of defining a case and its associated methodological study has been noted in recent literature (Gerring, 2004; Stake, 2000; 2006; Van Wynsberghe and Khan, 2007). Gerring (2004: 341) argues that it is, 'a particular way of *defining* cases, not a way of analysing cases or a way of modelling causal relations', this suggests that the methodology does not predefine particular approaches, methods or proposed systems for data analyses, rather it sets out the boundaries of the intended temporal, spatial and ideational foci for research. Unresolved interpretations of the case study methodology facilitate space for innovation as reflected in the following definition which presents it as, 'a transparadigmatic and transdisciplinary heuristic that involves the careful delineation of the phenomena for which evidence is being collected' (Van Wynsberghe and Khan, 2007: 2). The dynamic nature of case study processes

and the distinctions between case study and the specificity of case were attributes of the approach which were outlined by Kemmis (1980). Thus, the specificities associated with each case study can only be articulated and refined according to individual paradigmatic methodological approaches and by considering the contexts of the case under study.

3.5.2 Strengths and weaknesses of the approach

When effectively employed, case studies provide insights into what life is like in particular situations and open avenues for analyses through informed interpretation. They enable others to glimpse the, 'close up reality and "thick description" of participants' lived experiences of, thoughts about and feelings for, a situation. [...] This is not to say that case studies are unsystematic or merely illustrative' (Cohen et al, 2007: 182). The latter point is critical in relation to the current research, what matters are the relationships and interactions occurring between and among pupils and teachers, but also what these interactions hint at, their capacities to reveal wider social contexts and their realities. In order to arrive at a clear understanding of the case study for my own research, I drew upon Bassey's (1999: 23) conceptualisation of case study as providing a mechanism allowing social science researchers to identify overarching tendencies within the social edifice while recognising that there are a diversity of perspectives, discrepancies and, at times, conflicts in the way that relationships are realised.

Critiques of the case study approach were voiced primarily from those with a positivist research tradition and emanated primarily in the 1970's from the Columbia University. They argued that methodologies associated with the approach were problematic because of the inalienable proximity of the researcher to the researched. It is argued that this leads to selectiveness in the collection and subsequent contamination of data, bias and subjectivity in the interpretation of that data, and ultimately limitations in how the reliability of the findings might be tested (Tellis, 1997). However, this argument seeks to legitimise an erroneous claim that positivist forms of data collection and interpretation are somehow more real, or that a positivist perspective provides an unbiased insight into the realities of existence.

These views also emanate from scholarly traditions which are ipso facto socially and ideologically positioned. Nevertheless, the critiques highlight the necessity for rigour and bring to the fore the necessity to ensure that effective measures are in place which test the strength of arguments and address methods to gather data at all three levels of research engagement, namely:

1. Macro interpretations of the effects which national and regional educational policies have on issues of identity,
2. Meso engagements which interrogate the nature of relationships of differing communities within schools and,
3. Micro relationships which focus on the interactions and dialogues between individuals.

3.5.3 Defining and refining research context and participants (sampling)

Defining the locale

The strength of the case study approach lies in its reliance on an articulation of bounded attributes associated with the research (Bassey, 2003; Ragin, 1992; Stake, 2003). Informed by research strategies suggested by Silverman (2005), an initial step in defining the nature of the case study involved setting realistic and attainable research parameters to facilitate the process. In this case, the research focused on the school-based constructions of identity for immigrant children within a relatively rural setting in the West Midlands. My guiding criteria in determining the research locale was to identify a town large enough to host three schools representative of a cross section of funding and managerial traditions; namely those of voluntary aided, community and academy status. Following a review of the literature (Glaser and Strauss, 1967; Denzin and Lincoln, 2000, Patton 2002), I purposefully identified a sample of schools each of which was attended by children for whom English was an additional language. Despite gaining permission to

engage with all three schools, following an initial involvement over a two months period, access to the academy proved problematic. Ultimately, the study was confined to two schools; a Roman Catholic and a community primary school. Research was conducted between August 2012 and May of 2013.

As one of the research questions was concerned with the ways in which external factors influenced school based identities, I restricted the sample to Year 6 pupils in an expectation that such factors would be most discernible during preparation for the high stakes SATS examinations.

Identifying the participants

Following discussions with gatekeepers in each of the schools, I came to a greater realisation that, 'sampling is recursive and ad hoc rather than fixed at the outset; it changes and develops over time' (Cohen et al, 2007: 175). I realised that it was not in the interests of the schools concerned, or in my own, to predetermine the number of children who should be involved, or to make selections according to where the children originated or in terms of balanced gender representations. The emergent unpredictability and lack of research control and power to delimit the focus in student numbers was unsettling. However, I was reassured that the application of rationalist study sampling strategies did not sit well with critical post-structuralist research and that the notion of 'sampling' with its positivistic connotations was going to be 'troubling' (Taylor, 2009).

According to the characteristics of each participating school, decisions regarding the inclusion of research participants were thus contextually and iteratively determined (Flick, 2009:115). While initially I had wished to include all of the pupils in Year 6 in the participating schools and to incorporate the views of their parents, I realised that resource constraints of time and the specificities of the research project militated against the inclusion of such a wide-ranging research constituency. Eventually I engaged only with pupils for whom English was an additional language and the school staff. Individual school cultures and locations appealed to

differing parental cohorts and, for this reason, pupils' demographic profiles varied considerably within the participant schools.

In the single form entry Roman Catholic school, there was an unusually high proportion of pupils of Kerala-Indian heritage, there was also a small number of Polish children in the Year 6 class. In this school, I focused upon 9 children in total; one boy and one girl of Polish heritage; two girls and five boys of Indian heritage. In the three form entry community school, one boy from one of the forms did not give permission to be included in the research. I worked with the remainder of the children identified as having English as an additional language in the other two forms of Year six. This constituted a total of 5 children; one Latvian girl, three Polish girls and one Lithuanian boy. In total, 14 children participated in the research.

Mindful of the research questions to be addressed, primarily the role of teachers and head teachers in contributing to school culture(s) (see questions 2 and 3 page 57), I wished to ascertain the views of key informants who were in positions of leadership and authority and whose actions and values had the potential to influence the evolving cultures within the schools. I was also mindful that particular actors in the schools may influence individual subjectivities; this was a focus of question 3 (see page 57). As a result, in each setting I purposefully chose to interview four key stakeholders including the head teacher, the classroom teachers and teaching assistants with responsibility for the participant classes and the special educational needs coordinator (SENCo) as she is usually charged with responsibility for children for whom English is an additional language. The desire to glean SENCo views also emerged from the fact that one male participant in each of the settings was identified as having special educational needs.

3.6 CRITICAL ETHNOGRAPHY

In refining the nature of the case for research, I explored synergies among a diversity of methodologies so they were cohesively brought together, and in so

doing, an innovative ethnographic approach evolved. An ethnographic dimension to the research is:

...derived from an awareness and research orientation towards actively attending to the activities, language, meanings and perspectives of members in the setting. Immersion, flexibility and openness to the relevant communication and symbolic representations that are congruent with the time place and manner of the subject matter (Altheide et al, 2008: 127).

The approach took account of recent developments in post-structural theory, as expressed for example in the work of Howard (2008) and Youdell (2003), who recognised that critical ethnographies provided the requisite flexibility to respond to unique settings while also taking into consideration the wider implications of individual settings.

The focus for critical ethnographies is commonly orientated towards generating a greater understanding of culture, significantly data is used to reflect potential 'microcosms of wider structural processes' (Skeggs, 1995: 192) which provide greater clarity regarding the experiences of 'the other' within educational and other contexts. However, unlike Skeggs' concern with structural manifestations reflected in the particular, I aimed to bring to the surface trends, tendencies and possible systems which were symptomatic of pupil's educational experiences.

3.7 METHODS OF DATA COLLECTION AND ANALYSIS

The process of identifying and applying suitable research methods drew on the belief expressed by Cohen et al (2007: 315) that a discussion of methods can also include a rationale for, and an analysis of, the ways in which these tools are applied and their ultimate effectiveness in garnering requisite data. The methods used in the research included:

- The critical analysis of documentation,
- Semi-structured interviews with key stakeholders,
- Photo-voice,

- Observation.

3.7.1 Piloting the research

As a means of strengthening the process of research, I conducted a period of pilot research in a West Midlands primary school. The piloting took place over a six week period in March and April of 2011. One cross-cutting theme to emerge from the process informed my ethical, agentive identity as researcher. I became acutely aware of my positioning as adult and researcher and the impact that this had on children's interactions with one another. Learning from the pilot phase is further incorporated into a reflection on each of the methods addressed below.

3.7.2 Document analysis

In addition to the 'of the moment' insights which person-to-person interviews and observations reveal, there is also a documentary representation of reality arrived at through the purposeful investigation of documentary data (Atkinson and Coffey, 1995). A review of documentation was used to address Question 1 (page 57) which was concerned with the influence of the external environment, and Question 2 (page 57) which addressed influences of school cultures and values. The questions benefited from an interrogation of the ways in which organisational authors sought to project a desired public identity and how this desired portrayal was also informed by external publically available documentation.

During the piloting phase some tensions were revealed between the desired documentary representation of the pilot school and the ways in which policies were enacted. For this reason, I paid closer attention to a more critical interpretation of documentary analysis. In this context, my role involved getting between the lines, taking literal meaning from what printed documentation may have had to offer as well as comparing and contrasting the public image with what actually happened on the ground; that is, investigating how things were done (McCulloch, 2004: 1). Thus, document analysis brought to the fore subliminal and conflicting values by

interrogating the inter-textual tensions between documentation and pupil experience, elucidating the complex nature of social representation.

What constitutes a document?

The concept that documentation should be delimited to the printed word is contested because organisations increasingly rely on multi-semiotic strategies for conveying meaning (Fariclough, 1995). In the research the interpretation of how schools are read through document analysis extended beyond the realms of traditional perceptions of what a document constitutes, consequentially 'a document may be defined as any symbolic representation that can be recorded and retrieved for description and analysis' (Altheide et al, 2008: 127). While this extends the conceptual boundaries of documentation, an incorporation of factors such as space and time and how these interface with differing printed or non-printed projections of school added rigour to the ways in which data might be gathered and analysed. Together the range of texts, manifested in the content and situated contexts of posters for example, or as expressed in the physical positioning of school buildings, produced what has been referred to as processes exemplifying 'geographies of knowledge' (Livingstone, 2005; Prior, 2008).

Additionally, schools may be scripted in a variety of ways by external 'agentive documents' which may use normative conventions of what it means to be a 'good' school influencing the nature of school policies and practices (Macdonald, 2008; Maguire et al, 2011). For example, the DfE website on school performance enables web users to, 'Find schools in England and view school performance, characteristics and spend per pupil data', (2012). Such public visibility and potential scrutiny may in turn impact upon schools' self-authorship and desired representation through text. It is the inter-textual, cross-temporal analyses and interplay between internal and external documents where greater understandings of becomings are revealed and this is where I positioned the analysis of data.

Analysis of documentary data

Document analysis involved a systematic and layered interpretation of how each school site:

- was perceived and portrayed externally in official documentation,
- presented itself to a public audience through websites and the availability of policy documents,
- created an internal culture through the ways in which space was used to convey messages,
- represented the student experience in ideographic and printed formats visibly throughout the school.

Findings from the analysis assisted in developing insights into how documentary conversations informed a developing narrative around how to ‘be’ and ‘do’ good school (Maguire et al, 2012). As with the analyses applied to interpret data gathered using other research methods, I adopted an interrogative narrative strategy that sought to explore and explicate connections between actors and actions rather than focusing upon the development of reductive categorizations (Earthy and Cronin, 2008; Holstein and Gubrium, 2008; Maxwell and Miller, 2008).

3.7.3 Interview

Interviews contributed to the building of a narrative which reflected individual and group accounts of their experiences, they reflected a story teller’s capacity to creatively interpret their own sense of self and action within a localised context (Silverman, 2005: 113). They were designed to provide information in response to Questions two, three and four (pages 57).

The interviews enabled participants to discuss their interpretations of the world in which they lived, and to express how they experienced situations from their own perspectives (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2007: 267). Interviews with teachers and pupils provided evidence of ‘true to self’ reports which may have reflected

aspects of shared external consciousness and experience as well as providing insights into how actors were subjectivised in particular contexts. The interviews were held at differing points in time and used both formal face-to-face approaches as well as informal interviewing thus helping to elucidate the localized or situated character of interactional talk (Silverman, 2005: 113). I developed a series of interview schedules to guide semi-structured interviews with adult informants which explored how their perceptions of the role of the school interfaced with their engagement with the other. Experiences during the piloting and early research led to the development of distinct iterative documents (4 distinct documents evolved; the first and finalised versions of these are featured as Appendix 5). These were designed to address the research questions as well as to further interrogate the ways in which participants interpreted their values and actions in light of wider political and social constraints. I also developed an interview schedule for school leaders (Appendix 6). Alterations in the differing iterations of the schedules resulted from piloting and early research experiences of using the tools.

I had attempted to use an interview schedule to guide semi-structured interviews with pupils during the pilot phase but learned that the formulaic nature of the process was constraining for respondents. As a result, I opted to open the discussions and to use photos to prompt a more informal interview process where ownership and identification of topics were determined by the children but which enabled me to further explore aspects of the conversation pertinent to the research questions. I followed this up by having a group interview with the pupils where we discussed key themes which had emerged from their initial individual face to face discussions (Appendix 7).

To assist with the interpretation of the digitally recorded voice data, I drew on Foucauldian Discourse Analysis realising its capacity to uncover how discourses shape participation 'in social life because they furnish subject positions, roles or parts with expectations about the behaviour of incumbents' (Hutchby and Wooffitt, 2008: 449). I was mindful that as learned during the pilot phase, and as reflected in research, the reality experienced by children and young people in educational

settings was not fully accessible through the use of adult initiated interviewing which is informed by an adult's lived experiences (Kakos, 2007; Lloyd-Smith and Tarr, 2000). However, through the application of narrative approaches I was enabled to draw together strands of divergent stories to illuminate aspects of the learning experience for children and adults within the researched schools and to situate these in tension with systematic delineations of individual potentials and subjectivities (Hollway and Jefferson, 2000).

While analysing the meaning of the dialogic texts, I became aware of the wider significance in which they occurred. This was particularly the case when talking with pupils and I used CRT to develop dramatic (re)interpretations of what I felt had occurred; recognising that space, time and affective dimensions had influenced participants' contributions and that these were critical components of the truncated, truthful or compliant subjectivised stories which were shared. To build on the veracity of voice (Youdell, 2012), I used two distinct approaches. Firstly, emergent samples of narrative work were shared and critiqued by colleagues at seminars and conferences, and secondly I complemented the interview method with an application of photo ethnography to better engage the pupils in both schools.

Interviewing and the use of pupil photo voice

There is growing recognition that children should have a say in how they are portrayed in research projects. There is also a strong moral rationale for reflecting the authenticity of their voices in research processes and outcomes (Cremin et al, 2011; Flutter and Rudduck, 2004; MacBeath et al, 2003; Thompson and Gunter 2008). In opting to use photo voice, I expected that by inviting students to take photographs of their educational lives, through conscious and unconscious processes of selection, this would enhance their active role in the research project and would assist in providing data to address areas of research as identified in questions one through to four (see page 57).

The application of photo ethnography in the seminal work of Wang and Burris' (1997) participatory health research revealed how children became involved in identifying and discussing issues that concerned them and their communities. Photo voice appeared to be a meaningful and effective method for enabling younger research participants to generate and reflect upon data. Subsequently, the creative incorporation of photo-voice has been further refined (Pink 2007, Pink et al 2004) and the method now has a growing reputation within the field of qualitative educational research (Allen, 2011; Burke and Grosvenor, 2004; Burke, 2008; Cremin et al, 2011; Johnson, 2008; Thompson, 2008).

Disposable cameras were given to all 14 pupils who participated in the research. I provided workshops to illustrate how the cameras might be used, this process itself proved engaging as the pupils were unfamiliar with non-digital cameras. Pupils were asked to record pictorially what they liked and disliked about the school and also to capture aspects of home life which were not prevalent in the school setting. The use of photo voice opened avenues for participation and enfranchisement for cohorts of students whose views may traditionally have been side-lined and, as identified in the literature, the method was particularly suited to investigating cultural experiences and revealing how children's identities are formed (Allen, 2011; Cremin et al, 2011; Thompson, 2008: 11).

However, the approach was not unproblematic and challenges arose at all stages of the research. My experiences during the pilot phase did not prepare me for the complexity I encountered during the research phase. The early use of the method involved pupils who were fluent English language speakers and who had been empowered to be expressive and confident. Some of the pupils included in the research were less familiar with the conventions of camera use and how cameras could provide expression to personal or group views. This was especially so for two boys where were identified as having special educational needs. I feel that there were aspects of the research where the voice of the most disenfranchised may not have been as effectively articulated as I would have liked.

Additionally, I uncovered challenges associated with the textual reading of photographic data which resonated with experiences of other researchers (Allen, 2011; Ball and Smith, 1992; Collier, 1967; Cremin et al, 2011; Croghan et al, 2008; Knowles and Sweetman, 2004; Pain, 2012; Pink, 2004, 2007; Piper and Frankham, 2007; Prosser, and Schwartz, 2006). Reflecting on learning from the use of photo research, Cremin et al (2011: 591) shared that; 'the process of analysis of visual data was the most problematic element of the photo ethnographic research from the point of view of pupil voice'. For researchers, a significant area of concern appears to be in realising what knowledge might be gleaned from the meaning of particular images (Allen, 2011; Piper and Frankham, 2007; Thomson, 2008). I sought to overcome aspects of this challenge by using photos more as a prompt to generate shared discussions rather than investigating the meaning assigned to particular images. I hoped that photo-elicitation would open up students' agendas and ways of seeing their own social worlds (Bolton et al. 2001; Pain, 2012). Their images could lead me where I did not expect and, in this way, configure a fertile ground for further explorations and inquiries.

Analysis of pupils' photo voice data

Through the act of taking photos and the interpretative engagement of talking about them, opportunities were expanded for research participation and interpretation so that the traditional relationships which have existed between interviewees and research subjects were extended. However, photo elicitation was also imbued with its own inherent methodological conundrums. My decision to guide discussions around the key questions of my research meant that resulting conversations were resonant with power which at times delimited ways in which the interests of children were reflected. However, as recognised by Cremin et al (2011: 591), 'there is an important distinction to be made between misrepresenting the voices of young people and engaging in a process of critical analysis as adult researchers to inform key research questions'. I was aware of the tensions and ethical dilemmas which each decision prompted and felt ultimately that, while problematic, using photographs provided richer opportunities to glean insights from

the perspectives of children as social actors while continuously questioning my own suppositions (Piper and Frankham, 2007: 384). The storied accounts from the photographic data augmented my interpretations of observations which I had made within the classroom and in the playground and, more importantly, they challenged my initial analyses of children's lived experiences.

3.7.4 Observations

The use of observational data drew on the strong rationale that it enables ethnographic researchers to gain insights:

about how understandings are formed in instruction, how meanings are negotiated in classrooms, how roles and relationships are developed and maintained over time in schools, and how education policy is formulated and implemented (Beach et al, 2003: 1).

Data garnered from observations were used to provide insights into all of the key questions. At differing times, observations took place which focused upon individual beings, interpersonal dynamics, use of power in the classroom and interpersonal interactions in a diversity of teacher and pupil settings.

During the piloting phase, I critically reflected on differing positionings as researcher. Ultimately, I adopted a diversity of strategies to gather information, including making myself 'invisible' as researcher and taking notes on aspects of; classroom landscapes, pupil positionings, pupil engagement with learning, the nature of learning and teaching and interactions among pupils. Later, teachers asked me to assist in learning activities and aspects of teaching. This changed and challenged my positioning as researcher considerably and at times endangered my relationships with the pupils, but it also enabled me to further interrogate differing insights regarding taken for granted notions of pupil abilities. I will return to the complexities involved in the following chapters. I visited each of the settings

once per week changing the days of my visits to build a more comprehensive picture of learning and teaching throughout the research period.

As mentioned in the previous section, the analysis of the data was best reflected in drawing together differing strands of the methods to create a cohesive, if evolving and incomplete, narrative. The data analysis therefore was concomitant with an approach whereby, 'studies whose data consist of actions, events, and happenings' (Polkinghorne, 1995: 6) are subject to meta-analysis and (re)framed artistically and creatively as stories.

3.7.5 Presentation of data findings and analysis

A review of the literature pertaining to doctoral level research identifies that there are a diversity of ways in which data might be analysed and subsequently presented (Brause, 2012; Lyons & Doueck, 2010; Swetnam, 2004). James and Slater refer to alternative approaches as, 'the variations within the art form that is the thesis' (2014: 8). Identifying the writing work with data as essentially an artistic endeavour highlights significant scope for creative latitude in the resultant structure and presentation.

There are suggestions that one chapter is sufficient to encompass a description of data collection and analysis, and that this chapter should also incorporate a detailed investigation of the findings (Swetnam, 2004). Despite the fact that it is not uncommon for qualitative research to follow an approach that conjoins an analysis of data with its wider implications (Benjamin, 2002; Taylor, 2009), I have chosen to present the findings in two distinct chapters. The format which follows is in keeping with advice provided by Lyons and Doueck, who suggest that in one section research 'results' provide an answer to the question 'what did you find'? While a subsequent section addresses the questions; 'what does this mean'? and, 'why does this matter'? (2010: 167). Such an approach is aligned with guidance from the University of Leicester (2011) which suggests that two chapters might be used. Along with a necessity to 'describe the data clearly' (2011: 77), the initial 'Findings'

chapter should link explicitly to the overall research aims and key questions. It suggests that the subsequent 'Analysis and Discussion' chapter should, inter alia:

- subject the findings to scrutiny in terms of what they might mean;
- compare and contrast findings with views and other research in the extant literature;
- discuss and analyse the theories, ideas, issues and challenges noted earlier in the literature review;

(University of Leicester, 2011: 78).

Thus, in writing up the following two chapters my aim was that in the first instance, the voices and stories of pupils and their schools could emerge without undue hindrance. In Chapter 4 (Findings), I incorporate my own immediate and more considered interpretations of what I had seen, heard, learned and felt while conducting the research. In this way, the chapter reflects a methodology employed by Youdell, whose presentation of data analysis on a school's annual 'Multicultural Day' relied upon:

A series of writings: the typed-up version of the notes I made on the spot, a typing-up that inevitably included tidying-up and elaboration while images, dialogue and feelings were fresh in my mind; (*including*) a further layer of editing (Youdell, 2012: 145-146).

In Chapter 5 (Analysis, Synthesis and Discussion), I aimed to subject my initial interpretations to a wider critical analysis of related research. I wished to move from the particularity of the cases, to an engagement with wider attendant social, political, educational and philosophical considerations. In this way, I sought to enact Bruner's (1960) concept of the spiral curriculum where space for more profound learning is created once a concept is revisited from a diversity of perspectives.

3.8 CONCLUSION

Individual approaches and processes of interpretation varied considerably depending on the methods used to gather the data and that the reading of the data depended upon the weighting which I afforded to the differing accents each of which was reflective of differing perspectives. Throughout the research process, there was a necessity to check my interpretations and emerging constructions with respondents and with peers. Ultimately, there was a realisation that whatever might be produced could only offer a particular interpretation of the realities to which I was exposed and within which I explored, and as such, this interpretation was always going to remain partial. Analysis of each method was exemplified by complexity but also offered insights into the systematic nature of the educational experiences of children from ethnic minorities.

Aspects of the data analysis adhered to conventions of narrative research (Clandinin, and Connelly, 2000; Clandinin and Murphy, 2007; Coulter, 2009; Coulter and Smith, 2009; Eisner, 1981; 1998; Freeman, 2007). In a further analysis of this data, four of the emerging storied accounts were presented as works in progress for formative collegial (re)interpretation at two events in 2013; one at the University of Worcester and one at a conference on identity and subjectivities at Edge Hill University. Feedback scripted by a colleague from one of these sessions is provided as Appendix 8. While the following two chapters provide an interlinked discussion of the findings and their wider implications, the first of these provides an insight into the ways in which I reveal and interpreted the voices, stories, insights and personal experiences associated with the research. The subsequent chapter reengages with emergent themes and interrogates them in light of wider knowledge in the field.

4. Findings

4.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents the findings in seven different sections developed from a narrative analysis of data using contiguity relationships (Maxwell and Miller, 2008: 426) to establish links and shared meanings across all of the data gathered. The chapter commences with a contextual overview of the wider geographical and social environment in which the research was conducted. It then narrows the scope to open up the real and virtual spaces of school. It follows lines of inquiry that explore and conjecture the interplay between organisation of ideas and space and how these contribute to the educational experiences of pupils from minority ethnic and linguistic communities. Thereafter, the role of organisational leadership within the two schools, the personal values of teachers and the wider educational communities are teased out to suggest ways in which learning might be better conceptualised for the pupils concerned, particularly those who come from disenfranchised cohorts. Pupils actively contributed to the formation of multiple, conflicting, congruent and complex identities and this facet of the research is reviewed through the lens of intersectionalities of gender, ethnicity, language, (dis)ability and nationality. To protect the identity of all research participants and locales, personal and place names have been anonymised, a list of participants and their particulars appears in Appendix 10.

4.2 CONTEXTUAL BACKGROUND AND EXTERNAL INFLUENCES

4.2.1 Engaging with the extra-mural place and values

The research took place in two primary schools in Clareborne, a large rural town in the West Midlands. Figures for the local authority website indicate that between the years 2001 and 2009, the census returns record a growth from 3% to 6% in the number of residents who are identified as belonging to a 'black or minority ethnic' (BME) community. While this is an increase based on previous census returns, the

percentages remain relatively small in comparison to an overall national average of 17.2% and one for the West Midlands of 17.6%. The largest proportion of those identified as coming from a BME are classified as 'white – other than British or Irish', and with the assistance of other supporting data available from schools, the evidence appears to suggest that the majority of these immigrants have come from Poland and other Eastern European countries. Two thirds of the BME population are identified as being below 45 years of age or younger, perhaps indicating that they have emigrated in order to seek work in the county (Brookshire Local Authority , 2013).

The positioning of the research in a relatively rural town was significant (Question 1: 57). Two teachers in Hopton Primary explicitly addressed how the external to school space and its attendant social environment impacted upon the possibilities of being. One teacher expressed a concern about the impact of some majority community parental views on the values and behaviours of pupils within the school. For example, some parents had complained about the presence of Polish pupils and teachers in the school. The teacher explained the nature of ambient racism and its impact within the school:

I come from here, but it is a very small minded county and I think they find it very hard to accept that Polish and Portuguese are our biggest intake in population, they don't like the 'invasion' (*here she signals inverted commas*) of other people. For some reason, that small-minded attitude here is, 'they are taking our houses, taking our jobs, our land and they're ...', so yeah, it kind of has an impact. We have started on that build-up of trying to overcome those issues, but there is a long way to go (Mrs. Neary, Interview 14th March 2013).

Ms Bronowski has QTS and for the duration of the research acted as a language specialist TA, she is from Poland and had been teaching at Hopton Primary for three years. Within that time, she noticed that people's social attitudes have changed in the locality this has influenced her own sense of belonging within the community. Ms Bronowski spoke about how some of the name place signs for the

town had been defaced so that they now read, 'welcome to Poland' instead of 'welcome to Clareborne'. Further, there was a sense that the external space had become somewhat hostile to foreigners:

I think myself and most of my friends we just now feel really conscious and quite careful really about what we say and something that hasn't happened before like excusing ourselves that we are here. Previously, I really didn't have to explain, I mean like saying, 'oh I am sorry I am here, sorry that I live here,' I didn't have to do it before, whereas now there is that pressure on you to explain yourself and explain what really you bring here to this place that can explain whether you should be here or not. And even though no one ever says that to me, you feel urged to somehow excuse yourself for your very existence (Mrs Bronowski, interview, 20th November, 2012).

The hostility towards outsiders by some sections of society and its impact on sense of self was brought home to me one morning as I awaited entry into the school outside the gates. A (grand)parent had come to collect a child who was ill, but the receptionist was not at the desk. Her male partner waited in the car by the gates and became increasingly agitated, 'bloody shits', he shouted from the open window, 'they're useless, along with politicians and foreigners, hang them all, I serve this country only to come back and be treated like this, the shits'. I was immediately very aware of my own foreignness, my accent and emotive response to the anger of the individual reflected in a sense of abject powerlessness and voicelessness, not being able to speak in case my Irishness would further exacerbate the anger of one who was clearly agitated (field notes, Hopton Primary school, 12th December , 2012). The way the external to school policies and social interactions unfold has significance for teachers and pupils from minority ethnic communities as related by Ms. Bronowski:

The very word multiculturalism... it doesn't really exist really anymore. I don't know, it is just more about feelings, just sensing things rather than really experiencing them but, I feel like ... we were more welcome here those six, seven years ago than we are now as Eastern European workers.

I think the whole society, it has been described as broken, but I think also putting people against each other and because of the difficult financially and the political climate, I think there are more things being allowed to be said, and more of an overall feeling that society has become more xenophobic (interview, Ms Bronowski, 20th November 2012).

However, there were no uniform or structural shared experiences of how it felt or what it meant to be 'the outsider' or 'other'. My personal political and emotive positioning as interpreter of positionings was foregrounded following from the interview with Mrs Walicki in St Anthony's. Once the ritual of the interview was finished, we were rejoining the rest of the school, when Mrs Walicki shared with me, 'well you know, this is **SO** much better than Poland ever could be, and in reality I know what **you** think is that the grass is always greener on the other side', she challenges my critical interpretation of how things are and equates the research with trouble making, to extent I agree, the research is about troubling what exists, always in a desire to disrupt the taken for granted, to question cosy understandings of what it means to be subjectivised foreign pupil in a relatively rural setting (field notes, St Anthony's, 5th March, 2013) .

4.2.2 Hopton Primary: A reading of school data and documents

Hopton Community Primary school was a three form entry, situated on the outskirts of Clareborne where there was a discernible mix of socio-economic housing. A prospectus available on the school's website provided an insight into how the school would have liked to appear to parents of prospective future pupils. At the outset, the document addresses pupil intake;

We draw children from a large area which includes several developments of privately-owned homes; an estate of council owned maisonettes and flats; and from the farthest reaches of the county (Hopton Primary, 2013).

A geographic profile is then presented, 'the school site is large and appealing, with copious playing fields, a managed conservation area, a vegetable garden, a large hard play area and landscaped quiet areas' (Hopton Primary, 2013). The harmonious rendering of space alluding to a sense of congruence with the wider environment may be somewhat at odds with my observations of the demarked school boundaries which were formed by high steel fencing encasing the school terrain. An interpretation of this enclosed school space is shared in the prospectus:

The security of children, staff and belongings in school is of great importance to all. Gates are locked once children are in the school buildings and are not opened until the end of the school day. All external doors are either controlled by electronic key fobs are not accessible from outside. All internal doors are free from control, allowing children ease of access inside the school (Hopton Primary, 2013).

My field notes identify that the main access to the school site is gained through an intercom controlled steel gateway enabling pedestrian and vehicle entry to a pathway leading to the main reception. Once through the reception, on the left a large notice board displays the 'Virtue of the month', or hosts greetings and expressions in the 'Language of the Month'. Apart from brief written overviews of school governor profiles in the vestibule, this is the first inside-of-school literal exemplification of how school culture is portrayed; it is a statement of 'who we are' as school and 'what we perceive as important'.

To the right of the main entrance are the offices of the key leadership team; the deputy head teacher and the head teacher. Leading from the main corridor to the left from reception, the central hall is located; it has a stage and a separate adjoining dining space. Further along a corridor to the right are the school library and several small meeting rooms which serve as spaces to conference with parents. Adjacent to these are offices for support personnel including the SENCO and EAL coordinator, I interviewed pupils and staff in one of these quiet rooms. Spanning out from the reception area is the main single storied block of 19 classrooms which include a nurture room for Key Stage 1 pupils.

Schools increasingly operate in contexts where data is provided in the public domain and presented as the only valuable representation of the educational topography. This data provides, at best, a contextual insight which is integrated more substantively with deeper interpretations provided later in this chapter of how the 'doing' of school is actualised (Maguire et al, 2011). This data was examined to provide insights into the ways in which external factors influence how schools go about the practice of education, in this way it addresses the first research question (page 52).

Latest school data for 2012 available on the DfE website indicated that Hopton Community Primary School had a total of 33 full time teachers and 49 teaching assistants. Some 8.5% of pupils were identified as linguistically having, 'English not as first language' (DfE, 2012). The school's Ofsted report identified it as 'satisfactory'. It stated that the proportion of children with eligibility for free school meals was low 'but there is a rising trend'. According to the report, 'there is a growing number of pupils from White Eastern European backgrounds, predominantly Polish, who speak English as an additional language,' but the official document records that few of these pupils are at an early stage of learning English. Some 6% of pupils are identified as having a statement of SEN or being on a school action plus register (Ofsted, 2012).

According to the DfE website (2012), at Hopton Primary the percentage of those attaining Level 4 or above in both English and mathematics is below both the LA and the national average, though this has improved over the past few years. A further analysis of pupil achievement at Levels 3, 4 and 5 is broken down according to 'All pupils' / 'Low attainers' / 'Middle attainers' and 'High attainers'. This bracketing of students into distinct cohorts of 'ability' attainment may have the effect that the school and its teachers create conceptual or even physical boundaries within school spaces demarking and categorising pupils according to perceived levels of performance.

In response to some key questions, Mr Williams the deputy head-teacher, who was responsible for EAL, provided an overview of the school's characteristics. He

indicated that the school had 544 pupils of whom 54 were entitled to FSM. Of all pupils, 106 were identified as being on a register for SA or SA+. Additionally, 5 pupils in the school had a statement of SEN. In total, there were 59 pupils for whom English was an additional language (field notes, Hopton Primary, 12th October 2012).

In Year 6, which was the focus year for the research, there were 7 children for whom English was an additional language, all but one pupil in 6C consented to participation in the research. In total, there were 3 Polish pupils; 2 from Latvia and 1 from Lithuania. The research focused on the experiences of these 6 students, of whom only one was male (see details, Appendix 10). In addition to pupil interviews and observations, I also collected data from interviews with and observations of the 3 year 6 teachers in the two classes. Mrs Carter co-taught in 6B, she was also the Phase 3 leader of Years 4, 5 and 6. Her colleague Mrs Neary also taught in 6B and was the school's SENCO, she time-shared the teaching of 6B. Mrs Harris taught in class 6A. Additionally, I interviewed Ms Louisa Bronowski the TA with QTS who was identified as having practical responsibility for EAL learning and teaching. Finally, I interviewed and observed Ms. Radcliffe, she was a part time TA who taught Spanish. I had many informal conversations with other staff at the school and I also communicated frequently with and interviewed Mr Williams.

In both schools, documents were investigated to reveal how external factors (Question 1: 57) might influence the values and cultural practices of teachers and pupils (Question 2: 57).

Insights from school prospectus and policies Hopton Primary

Hopton's school vision is shared in the prospectus as follows: 'We believe that all children staff and parents should work actively in partnership to enable all children to achieve their full potential in a safe learning environment' and one of the attendant aims is that the school should 'foster a sense of belonging to a community' (Hopton Primary, 2013 b). The nature of that community and the

values to which it adheres are not defined. This sense of ambiguity is not uncommon in schools. References to community which are commonly traded in educational discourses remain problematic. It is possible that forms of community might evolve from a shared ethos which should, as explained on the school's website:

..... be built on a foundation of core values such as honesty, respect, co-operation, happiness, responsibility, tolerance, understanding and peace. These will at times be addressed directly through activities, such as the school assemblies, whilst at others they will permeate the whole curriculum (Hopton Primary, 2013 b).

The prospectus explains that each year level, including Year 6 consists of three classes; each of these classes has children from a range of 'abilities'. Following a brief overview of the curriculum in the key subject areas of English and Mathematics, readers of the prospectus are alerted to the latest Statutory Assessment Test and Task results for children in Year 2 and Year 6, directions for interpreting these are featured at the back of the booklet (Hopton Primary, 2013 a). The positioning of an information piece on SATS, before the rest of the curriculum is explained, is perhaps a reflection that this school is in the business of producing scores, before lesser subjects are acknowledged, there is a necessity to talk and teach to the test. The regimen of national testing is not necessarily then an outcome of learning, but is integral to the curriculum; it defines what is taught and how it is taught and it imposes notions of value to subject content, stratifying and layering its appearance in the geography of knowledge. While topics are identified in each of the curriculum areas, there is no explicit mention of including the languages, countries or cultures of immigrant children attending the school. This does not preclude their existence or otherwise in the taught curriculum, it merely draws attention to their absence in the public face and space of available publicity materials.

The importance of links with the wider community is identified in the school prospectus. It informs readers that, 'Parental support in school is welcomed and

encouraged. We have an EAL Teaching Assistant supporting both the EAL children and their parents' (Hopton Primary, 2013 a), but the meaning of 'EAL', will not necessarily be understood by a wider community; this lack of clarity may have been an oversight, or it may reflect an unwillingness to draw explicit attention to ethnic and linguistic diversity within the school.

School policies

Policies are available on the school website, including the Behavioural Policy which stated that:

The head teacher sets the school climate of mutual support and praise for success, so making bullying less likely. When children feel they are important and belong to a friendly and welcoming school, bullying is far less likely to be part of their behaviour (Hopton Primary, 2013 a).

As part of the policy a Green, Amber, Red warning system is in place. Racist comments, gestures or actions are identified as fitting into the red category along with other infringements of institutional practices which are seen to be extremely offensive or disruptive. Posters of the document's policy in action are strategically placed throughout the school. I questioned the extent to which policy documentation informed teachers' pedagogical practices, because as shared by Mrs Carter:

Quite honestly, I think school policies are just pieces of paper - personally, I think they're there to back you up if that makes sense. They are there for you to fall back on if you need to check, but really it is that thing about being a teacher, you are learning on the job and from experience, you are watching others, you are watching how they deal with it and it is that sharing of expertise which is where it is going on (Interview, Mrs Carter 12th March 2013).

The actuality of practice and action may better reflect the nature of school cultures. The Ofsted report for the school was succinct and dispassionate with little mention of ethnic or linguist difference or inclusion.

4.2.3 St Anthony's Catholic Primary: A reading of school data and documents

St Anthony's was a single form entry voluntary aided, Roman Catholic mixed primary school situated on the outskirts of Clareborne but with a considerably smaller intake than that of Hopton Primary. According to the latest Ofsted Report it is; 'a good school which provides a delightful and welcoming learning environment for pupils and enables them to achieve well academically and personally' (Ofsted, 2010). The tenor of the language used to describe the school differs from what might be expected in a report from HMI, the tone was affirming rather than dispassionate.

The entrance to the school was accessible from the main road and an open gate enabled access to the front door. To the left of the entrance was a small play area for younger children. Beside this entrance, there was a green notice board with two weather-worn posters which remained unchanged for the duration of the research. One of the posters was issued by the local authority and proclaimed: 'No Prejudice Here'. This is the first public declaration of how the school would like to be portrayed as a space safe from prejudice and hostility to others.

Before entering the school, there was a vestibule where the next public face of the school is shared, there are photographs of all of the classes on the right hand side of the wall. In my first meeting Mrs Baldwin, the relatively new head teacher, had drawn my attention to these photos. She shared how there had been a conscious arrangement of the groups in the photos to show the teachers in the centre of their respective classes with pupils fanning out in a circular formation behind and to the fore signifying a sense of community. The small reception area featured a wooden

statue of St. Anthony and a plaque with a prayer to the saint. Opposite this wall, the mission of the school was inscribed within a picture frame:

It is our mission to maintain St Anthony's RC Primary School as a loving community, upholding and promoting the values, teaching and beliefs of the Roman Catholic Church and to make the best possible provision to support the spiritual, emotional, physical and intellectual development of the children (field notes, St Anthony's, 15th October, 2012).

Once inside the school, beyond the vestibule area there was a short corridor, to the left leading to younger classes and to the right leading to a short hallway and school offices. Along the hallway were bulletin boards featuring pupils' work interspersed with religious iconography. Access to the senior classes was gained through the hallway opposite the reception. This hallway was the site of religious ritual, meals and shared performances. To the right of the hall was an altar emblazoned with a poster, 'Celebrating the Year of Faith' adjacent to the altar was the small school library and IT room. A small music room was located at the back of the hallway which also served as the space for phonics and maths booster classes and where I conducted interviews.

Numerical data for this school showed a total enrolment of 209 pupils (DfE, 2012). In contrast to many other schools in the locality, there was a high proportion of pupils identified as being other than white British. According to the data, for some 25.7% of pupils in this school, 'English is not a first language' (DfE, 2012). The school had a mixed socio-economic intake with 6.2% of pupils identified as eligible for free school meals, a figure below the national average. 11 or 5.3% of pupils were identified as having a statement of a SEN, or being on the register for school action plus. The school had 10 full time teachers and 6 TAs.

In Year 6, there were a total of 30 pupils, of these 9 were identified as having EAL; six pupils were of Kerala Indian heritage, 4 boys and two girls, an additional boy and a girl were of Polish heritage, and the final boy was Filipino. All had agreed to take part in the research. In addition to observing this class and interviewing

pupils, I interviewed the class teacher Mrs Beckett, who was also a deputy head teacher and responsible for leading on; literacy, MFL and the Performing Arts. I also interviewed Mrs Dyson, the class TA, and Mrs. Natasza Walicki a TA with school responsibility for EAL who originally came from Poland. Additionally, I interviewed the head teacher Mrs Baldwin (refer to Appendix 10 for details).

St Anthony's: insights from the prospectus and school policies

As explained in its prospectus, the school aimed to develop:

- A happy and safe environment;
- Effective home / school liaison and to work in partnership with the parish and the wider community;
- The children's knowledge and understanding of Catholic doctrine and to encourage the daily practice of our faith;
- A learning environment in which all children flourish;
- An attitude of mutual respect (St. Anthony's Primary, 2013 a).

While the concept of individual cultural or linguistic heritages does not feature in the Prospectus, under a prominent heading entitled 'special educational needs,' the following statement appeared; 'as a faith school with a strong Catholic ethos, we value the individuality of every child and are committed to educational inclusion' (St Anthony's Primary, 2013a). So in the first instance inclusion appears synonymous with meeting the physical and intellectual 'needs' of the children. However, this initial understanding of inclusion is extended and explored in greater depth further in the Prospectus under the notion of valuing the individuality of the learner, the school makes a commitment to, 'eliminate prejudice and discrimination and develop an environment where all children can flourish and feel safe'. The document mentions the Equality Act (HM Government, 2010) and it acknowledges the attendant implications for the school because there is a commitment to 'provide equal opportunities for all learners whatever their age, gender, ethnicity,

impairment, attainment or background', the aspects of sexual orientation and religious affiliation are unmentioned.

An Equality and Diversity policy is included on the school website, it does not appear to have been updated since it was issued in 2009. The policy states:

All staff are responsible for recognising and tackling any form of bias and stereotyping and for dealing with incidents which involve any form of unfair or abusive treatment of any pupil or adult member of the school community on the basis of race, gender or disability (St Anthony's Primary, 2013b).

Within the Prospectus, an indication of how diversity will be realised in the curriculum is provided in a section entitled, 'Curriculum, achievement and attainment', it outlines that pupils' learning will:

- Ensure equality of access for all pupils and prepare them for life in a diverse society
- Use materials that reflect a range of cultural backgrounds, without stereotyping
- Promote attitudes and values that will challenge any form of behaviour which reflects prejudice against ethnicity, gender or disability
- Provide opportunities for pupils to appreciate their own culture and celebrate the diversity of other cultures
- Celebrate the achievements of pupils who are bilingual and encourage pupils for whom English is a second language to feel proud of their linguistic talents and to continue to use and develop their first language
- Seek to involve all parents and carers in supporting their children's education
- Provide extra-curricular activities that reflect all pupil groupings
- Take account of performance of all pupils when planning for future learning and setting targets (St Anthony's Primary, 2013a).

How these are realised in the daily school and classroom interactions becomes the focus of investigation later in this chapter.

St Anthony's Ofsted observations 2010

The opinion of Ofsted inspectors was that pupils in St Anthony's school, 'from minority ethnic groups, including those with English as an additional language, and those who have a variety of special educational needs make equally good progress, due to the good support they receive' (Ofsted, 2010). The report also shares a view that pupils', 'outstanding spiritual, moral, social and cultural awareness is very well supported by the good curriculum, where they are given ample opportunity to reflect upon the rich tapestry of the human and natural world' (Ofsted, 2010).

4.3 SCHOOL CULTURE: POLICIES, VALUES AND PRACTICES

One of the key focuses for the research concerned with the ways in which school values and cultures (Question 2: 57) inform the ways that pupil identities subjectivities and intersectionalities are created (Question 4 and 5). The following section explores these interrelated research foci.

4.3.1 School cultures: Affective and faith based perspectives

Interviews with staff at Hopton Primary school highlighted the importance of pupils' emotional well-being and engagement as a critical dimension to being and learning. For example, Mrs Carter stressed the significance of inclusion, which for her involved, 'making sure that all the children are happy, are happy in their environment, happy learners' (interview, Mrs Carter 12th March 2013). This aspect of how teachers go about learning and teaching also featured in the interview with Mrs Neary who shared the belief that:

It is the self-esteem and confidence with these children that they are struggling a bit because their English isn't as strong but by giving them an

open forum to discuss about their background, it actually builds their self-esteem and confidence, it builds their trust in you as a teacher, then they are willing to learn because you are giving them the equal of time to talk about their culture as well as everyone else's (interview, Mrs Neary, 14th March 2013).

According to this teacher, recognition of heritage and belief provide for a foundation enabling learning to occur. When interviewed, two of the teachers in Hopton make explicit mention to the necessity of emotional mindfulness and well-being. According to Mrs Harris affectivity is central to learning:

I base my teaching on the children's emotions, if they are happy I feel that the school is doing a good job, so if you have a school that is doing all those things for all those different diversities and cultures then no matter where that child is from or what they believe in they are happy and I think that makes the perfect school that has got that. So if your children are happy that is the most important thing for me in my classroom (interview, Mrs Harris, 21st March, 2013).

However, the cultural influences within St Anthony's are significantly different. When asked about the defining cultural feature of St Anthony's school, the SENCo, Ms Jenkins shares a view that the school's religious identity is the primary cultural marker. While there are attributes of this that are inclusive, for example its focus upon community and cohesion is reflected in the following quote:

There is a real community spirit here which you don't get in every school, the Catholic aspect sort of drives everything.... in particular for the Indian families, the Polish families, they are Catholic themselves and they want their children here and the Catholicism is the key to that, and being part of the church I think almost to the point of its being above the language, or the skin colour, or the culture (interview, Mrs Jenkins, 26th March 2013).

This view of the school as providing the same experience for all of the children is also reflected in an interview with Mrs Dyson the Year 6 classroom TA who believed that:

You very rarely see any racism or anything because to them they are all the same, they all play together, they are all exactly the same (Interview, Mrs Dyson, 18th April 2013).

However, the universality of the church and its emphasis upon uniformity may hinder its capacity to see difference and to facilitate for that difference. Speaking from her personal experience, the SENCo then indicates that:

I have sort of been in schools that are what I would say are more inclusive and when you walk in there is a welcome board and it has got every language you know saying 'Welcome' in Malayalam or Portuguese and Polish and there is words on the walls all labelled in different languages, you don't see that here which you know, you might expect in a school with such a high proportion of children from different places (interview Mrs Jenkins, 26th March 2013).

Towards the end of the interview Ms. Jenkins makes an analogy to a journey indicating that the school is 'what you might call, 'developing', if I'm honest we're not quite there yet' (interview, Mrs. Jenkins, 26th March 2013). A mapping of the terrain for St Anthony's would, through a reading of its data alone identify this school as successful and possibly 'outstanding', however, in the experiences of one of its key staff, the journey is not quite complete especially as it pertains to realising the differences in the students' individual identities.

4.3.2 Leadership, school culture and pupil identities

In both of the schools there was evidence that leaders showed a genuine desire to engage empathetically and respectfully with children through their daily actions. For example, when I recall my visits to the schools, an image comes to mind of an aproned Mr Williams enjoying the collaborative company of children while

preparing and baking heart shaped biscuits for St. Valentine's Day. While conducting my research at St Anthony's, I frequently encountered Mrs Beckett bowed or kneeling with children, listening to their stories and asking questions about their learning. As well as being concerned for children's welfare, it was clear that leadership also involved an awareness and mediation of external pressures and these in turn informed practices from leadership and across the school topography. The deputy head in Hopton described his role as being:

Responsible for the behaviour and safety within the school, I'm also responsible for the English as an additional language provision within the school... but also working with the head teacher it's very much implementing the school development plan which is generated by the Ofsted report (interview, Mr. Williams, 26th February).

In the school, those for whom English is an additional language, primarily children from ethnic minorities, have a voice at leadership level this is an acknowledgement of what is important internally within the school. Nevertheless, there is a spectral constraining reality defined by external surveillance which partly fashions the educational machinery. An almost palpable external influence permeates the actions and beliefs within this school, it is the spectral presence of Ofsted which seeks to control the apparatus from without. The language of the marketplace intertwines with that of human relationships so the school aims to 'provide the best possible deal for the children who come here' (interview, Mr Williams, 26th February 2013).

The narrative of the school is not however solely defined by the external, the inter-subjective reality of present enables this school leader to contemplate a new culture fashioned from '*all* the cultures that those children bring to us' (ibid.) as reflected in one of the school's storied experiences:

We've just had our second year of our grandparents' day, which is a Polish tradition, a year ago we actually did it the day of our Ofsted inspection, which of course we didn't know this, but it just happened to be the same

time, we invited the grandparents of our year one and two children into school. At one point we did have grandparents down the corridor, out the door, across the car park and down, down the road queuing to come in, we were slightly having kittens at that point (interview, Mr Williams 26th February 2013).

However, the event was not recorded in the school's Ofsted report. The concept of including attributes of pupils' diverse cultural traits and languages also appealed to Mrs Beckett at St Anthony's. When I questioned her about the possibility of including other languages in the school's curriculum she replied:

I think it is something that you don't tend to drive down that route, you are focussing so much on drilling in English, English, English and spellings and everything else that maybe there is an opportunity to look at language that they could open that up, you know write it, write a story in Malayalam or something you know or Polish, I think that would be great (interview Mrs Baldwin, 25th February 2013).

The initial language of the interview is concerned with notions of 'drilling' and 'driving'. Towards the end of the quote, there is a break in the established thinking and Mrs Baldwin talks of potential for 'opening up' with a new language, here there is scope for the school to become other. The terrain and promise is soon reterritorialized within the same interview as Mrs Baldwin shared:

It would be something that I would consider because you are trying to encourage them with all their reading and writing, which is such an issue in English that maybe they could share those opportunities in other aspects, I think that is where you will find the staff [laughs]..... em, but you might open up an opportunity (interview, Mrs Baldwin, 26th February 2013).

Perhaps the constrained subjectivity of what it means to be a head teacher of a Catholic school in a largely rural county takes hold, as does the threat of change that incorporating pupils' languages might pose for staff. In contrast, a member of

staff at Hopton Primary identified how leadership had a particularly positive role to play in strengthening the school's conceptualisation of itself as fostering a space for the otherness of pupils' home languages. Ms Bronowski identified that she:

Chose to work here because it is much nicer than lots of other schools I had worked in, and I think it is quite welcoming to the EAL children. It's got quite a clear approach to dealing with diversity (interview, 19th April, 2013).

Later in the interview, the TA explained that whilst she had been teaching some of the Polish children Christmas carols other children in the class had picked up the tunes and had been singing them at home. This prompted a few parents to protest, so:

I talked to Stephen (*the deputy head teacher, Mr Williams*) to make sure nobody is going to end up upset and he was very clear he just said, 'look that is how we do things here, that is how things should be done, even if parents can't recognise the value of that, we do, and if they don't like it they can always take the children somewhere else' It was very clear that whatever I do they know that it is a good thing and bilingualism is valued and that's it and if parents don't like it, they can take their children somewhere else (interview Ms. Bronowski, 19th April, 2013).

As Mr Williams explains, linguistic and cultural inclusion is supported by Hopton Primary in a number of different ways which infuse the school's ways of being. During the interview, Mr Williams shared how the culture was intentionally cultivated:

It's not a case of well, we've got all these Polish children we need to do something about it, it's more a case of this is our school population this is who we've got and what we do in school is to reflect that and I think if we were a school that was all white middle class children, I think we'd be a poorer school... what we do reflects our community, it's what makes this

school really special and I'm really proud of it (interview Mr Williams, 26th February 2013).

That sense of pride is also realised in the provision of a Polish language school for children which operates on Saturdays:

We have the Polish school on site which we're incredibly proud of, I think we've got 70 children up to year 7 year 8, the fact that it's celebrating their culture as well, and the fact that the children are learning Polish as well as English, so that the language remains is very, very important. A lot of our Polish children are either very young or have been here for some time, or have been born in the surrounding area and so there's a danger of them, losing their own culture (interview, 26th February 2013).

This creative re-conceptualizing of school is reflected in the ethno-photographic responses of one of the pupils who alters her role from somewhat excluded Polish pupil to one of teacher in the weekend Polish school. I ask her about her photos, the first of which is of a classroom at the weekend:

I like it because my sister is doing something here, so like for I teach the little babies or something, of four years or so, like a child, and I said, 'can I teach him? Can I teach him?' 'Ok, come on' and I teach the little boy (photo interview, Sonja 11th January 2013).

Sonja's sister teaches at the weekend Polish school and a pathway is enabled for Sonja to become a teacher too for the younger children. Of all of her photographs this is the one of which she becomes most animated and conversant. From outsider in the class her positioning is re-envisioned to one of shared experiences, I prompt her to chat about another photograph of the Polish classroom and she says, 'it is very interesting there because I know the... I know things are the same for everybody' (photo interview, Sonja 11th January 2013), the space encourages a new normality of difference.

Though her friend Peta portrays a sense of self-confidence in school, access to the Polish school also has a noteworthy effect on her sense of self; she shares photos of the school taken the previous Saturday and states:

I like it 'cos I can be with people from me, that are like me, that are from the same country as me, and I like, don't have to pretend who I really am, 'cos I'm not scared about what people think about me in Polish school. 'Cos like here, I'm not really in my own country, so I really care about what English people think about me. I just don't know why but I feel comfortable in Polish school more than English school, I'm not scared, but I feel more uncomfortable in English school rather than in Polish school (photo interview Peta, 21st January 2013).

Leadership allocation of resources was also important in defining the nature of school priorities and these in turn reflected attributes of school cultures. For example, both schools identified the centrality of the TA role in bridging communication barriers between homes and school. When faced with the reality of constrained resources within the Local Authority, Hopton had purposefully adopted new strategies to bridge professional gaps by hiring a dedicated professional to work within a small EAL department:

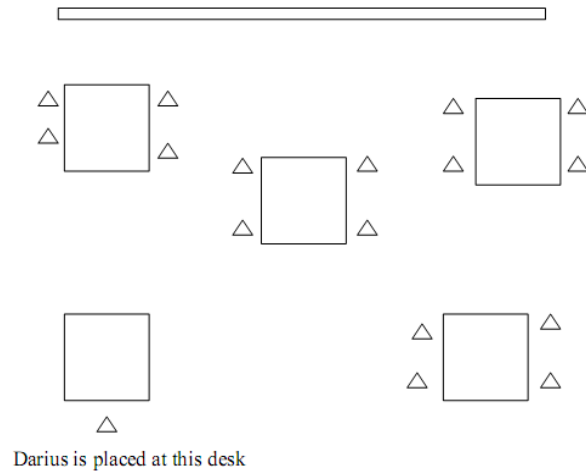
Financial restraints do have an impact, but we've taken a decision as a school that we see the children as part of the school community and we want them to do as best they can, so we've been employing this really specialist person and it has a great knock on effect like well whenever the reports go out they do go out in English, so we're looking at the possibility of sending them out in their first language as well (interview, Mr Williams 26th February 2013).

In this instance, and for this school, financial restraints have perhaps initiated divergent ways of responding to the school's particular requirements.

4.3.3 Subjectivising differences

The ways in which schools further informed the development of subjectivised identities is explored in the following section where the values and attitudes of teachers are explored (see question 2: 57). I have been invited to Hopton Primary to sit in on a planning meeting to discuss the future dates of my visits I express an interest in looking more closely at the experiences of Darius, a Lithuanian boy who teachers have identified as 'challenging'. The discussion turns to the characteristics of Eastern European pupils, girls are discussed in terms of being 'cooperative' and 'fast learners,' whereas boys seem to be boisterous, macho and 'resistant' (field notes, Hopton Primary, 19th November 2013). My notes recall:

The discussion moves on to the notion of gender and how one of the children in the year has a complex gender identity, 'it will be interesting to see what's going to happen when her voice breaks', there is muffled laughter, the tension between her voice and breaking boy's voice brings to the surface an unspeakable otherness. Talk then returns to Darius, it appears that he has been issued with a behaviour card, the faces of the teachers adopt a funereal demeanour, the SENCo mentions, 'Mum has been in, mind you, she didn't say a whole lot, she's got no English..... she, em tends to smile a lot'. Darius' classroom teacher Mrs Carter responds, 'Yeah, she tends to smile a lot', glances are made and lips turn to smiles. Through shared glances and smiles among the teachers, the absence of English may somehow be associated with a lack of intelligibility, and perhaps even a lack of intelligence. The discussion moves on, Mrs Harris shares, 'but there's a new TA, is she from Latvia, or is it Lithuania'? Mrs Neary, the SENCO responds, 'I'm not sure, I think Lithuania, she'll be able to help him out, is he Latvian or Lithuanian? Mrs Carter responds, 'one or the other'. His Eastern Europeanness is distinctive, but the particulars are somehow misplaced. I walk from the teachers' meeting to the classroom; Darius is sitting at the back of the classroom on a table reserved just for him in Spanish class.



After the class, his teacher Mrs Radcliffe has noted my interest in him, she shares the fact that before I arrived in he had been disruptive and she suggests, 'he's not got a language problem, I think, I really just can't figure him out, he's not able to get on with anyone, it might be a cultural thing'. Darius spends much of his time at the back of the class and I question how best he might be engaged with the curriculum and what ways he might be accepted as he is within the school as community. The combined associations of problematic gender, cultural, social and linguistic being coalesce in a particularly ominous way for this pupil.

The ways in which culturally informed values and attitudes inform the subjectivisation of pupils are also revealed in St Anthony's. In preparation for the class based observations, as recorded in my field notes (15th October, 2012), I visited Mrs Beckett's class and on the way in I was attracted to a particular child's notebook where the name Wojciech Stanizlav had been written in an uncertain script. Mrs. Beckett noticed me looking at the workbook and commented, 'I wouldn't bother with him for the research, you won't get any sense out of that boy, he spends most of his time crying out useless answers'. On my first day in the school, this was a disturbing introduction to the intersectionality of gender, perceptions of ability / disability and foreignness, combining in a distinctive way to make learning impossible, to adjudge it as being beyond the bounds of possibility for a particular pupil whose naming and classification appeared so complete and

irredeemable. The teacher explained that Wojciech has a teaching assistant who sat with him to explain his work because he couldn't concentrate. In a later interview his teacher explained that;

He has a different problem from just the English language, obviously there is something else wrong with him, you know he had a problem from the time he was born, but the fact that it's all Polish, Polish, Polish in his house and everything gets translated all the time, so there's no exposure to English....now that doesn't help at all (interview, Mrs Beckett, 5th March 2013).

Here then is problem child with problem Polish parents who draw on the state for translations, the characteristics intersect to demark Wojciech as an impossible learner. The importance of personal values and how they inform practice is a concern which arises in the interview with Mrs Neary who is a year 6 teacher in Hopton Primary. In her view, teachers' personal values are sometimes difficult to disaggregate from the public face provided by the school:

I think to a lot of people walk in and they see a very friendly warm, welcoming school that works very hard to kind of support everybody. Underneath, the kind of inside is you know, it's a little bit ... on the outside the people will put on a front you know, 'we do this and we do that', but sometimes the inside feeling can be a bit different and the attitude is more like, 'why am I bothering with these children they are not going to go anywhere' (interview, Mrs Neary 14th March 2013).

Though a school's overt ethos and culture may be positively disposed towards diversity and inclusion, this can be subverted by teachers' individual values and beliefs. A record from my field notes illustrates how shared meanings of difference are created in St Anthony's through meaning making dialogue.

It was Mrs Beckett's turn to act as school ground monitor. She was chatting with Mrs Rogers who is a TA in a KS1 class. The conversation shifted to a

particular Indian heritage pupil who stood away from the other children, his face oriented outwards at the boundary wire fencing looking towards the cars outside, 'Gerard is obsessed with cars, he could stand there by himself not paying any attention to anyone else and look at cars all day, I've taken a Kit Kat from him, and he's bitten it into the shape of.... a car', delayed silence awaiting the response to what should be perceived as abnormal behaviour, Mrs Stephens continued 'I suspect he's on the spectrum', 'well maybe', I added 'he'll make the next Bill Gates so...'. Mrs Beckett then continued the conversation with a reference to a former student, 'well at least he's not as bad as Richard Kington, do you remember the way he used to wander around the playground, la, la, la, looking at the sky'...followed by laughs (field notes, St Anthony's 2nd May 2013).

4.3.4 Professional preparedness for diversity

The centrality of teachers' values and attitudes to pupils' experiences raised the significance of opportunities for teachers to access professional development. Teacher respondents shared that their professional teacher education programmes had ill-equipped them to support learning and engage with diversity in their schools. This was reflected in the experiences of the SENCo in Hopton Primary who stated:

I had a PGCE route, so for a whole year my emphasis was literacy, numeracy and I don't remember having any kind of input into special educational needs, I suppose that this is 13 years ago I trained, so not very much and at that time I don't think I would have had any diversity or EAL training for children at all (interview, Mrs Neary 14th March 2013).

The centrality of experience informing good practice was mentioned by Mr Williams who recalled that his values and practices have:

Evolved from my own experiences within school and what I've seen going on, During my teacher training I think the term 'EAL' didn't exist at that time... but that's only the experience that I had, my actual training didn't cover that at all. But I think that our provision for EAL children has gotten better, eh more efficient, with our experience, from the County, to give them credit, we've had support from County for this...so as I say, very much credit to them (interview, Mr Williams 26th February 2013).

However, there are instances where unconscious values and attitudes may inform less than inclusive practice and as social perceptions of specific immigrant communities become increasingly antagonistic, there is a concomitant diminishing of learning resources being made available for pupils from ethnic and linguistic minorities. Mrs Neary in Hopton Primary expressed a fear that pressures on resources meant:

It is going to go back to how I felt a few years ago, having had no input and no support which would be a great shame. I do have this horrid feeling that it's going to get worse again because if we need to access the EAL team it has to come out of our service level agreement budget and with a very high percentage of SEN children we have to then look at where the priority is, so the priority will come down to if an EAL child is also SEN (interview, Mrs Neary 14th March 2013).

However, there are also opportunities offered to schools which posit difference in a central space of practice. Attitudes and values of teachers in Hopton Primary are at least partially formed by their interaction with the TA who has responsibility for EAL and who is passionate about the further professional enhancement of peers and colleagues in the school. She leads by asserting:

We encourage the children to speak their languages which is a good thing, but this is not found in many schools, you would be quite surprised by things I have heard in other local schools, 'Oh no you cannot use Polish, you are not allowed to use it'. Here teachers have had the training so many

times that I think now everybody just takes it as something quite natural, quite normal (interview, Ms Bronowski 20th November 2012).

What is 'normal' is defined within the parameters of particular schools, so pupils may have very different experiences of that normalcy as it pertains to their social and educational identity formation.

4.4 CURRICULUM EXPERIENCES: PEDAGOGY, ASSESSMENT AND PERFORMATIVES

4.4.1 Learning English and accessing the curriculum

The third research question addressed the nature of teaching, learning and the curriculum and their influences on pupils' educational experiences and identities. The interrelationships between learning experiences, their defined spaces and how these create particular performatives (Question 4: 57) are also a focus of the forthcoming section.

My field notes recount a visit to Year 6 at St. Anthony's during 'big write' time. The pupils were requested to gather in their writing groups. Arguments were being made for and against the wearing of uniforms in primary schools, a formula for writing the text genre was shared on the whiteboard. I was sitting with Joselito's group which is all male and, apart from himself, all of Kerala heritage. Adjacent to them was the excellent writing group, this consisted of six white British girls.

Joselito turned to me and pointing to a pictorial representation of a uniform asked me the word for 'collar', I was stuck by the fact that I'd almost forgotten that he spoke English as an additional language. There had been no overt preparation in terms of vocabulary and this normal approach to writing began to trouble me as I know that more than one of the children would be unaware of how best to name all the parts of the uniform (field notes, St. Anthony's 6th of February 2013).

There was a supposition that all of the children were starting from the same linguistic knowledge base. This supposition appears to be reflected in school based practices in Hopton Primary as well. On a Friday afternoon in February, I visited Mrs Harris' class in Hopton Primary School and science is timetabled for the curriculum. My field notes recount:

Today is a non-uniform day and Yasmina who is a recently arrived pupil is the only child wearing a uniform. There are some posters around the class indicating that the theme of the week is yeast and an exploration as to the optimal conditions for its growth. However, despite the fact that two of the students may have limited linguistic access to the curriculum, there is a lack of pedagogical support assisting them to become familiar with the core language of the curriculum. There are however bilingual dictionaries available for pupils to use, and Yasmina is enabled to interpret some aspects of the learning. When the children go about a group work task to establish the optimal conditions in which the growth of yeast will thrive, Yasmina is also accompanied by Peta, a Polish language speaker, who assists her in completing the task (field notes, 15th February 2013).

From my observations, there are very mixed and unsystematic experiences for children learning English. There were instances where pupils' lack of capacity to access linguistic capital combined with notions of ability further alienated particular learners. My field notes recalled another big write experience in St. Anthony's:

The 'rules' for the big write have been shared by Mrs Beckett and she set about eliciting some striking descriptive words for the story of a haunted house. Many of the pupils were eager to volunteer words and Wojciech is also among those straining from their seats, arms outstretched, hands wagging in a pleading of 'pick me please' supplications. A few words are taken from the children, 'gorey', 'goulish', 'grizzly' and teacher approval is shared encouragingly, 'So what's your word Wojciech?', 'Spooky', he responds, *'Spooky? Spooky is such a weak word, it's lame, like something out of a silly Scooby Doo cartoon'*. The shock of rejection is visible, the pain

masked with a saving face smile as he joins in the humour of his own presumed ignorance and public humiliation. I'm struck by the overt use of teacher put down power to define status and hierarchy; Wojciech is castigated and categorized as non-English knower, outside of knowledge holder, a loser rather than an aspiring language learner (field notes, St Anthony's, 11th January 2013).

4.4.2 The place of pupils' home languages

During the early phases of the research, when I met with pupils for the first few times, I wanted to share with them my belief that knowledge of differing languages is a positive part of who we are. One of my early observational field notes recorded such an incidence in St Anthony's while I was leading the camera research training:

I draw on some of my knowledge of Pacific languages to ask Joselito who is Filipino to count with me in Tagalog, we count slowly from one to five; 'isa, dalawa, tatlo, apat, lima', he smiles as he counts along with me. Abha says, 'you know, this is the first time I've ever heard him speaking in his own language'. She seems surprised that Joselito is someone who has capacity beyond being one of the boys in the second worst performing group in class, someone perhaps who might have access to aspects of knowledge that have remained untapped (field notes St Anthony's 12th October, 2012).

The silenced languages of pupils are sedimented under a hierarchy of linguistic preferences where acceptable other 'modern' foreign languages are featured in the curriculum, no rationale is offered to pupils as to why their languages are not included. Nonetheless, I address the elision of children's linguistic knowledge during the interview with Mrs Beckett, it is a challenging question for me to ask and I am aware of the emotional resilience that it takes because Mrs Beckett, as well as being a hugely enthusiastic teacher, can be dismissive and curt if challenged.

I asked, 'don't you think that Malayalam or Polish could be included in the class...? Mrs Beckett replied: 'Look, half of them can't speak English properly, and that's not even the foreign ones...how do you think that might happen? The curriculum is already packed and as the MFL coordinator, I'm supposed to teach German and French, do you also want me to teach Tagalog and Portuguese and Polish too'? I suggest, perhaps too unconvincingly, 'well it can be done, I've done it myself as a teacher, if you plan carefully, you could do lots differently', but Mrs Beckett is annoyed at the suggestion and continues;

We can't have it both ways, where things are wonderful and inclusive and there's time to explore and do lots of creative things and also meet what's expected of us with parents and SATS, there's just not enough time and space for that (interview, Mrs Beckett, 18th April 2013).

The space for dialogue has closed and the notion of linguistic diversity and inclusion has no more space or time. Because of the invisibility of other languages at St Anthony's, the students may be inclined towards a self-censuring of their own linguistic and cultural heritages to better approximate what is presented as 'normal school behaviour'. This concept is explored further in an extract from an interview with Bryga, a Polish pupil at St Anthony's who has lived in England for three years and who is in the lowest performing group in class.

Interviewer: Did you ever write in Polish

Bryga: No

Interviewer: Would you ever like to?

Bryga: No, because I don't like it, because it's hard,

Interviewer: Are there any books in Polish at the school?

Bryga: Really, I don't know..... I like using the library and reading in England, in English in school because it's much easier for me.

Interviewer: Would you like to know more about Polish history?

Bryga: No, emmmm I don't want it, because I'm always interested in em English stuff, em English history and em books.

Interviewer: Would you like to see a Polish teacher?

Bryga: Em, I already have, she's not really a teacher, she's sometimes a helper.

Interviewer: But would you like to see a Polish teacher or head teacher?

Bryga: No, it's good to have a English one (photo elicitation interview, St. Anthony's, 17th January, 2013).

As a lower performing pupil, Bryga inhabits the peripheries of the classroom and this existence on the edges is also a place where her identity and socialisation is developed. The dynamics of how the external controls of language, culture and normed behaviours are internalised by one of the year 6 boys of Kerala Indian heritage are also revealed the following interview extract:

Mathew: My Nan lives with us here, but she asked me not to take a photo of her, she's my dad's mom. I sometimes speak English, especially with her, but also Malayalam about 50-50..... when we are talking together with our friends we talk in English. I wouldn't like to have it in school because, this is England and I learned in English, school, and I can't really speak Malaylam here because they'll tell off us, the teachers, so we can't speak in Indian.

Interviewer: Really do you think that the teachers would tell you off?

Matthew: Yes, they would.

Interviewer: Has that ever happened before?

Matthew: Well, if we speak in different languages, they ***might*** tell off us, sometimes.... if it's strict teachers (Photo elicitation interview with Matthew, St. Anthony's, 26th February 2013).

Here Matthew explains how the school site is not one for sharing the home language, either among friends or in the context of the curriculum, a subliminal line has been drawn disabling any flow between the talk of home and school. There is also an imagined external threat in the form of the 'strict teacher' who might publicly admonish pupils for using their languages at school. Despite having a policy which openly embraces linguistic diversity, it is clear that the pupils have an alternative lived reality of the intended policy orientation. It is unlikely that pupils would be 'told off', it is the perception that they might be which is powerful and important. Among pupils there was a shared unuttered supposition that expressions in the home language may cause trouble, so the use of home language was best avoided. The experiences of Annessa at Hopton primary school were somewhat different, as she shared during an interview:

Sometimes we have like a language of the week and in the morning and afternoon we'd have to say like 'good morning' or 'good afternoon' in that language and it was Russian once, but we haven't done Lituanian and at the time I had to teach everyone how to say 'hello' and 'good afternoon' in Russian, so if it was morning you'd have to say 'dobre utra' and if it was the afternoon you'd have to say 'dobre dien' (photo elicitation interview, Annessa, 11th December 2012).

There does not appear to be an arbitrary division between home life where linguistic diversity is a part of the normal experience and that of the school where, to some extent, there is accommodation of linguistic difference. Perceptions of languages and their attendant cultures are determined according to interpersonal conventions and perceptions of what is, or should be identified as 'the norm'. The extent to which they are incorporated in the life of schools is fashioned by the unwritten values and practices of acceptance, ambivalence or antagonism towards linguistic diversity among teachers and pupils alike. Practices are also impacted by the constraints of curriculum as expressions of linguistic inclusion and elision within schools, at times such practices are also influenced by nuanced negative

narratives which view the 'other' as embodiment of linguistic difference as being deficient.

As identified in my field notes, the EAL learning space in Hopton Primary acts as an internal nexus with that which is the linguistic other:

In the centre of the learning space a round table sits accompanied by small chairs, which even adults have to use reducing their size differentials in comparison to children. To the back of the room are book stands on which are stacked books in a diversity of languages pertaining to culture, folklore, history and fiction. This is a space which takes cognisance of pupils' prior linguistic, and cultural heritage, it is a space with potential for the familiar to create continuity from past experiences and thence to create avenues for new learning (field notes, Hopton Primary 21st January 2013).

The space does not seek to delimit the nature of language to a dominant perception or to sever connections to the pupil's past. In so doing, it creates potentials for becoming other while being in control of the otherness and defining that in a way which is imbued with intellectual challenge. The site is also a space for SATS focused revisions for pupils from other countries, and in so being it also enfoldes present threats which reclaim rhizomic becomings and solidify a present into the constraints of assessing and constraining normal school. In turn these practices might be disrupted in the becoming school as SATS tests are translated so that the children are enabled to access the testing regime.

4.4.3 Learning and the curriculum: SATS, perceptions and practices

Standard Assessment Tests defined much of the culture and constraints of curriculum mediation within the two schools. According to my field notes within St Anthony's, it is a March morning and a letter has arrived from OFSTED which has evoked an annoyed and frustrated response from Mrs Beckett, I'm told about it by Mrs Dyson who is on schoolyard duties. She tells me, 'there's been a letter and it

says that we should have 11 children on the Level 5 writing in the SATS, that's about a third of the children'. In the weeks following receipt of the letter, differing writing groups are formed within differing sections of the classroom to maximise writing results. The fixation with data expectations is a theme which resonates with all of the teachers and the driving of expectations constrains the ways the teachers think, act and organise their classes. Space, learning and subjectivities interface with the implementation of SATs in the following narrative extracted from my field notes in St Anthony's:

In her new role as literacy co-ordinator, Mrs Beckett has been whisked out of the classroom to conduct an intervention in another class. The gap in teaching has been filled by the first of the exam drills in preparation for the SATS which are due to take place in May. There are 30 children sitting the reading test, all pupils are taking the Level 3 test, apart from the two Polish pupils; Wojciech and Bryga, who are sitting the Level 1-3 paper. Texts are to be read for 15 minutes and then the students are to respond to the questions over the following 45 minutes.

The minutes pass and Wojciech becomes restless struggling to keep his concentration, he tips his chair backwards hinging his balance on the back two legs, rocking it back and forth. Some twenty minutes into the test a quiet sense of desperation begins to pervade the lower achievement table where five pupils are grouped. Wojciech stretches his arms in a contorted manner to meet at the midpoint of his back, his obvious discomfiture isn't noticed by Mrs Dyson, who is busy preparing for the next class. A squeak emanates from one of the two boys at the table, the clever concentrating classmates look up to detect where it has come from, Wojciech pleads defensively with his body gesturing, 'it wasn't me', he points to his friend John who smiles around the class, playing bad boys who don't engage with examinations the way good students do. The distraction lasts a few moments but unites the boys in their non-engagement with the assessment. Some 25 minutes into the process and Wojciech has all but

suspended his involvement in the activity apart from infrequent attempts at completing sentences.

His partner to the right has placed the back of his pulled-up shirt over the chair's back rest so that he is physically pinned to the chair. Meanwhile Wojciech has taken his pencil of many parts asunder and is primarily concerned with reassembling the spillage of tips from across the desk. I wander over to take a look at the script which Wojciech is reading, it is about sleepovers, I wonder if he has ever had a sleepover (Field notes, St Anthony's, 2nd November 2012).

The spectre of SATS dominates learning and teaching in year 6 and this restricts scope for creativity and incorporating linguistic diversity. Comments from another teacher reflect this tension:

Trying to make sure that we do cover the curriculum is difficult, so maybe things that are more creative, because that may be something as children and teachers that we enjoy doing, because of the languages and these culture days and experiential learning and things like that are sort of lost sometimes, because of the need to teach all subjects, it is a cramming nightmare (interview, Mrs Carter, 12th March, 2013).

The SENCo in Hopton Primary illustrates how this approach to educational practice fashions how teachers go about 'doing education':

I just sometimes think that it's not just year six but that some teachers are only driven by; 'I've got to reach this target....got to reach this level, got to reach this many points by the end of this term,' and they don't stop and kind of think about the wider picture of how children are treated, they kind of just think they are a name on a piece of paper and that is where they have come to me on that kind of level, that's where I have got to get them to and sometimes you have to treat them as human beings and not just factory machines or something (interview, Mrs Neary, 14th March 2012).

For this teacher the current system creates a mechanistic process an assemblage where the focus is on data consumption and production rather than on an empathetic engagement with children. The reality of how school based practices are defined by the nature of data and testing is also articulated by the deputy in Hopton primary, when asked how the curriculum may have changed as a result of changing demographics within the school, he responds:

The quick answer is that the main bulk of the curriculum has not changed at all, if we take the main curriculum subjects, literacy, maths, science those areas have not been affected by it at all, we are very much prescribed by Government (interview, Mr Williams, 26th February 2013).

In my interview with Mrs Beckett at St Anthony's, she referred to the external pressures and how they have impacted on her teaching:

Look, I'd love to be more creative, I'd love to do more music and drama but I can't, I've got to teach to make sure that the kids pass the tests and that takes up huge energies. Especially when the figures are prewritten for you, when you don't have a choice – don't get me started on this 'cos this drives me mad! (Interview, Mrs Beckett 18th April, 2013).

As presented in the findings below, the prescription of curriculum and its subsequent testing creates particular regimens of engagement within the school which have implications for the way space is enacted within schools.

4.4.4 Differentiation and definition of spatial learning parameters

Curriculum mediation and the spaces where learning takes place, partially define learning expectations for all pupils but these have particular resonance for pupils from minority ethnic and linguistic heritages. While discussing the rationale for grouping with the head teacher in St Anthony's school shared:

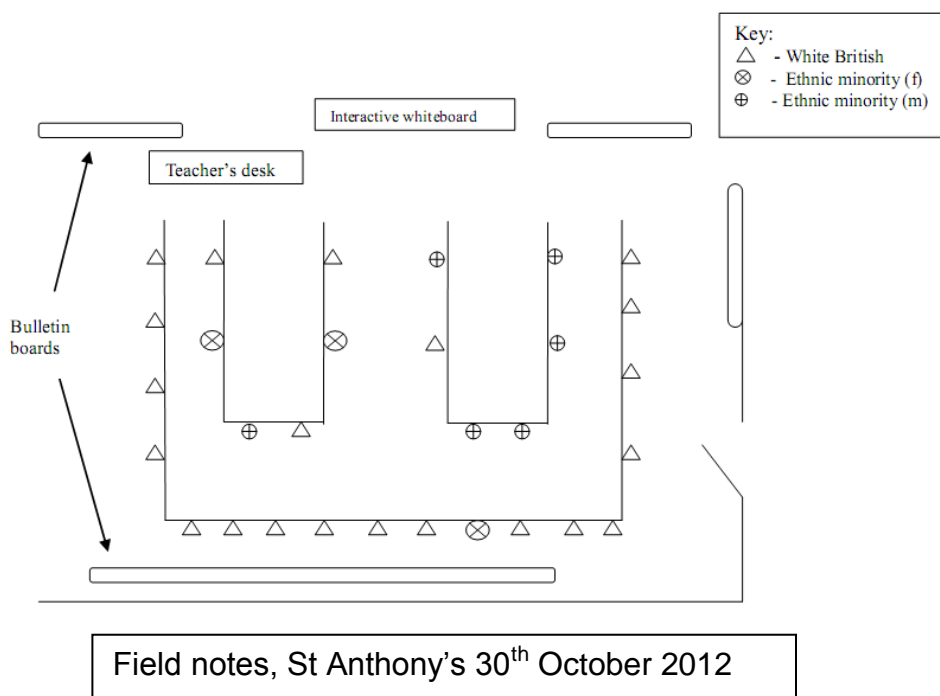
A class will group for maths and for English and then it is weighted depending on the paper they are going to be sitting, I think whether they are an EAL child or not they can then have that self-image and with their self-esteem they might then start to think, 'I am good at this' or, 'I am not so good at that', but there are EAL children within the year six grouping who are spread throughout the class within the different groups so that you have some in the top group, some in the middle group, some who were needing more support (interview Mrs Baldwin, St Anthony's 25th February 2013).

The use of the word 'weighted', reveals the contrastive analyses used to assign individuals according to their perceived intellectual weightiness and how they are ascribed to groups accordingly. The geography of the class, its differentiated spaces, may be an expression of how policy impacts on practice, forcing attainment for the top groups and driving wedges across and between pupils who are corralled into levelled learning spaces. When asked about the educational engagement of pupils for whom English was an additional language Mrs Baldwin responded:

We looked at data for closing gaps to show where we were weaker, where we sort of needed significant improvement, and our particular group within this school is summer born children, and so the weakness is there rather than in fact whether children are Malayalam and EAL children. In fact, they pull our figures up, their data is very strong, and it is our white British boys that we're concerned about (interview, 25th February 2013).

The classroom teacher Mrs Beckett shared a similar belief that 'there are a lot of English students struggling' (interview, Mrs. Beckett 18th April 2013), and later she expresses the feeling that, 'apart from one or two of the Polish kids, they're all doing very well, even better than the British kids' (ibid). This reading of the data was at odds with the spatial organisation of the Year 6 class in St Anthony's where pupils from ethnic minority backgrounds were significantly underrepresented in categorisations of 'top performing' groups for English and Maths classes and were as equally represented as British pupils in the 'lowest' groups. At differing times

during the research, I mapped the layout of the classrooms to gain an insight into how students were spatially arranged and classified. During the first observational visit to St Anthony's, I mapped the classroom not cognisant of the importance of grouping according to perceived student abilities but with an inkling, an intuitive insight which suggested that 'non-English' students were clustered together into the 'lower performing' groups.



An interpretation of the classroom revealed that Abha, a girl of Kerala Indian heritage, was the only pupil from an ethnic minority background who was included among the 'high performing' children whose space consisted of an overarching U shape around the two 'lesser performing' groups. Her position was privileged being one of the children from an ethnic minority background counted among the 18 'high performers'. It was noteworthy that the mid-performing group consisted of the 4 Kerala and one Filipino heritage boys with only one other girl among this group. The final 'lowest performing' group consisted of an equal number of white British and ethnic minority students, though only one of these was of Kerala heritage with the two Polish heritage pupils, Wojciech and Bryga also making up the group.

There was a realisation that pupils may internalise 'emotive fallout' from the processes associated with ability grouping. Mrs Beckett then argues that pupils:

Need to tolerate those differences with each other and that is quite a hard skill for children to learn; 'I am ok with this, and in fact I am good at that, but I need a bit of help with this' and that is a tough message, because rather than think the world will come crashing down and 'I am no good', you just have to make sure that if those groupings are set in place what do the children still recognise as their strengths even if they need support (interview Mrs Beckett, 18th April 2013).

Here there is a tacit understanding that the defined space is a rational and logical reflection of individual capabilities rather than perhaps being influenced by a host of competing agendas and influences. Because there were so few pupils from ethnic and linguistic minorities in each of the classes within Hopton Primary it was difficult to get a reading as to whether there may have been similar processes at work in that setting. However, as discussed earlier, the positioning of Darius as a problematic pupil certainly had implications for where he could sit and how he might be expected to behave. This aspect of learned and ascribed learner identity is a focus for the following section.

4.4.5 Deterritorialising curriculum: Freedom, space and creativity

The relationships between curriculum learning and subjectivities (Question 3 and 4: 57) are evidenced in the following narrative which was recorded in my field notes:

Every second Friday at St Anthony's an IT specialist teacher visits from the Local Authority to provide specialist learning in the use of information technology. It is Mr Elliot's session and he doesn't know any of the children personally. They are stranger children each with particular unfamiliar histories and personalities. During today's session Wojciech has been

transformed, deterritorialised from failing bad student into a becoming normal pupil with potential. He has been made responsible for following Mr Elliot's instructions for loading voice recordings of pupils' role played interviews as Victorian children onto a shared website. The task involves uploading MP3 files onto the shared system using the whiteboard to guide the others as they incrementally learn the new skills. Randomly, he has been requested to act as mentor to his peers, this may be the first time in his educational life in England that he has been identified as a knower and achiever. When he has completed a task as requested by Mr Elliot, the children set about following the instructions which have been shared, they are busily collaboratively engaged in the making of meaning.

In their busyness, they do not notice that Wojciech is dancing at the top of the class, his body an expression of liveliness and engagement with learning. The joy burst expended Wojciech refocuses, firstly to address the mess that is the top of his desk. Taking to the task he clears the paperwork and files the books away in their appropriate spaces around the classroom. For the subsequent five minutes he sets about as a roving collegial advisor to his classmates offering advice as to how to load the files. He becomes a shared maker of knowledge

His space as knower and achiever is short lived; once his file has been loaded he is asked to play it for his peers. The heavily accented Polish 'Victorian child' is heard over the loudspeakers eliciting some stifled giggles as pupils in pairs look at one another and identify the comedy of his otherness, the impossibility of this being an English Victorian person. Wojciech appears oblivious to the small groups of peers who would see him otherwise than what he has so recently been, a being with capacity to lead in acquiring knowledge and share it with classmates (Field notes, St. Anthony's, 21st January 2013).

Some hours afterwards, when Wojciech was talking about his photographs he became particularly eager to talk about one featuring the IT suite:

In the class I like ICT that's why I took this picture, I like ICT because at home my computer is broke but I can play on my uncle's and I like as well reading but I didn't bring that, I like magic books like story, not very long 'cos I no like long stories. I like the work today 'cos we can change sounds on computers. I like this school I like being a photograph detective, yes! (Photo interview, Wojciech 21st January 2013).

Technology features prominently in almost all of the children's photographic responses as to what they like about home and about school. An identity beyond language and particular nationality is augmented by a self-fashioned extension of the virtual self as expressed in games or online. Even for the newly arrived Yasmina in Hopton Primary, technology features as part of the home and school identity, 8 of her 24 exposures are of laptops or of games which she has played with her brother's X Box. Innovating a digital identity beyond the confines of the curriculum appeals to another pupil, who included several photos of the computer room in St Anthony's which:

is one of my favourite places in the school, it's because last year we did this thing... I can't remember what it was called ehhhh specs, yeah specs, we had a chance to build a classroom, and I designed a moon base 'cos we had a chance to do anything we wanted (photo interview, Tejas 7th February, 2013).

The Arts have a strong curriculum focus in St Anthony's and many of the pupils shared photographs of the performance hall and identified it as being among their favourite place in the school. Matthew described it as, 'A place that I like, 'cos it's normally like free and we normally practice our play and music in here' (Photo interview, 26th February 2013). This interview had a particular resonance because during my last visit to the school Mrs Beckett had organised on my behalf for the pupils to stage a special performance of an excerpt from Macbeth which had won a regional award. Both Matthew and Abha had key roles in the stirring section of the play which featured the witches' scene (Field notes, St Anthony's, 30th May 2013). The cue for movement was a thumping high-volumed introduction from

Carina Burana by Orff. I was profoundly affected for over 15 minutes, as the actors and actresses whizzed by my assigned singular seat at the side and centre of the hallway. Lines were convincingly shared, and Matthew's being morphed into the personification of Macbeth. Afterwards the pupils shared photos from their County winning performance. Their obvious passion and achievements had clearly transcended predefined notions of capabilities or assigned ethnicities.

Six of the pupils interviewed in the two schools had taken photographs of outside spaces, identifying these as being among their favourite places within the school. These spaces were usually associated with team sports or they contained appealing aesthetic features. For Wojciech, one particular space in the school yard reflected both of these attributes:

I like this tree, over there is stuck ball, it is there for 4 years, I like this place, I am always playing football, I think maybe I will be the goalie for England (photo interview, Wojciech 21st January 2013).

4.5 INTERSECTIONALITIES AND PERFORMATIVES: ETHNICITY, GENDER, ACHIEVEMENT

Aspects of subjectivities, intersectionalities and pupil performatives were key focuses of the research (see Questions 4 and 5: 57) and the following observations provide glimpses as to how they were played out. In particular, the interplay between gender and ethnicity became a strand of the research which revealed different learning experiences for differing cohorts of pupils.

4.5.1 'Weird' and 'naughty': boys' performances in the classroom

'Weird' Darius

'You're weird', Darius is told by Sharon in Mrs Carter's class on my first visit to Hopton Primary (field notes, Hopton 1st November 2012). Despite being identified as one of the 'problem' students herself, Sharon draws power from naming those

who are further outside the realms of acceptability. Darius is a recently arrived addition to the class, having come from another school somewhere in England. It appears that Darius has been in country for about three years but he is not settling well. Darius' positioning as outsider back of class boy is problematic among teachers and peers because:

he struggles to fit into our, into our... not school, because I think we are a quite inclusive school, I think England as a whole, I think it lacks certain social skills that he hasn't got yet, that he doesn't quite know how to play with children of any year group or of any culture, he just, he just doesn't understand certain jokes and he tries to get attention using a negative way rather than a positive way (interview, Mrs Carter, 12th March 2013).

Earlier in the academic year, on a Thursday morning before Christmas the Year 6 class teachers have their group planning session and a teaching assistant is taking circle time with the children:

The TA is sitting on a chair, all of the children are sitting cross legged on the floor in a circular formation. The discussion is focused on the theme of celebrations and spending time with family. Darius moves about uncomfortably as the key focus questions are shared, he is sitting directly to the left of the teaching assistant and she turns to address him; 'you haven't made a good impression on me, you've been naughty constantly', he bows his head and looks sheepishly at the faces looking in his direction. The focus for the discussions start and the TA says jovially, 'I'm going to start with Darius, now what do you do for Christmas?' Darius's body retracts under the attention of his peers, his habitual brashness dissipates and is replaced by what appears to be deep vulnerability and possibly shame, his hands cover his face to deflect the external gaze. He responds to the question; 'turkey', there is laughter around the class, Darius' too joins in the merriment, though apparently unaware it is directed at his inability to answer correctly or perhaps in the belief that his own humiliation is a

welcome distraction for everyone from the norm of teacher controlled interactions (Field notes, Hopton Primary 11th December 2012).

For the duration of the research, Darius is identified as a problematic, Eastern European boy whose EALness combines with SEN to create a challenging and 'naughty' learner. His experiences are to some extent reflected in the way that Wojciech is discussed, classified and behaves at St. Anthony's. This defines and prescribes the nature of these boys' educational potentials.

Wojciech assumes the role of 'naughty boy'

During one of my school visits to St Anthony's, I noted how Wojciech assumed the role of 'naughty boy' in line with expectations:

My role has become blurred in class, at the request of the teacher, I have become actively involved in the classroom activities, performing as a TA mainly when I am there, sitting in beside the group which is deemed needing the most support, or assisting with photocopying and cutting out of shapes which the children write upon. I wanted to work particularly with Wojciech during mathematics class, to illustrate how he could learn and engage in work and become 'normal pupil'. I sat with him and Frank (a white British boy identified as being within SA+ and with whom Wojciech is generally paired for mathematics and literacy) to provide assistance as they worked through a series of mathematics problems on the unknown but determinable lengths on parallelogram shapes. My role began to morph into caring teacher and then pushy teacher as I coached Wojciech through the processes of completing the problems, urging him to stay on task and keep focused, his body began to rebel to register the change in me from non-interested researcher to that of teacher and interferer, as possible object of ridicule in payment for the ridicule inflicted for being a looser, a lost cause.

As we neared completion of one of the problems, in teacher mode I began to share how proud I was of the work, and how he might be proud and show the work to his parents, he caught Frank's eye and began to giggle uncontrollably, the naughty boy was being impossible, in the face of the teacher-researcher who adopted a teacher scolding role, the anger role of control and management of focused desire to minimise the undermining of authority through recourse to adult power and authority. The only way to challenge that is to be true to role, to become naughty boy and giggle at the powerlessness of the teacher who has all the power (Field notes, St Anthony's, 3rd May 2013).

4.5.2 Becoming pupils: Wojciech and Darius visit from the edges

The wanderings of Wojciech

Without warning at times, I'll raise my head in Mrs Beckett's class having been writing in my notebook taking field notes, to notice that Wojciech is no longer about, his absence is a puzzlement. He will have been in the class then suddenly his space at the desk is marked by emptiness while children carry on with their tasks. This is an engaging facet of school life, the unexplained absences which children perceive as part of the school practice and with which they're accustomed. My field notes recount what happens on a particular day when I follow as Wojciech is beckoned from the class by Mrs Walicki:

I follow the pair as they wander the corridors looking for a free space where they can work together and Mrs Walicki settles on the open hall space. She produces a picture dictionary and they go through discrete parts of the names of items in a bathroom, 'what is this?', 'it's a faucet' Wojciech responds as the picture dictionary is American. Ten minutes into the focus on discrete word drilling Wojciech is bored and volunteers to help the lunch ladies move the tables into position for the impending arrival of the early lunch classes (Field notes, St Anthony's 7th February, 2013).

On a subsequent occasion, Wojciech is engaged with peers in solving mathematics problems, it is competitive and urgent, the door opens and Mrs Walicki beckons for Wojciech, as Mrs Beckett is busy working with another group, I suggest to Mrs Walicki that actually he is really enjoying his current learning. Again, I have blurred boundaries between researcher and researched but feel that the practice of focusing on discreet drilling of nouns should be disrupted and support for his growing English literacy might better be offered within the more meaningful context of his class where he has been allowed to work with other 'more able' pupils during mathematics class (Field notes, St Anthony's 23rd April, 2013).

Darius visits from the peripheries

While visiting Hopton Primary school on a Monday morning in January there is an educational story in three phases experienced by Darius. During the first of these, Darius inhabits his distant orbital space, to the peripheries of the classroom. He is then incorporated into the main community in a show of his potential for becoming pupil and through the practices of examination preparation he is then placed in a challenging emotional and physical place. The sequence of positionings and affectivities is recounted from field notes:

Mrs Neary calls the roll in Hindi, greeting each child with a Namaste followed by their name, each one responds with, 'Namaste Mrs Neary'. The learning focus is on reading and attention is with the 'bright' group gathered to the front and right of the class who are reviewing critical moments in Great Expectations. Meanwhile, a female pupil and Darius are moved to a carpeted space at the back of the class, they both lay into large cushions; is this a banishment? A punishment space? Or is it a functional becoming arrangement which realises Darius' incompatibility with the constraints of the traditional firmly fixed desk space of classroom? I like to think it's the latter, and that this is a becoming space for learning. It is sustained reading time but Darius is whispering incessantly, his reading book is open but he is not concerned with the print and focuses his energies upon folding, unfolding and refolding a piece of paper. He has come to the awareness of

Mrs Neary, 'Darius I've been watching you and all this time you haven't read a thing, you're meant to be reading', Darius reengages with the reading task for a few moments to draw attention away from the teacher gaze. He then reverts to the paper folding. Would he become a reader if he had the company of a peer or a parent who might explore his interests?

Once the sustained silent reading and teacher support for 'brighter' children comes to a close, the focus of learning changes to reading comprehension. In readiness, the children are directed to their literacy targets, the discrete aspects of learning which they should attend to, today the focus is upon the study of prefixes. Mrs Neary asks for examples of prefixes prompting a fast paced interaction with the children:

Pupil 1: What about able – disable

Mrs Neary: Yes, there's another one too, which we can use with this word...

Pupil 2: Evolutionise – deevolutionise

Mrs Neary: Emmmm...that's not quite right

Darius: Able – Unable

Mrs Neary: Yes that's excellent (field notes, Hopton Primary).

This is one of the first times I've heard Darius being complemented and I become conscious too of his pride. The preparation work completed, it is now time for the 'Big Write', the concept itself appears daunting, it is not framed in terms of creativity or expression but as a preparation of the life determining examination, it is 'big' in terms of its future implications for being. Directions are provided for the five colour-coordinated 'groups' which reflect the banded expectations for each pupil-writer, exam-taker. Silence is sought and secured in the class.

After a little time, Darius' body begins to take flight from the gravity of the task, he places both of his feet firmly beneath the front legs of his chair and uses his body weight to pin his being into position, his chair tilts slightly backwards. His body expresses a desire to be elsewhere, his knees and upper body begin to jib and bounce and he stretches his arms behind his ears and presses his neck. Mrs Neary exhorts the class to, 'stretch yourselves and see if you can take your task to the next level'. The 'Big Write' is about making a menu and she encourages the children to 'see if you can include a desert for example, or a starter as well as your main course'. I wonder how all of this might be perceived by Darius, is it important and or relevant cultural knowledge for him? Is this familiar cultural knowledge? Who determines that this should focus should be of importance in a pupil's life? His body movements appear to show that in this context Darius is adrift (Field notes, January 21st 2013).

4.5.3 Not good enough Tanvi needs to 'get better'

On a morning in mid-April I visit Mrs Beckett's class playing cool researcher with the males as I enter the class and exchange closed fist greetings with the boys who are helping with the research. My gendered researcher relationships with the girls is different, I share smiles and nods. During the writing class Tanvi, who is of Kerala heritage, comes to my attention we have agreed to have the face to face interview later so I am interested in her work. Later, we leave the classroom to conduct the interview in the library. I feel that her incredible shyness, or her lack of confidence with adults, is expressed in an almost abject subservience the cause of which I cannot discern. I'd like to bridge this and instil confidence in her, to share that her perceived inability to engage with academic performance should not steal her spirit. But, I can never truly know the cause of her terrible self-effacement, which finds expression in the demurred silence of her speech. Her hushed and hesitant utterances are shared as if the very act of speaking was a challenge to the accepted order of things. Is it self? Is it school? Is it home? Is it a combination of all

which results in the interview with her as being emotionally challenging and while listening back to the recording of her voice I consult my field notes which record that

I am impacted by her sense of powerlessness and her willingness to please, I am mindful of the torturous difficulty with which she expressed her opinions because she may not have been asked previously about anything that mattered to her (Field notes, St Anthony's 18th April).

There is a possibility that her physical placement in class within the second to lowest group for maths and literacy may be shameful for her as an expression of a wider family and cultural expectations. According to the SENCo, some parents find it difficult to accept the fact that their children may not be the most academically gifted, in her words:

I am not so sure on the Indian community here but people do say that they, in church that they are not very accepting of any child with a disability and we have had quite a few severe um disabilities as well as not just SEN but real disabilities here um and they say the families, because I don't go to the church, but the church you know, they notice at church what's... the attitude towards the children is what is trying to ... you know they are almost ashamed of it and I don't know if that is true, that is just what I am told (interview, Mrs Jenkins, 26th March, 2013).

Tanvi then may be subjectified to the extent that sharing a view had become physically excruciating, it challenged her body and her being when asked questions about anything other than factual information; the stuff of feelings and opinions prompted physical reactions reflecting emotional insecurity and uncertainty. Her fingers were balled into fists and she writhed in her seat.

Mindful of her feelings of obvious discomfort, quite a few times during the interview, I stopped and asked her if she wished to continue, she expressed a desire to, but I am unsure whether this was because she may have felt compelled

to please the male adult researcher or whether there was a desire to tell the story of what it felt like to be assigned a position of a never quite good enough struggling student. She appeared at once burdened but also pleased to unburden through talk. The interview with her brought to mind the inequality in power arrangements between my positioning as adult researcher and her role of subject. I realised that there was no access to certainty about her feelings and opinions, but that the conversation might help to reveal aspects of the experiences which may have prompted such self-effacement and a desire not to be recognised as anything other than one whose presence reassured the interviewer.

Researcher: Let's have a look at the photos, what about this one?

Tanvi: Well this is the class, and I like the class, because I can stay in there and like, learn stuff and em.... get better.....

Researcher: What are your favourite subjects?

Tanvi: Art..... PE and eh, I like maths a bit...

Researcher: And who do you like to sit beside?

Tanvi: Em....eh....., (sniffles then a prolonged silence for 11 seconds)

(photo interview, 18th April 2013)

On reflection, I wonder whether Tanvi feels it appropriate for her to decide with whom she should sit, or even express such a preference when it is the teacher's role to make such decisions. There is also a possibility that Tanvi's formative experiences of gender, culture and schooling meld in a confluence of disempowering systems which render the self-abject and inaudible.

Researcher: Let's have a look at some of the other photos, what's this one?

Tanvi: Well, that's some books and I like reading because I can learn from them and know how to get better at writing stories.... and I could get to a higher group than am now...

Researcher: So what group are you in now?

Tanvi: Em..... (four seconds delay) eh, well we don't have names for the tables, but eh....I'm in like the second lowest (photo interview, Tanvi 18th April 2013).

Much of the interview is suffused with the educational experience being analogous to the medical; the theme for Tanvi is how to 'get better', her academic performance is an illness from which hard work will make her recover. This narrative is reinforced by the school based assemblage reflected in the motivational talk given by the mathematics resource teacher who works with lower ability groups to raise SATS attainment. During a small group workshop Tanvi and three other girls are withdrawn from class and he informs them;

You're here to ensure that you work hard and get a move from here (points to a gradated vertical level drawn on a whiteboard indicating 3A) to here (points to the 4A). Other children were able to do this last year, reason being – they worked hard, it's not about need, it's about want, if we work we'll move up (field notes, St Anthony's 18th April 2013).

All children are identified as being equal, with those who work hard getting better and moving up. The groups in the classroom then, which are gradated must be a reflection of those who work hard being in the top group, and those who don't being in the bottom, they need to work harder to get better.

4.5.4 'As good as boys': Abha and Peta take on gendered world

However, there are particular girls who transcend the boundaries set within the school and who become recognised as 'high achievers' profiles of two of these pupils are provided in the following section.

In differing school domains, Abha from St Anthony's is popular and sought after by her peers, though her relationships with boys appear stronger and she has only superficial relationships with the 'highest performing' white girls. In the school yard Abha eschews friendship with the high achieving girls and prefers the sporty rough and tumble boys who play a form of rugged football on the concrete playground.

She tackles with the full force and conviction of her body, convincingly checking the advance of opposing players. Abha challenges the physicality of predetermination on her own terms by using her body 'as good as a boy', a phrase Mrs Dyson used to describe her. Abha has been selected for the school's A level football team, she meets the measures of boys on their own space and beats them in their game unselfconsciously.

One afternoon, I observe while she dribbles the ball from one end of the courtyard, controlling it as she advances to strike directly at the bespeckled goalie and find the empty space between his buckled knees. She is becoming person with an aptitude for playing a diversity of games and determining the rules for each in terms of gender and ethnicity identities, she weaves between ethnic boundaries in the exclusive classroom top performers' group, the one-in-eighteen who savours academic success.

Just as she has deterritorialized ethnic and gender expectations her creative space is reterritorialized and becomes exclusive with potential for blocking others who may upset the role of 'top performing girl,' a performance identifiable from within the repertoire of roles expected in the competitive, individualist, 'normal school'. Following an analysis of the individual interviews, I discerned a predominantly negative affective impact of grouping among respondents in both schools. At the follow up group interview in St Anthony's, I asked the group of 9 about their impressions of grouping, Abha responds:

I like the groups because my friends are on the group with me, if I was with someone who was struggling I might get bored and loose interest in my learning...(Group interview, St Anthony's 7th March 2013)

Wojciech responds; 'Yeah but that's 'cos you're in the highest group, people might laugh at you when you're in the....' (this sentence goes unfinished). For Abha, being the outsider amongst the achievers does not necessarily create a desire to open up the boundaries for others. In this class, for those from ethnic minorities, it is challenging to join the elite performers. With self-belief, humour, athleticism and

determination she can strive to become whomsoever she wishes within the confines of school, regardless of what the other 'bright girls' think. However, as my field notes attest that position can also be challenged by peers with more recognition and power:

Today during extended writing she is placed at a separate table with the 'bright girls' at the back of the class. Following a writing task which lasts about 20 minutes, the girls are eagerly exchanging their work for peers to read. Abha's work is in demand and excitedly changes hands to be read, later however they let her know of her difference from them as all-White-top-performing-girls. The 6 'bright girls' sitting at the writing table can also define certain limits for deterritorialisation and reclaim their own spaces of privileged difference, different from inhabiting brown skin.

One of the girls has a cold and whilst sniffing says to Abha, 'give me the tissues, actually, why not say this in an Indian accent', one of the other bright white girls says, 'yes why not say it like an Indian', Abha ignores them and feigns reading, and a third girl says, 'yeah, just put your hands in your pockets and say it like an Indian', they giggle, Abha retorts, 'no, I won't', her voice is steady and commanding, though the point of identifying external difference has been made (field notes, St Anthony's 14th January 2013).

As much as she may succeed on the field and classroom, she will never be counted as among the white 'bright girls', always made aware of the separateness and difference of being 'Indian', the girls have realised a subtle and deliberate act of differentiation.

Peta the boss

According to my field notes it is the 22nd March 2013 and, I am in Hopton Primary to interview Peta who was born in Poland but has lived in England for 3 years. We

are looking for a space to conduct the photo interviews. We knock on the office door to secure the key for the quiet room, but there is silence 'I know who'll have a key' Peta suggests and she turns to her left and walks to the head teacher's office, knocking resolutely on the door which is then opened, 'we'd like the key to the meeting room please'. The head teacher smiles and looks in my direction and I suggest; 'well she doesn't have issues with being shy and retiring, I'm hoping to interview her and we wondered if it would be possible to borrow the key'. The head teacher continues smiling and nods in Peta's direction, 'so I see you've met the school boss', we smiled and went to the quiet room to conduct the interview. Showing me a photograph of her family Peta explains:

I live with my mum my dad my sister and my uncle. My sister is 15. My mom had three brothers and two sisters and she's the youngest, I'm the boss, like her! My dad wouldn't be the boss because his little brother died when he was 5 years old, and he didn't recover from that (photo interview, Peta 22nd March 2013).

She shows me a photo of the classroom as a part of the school which she likes, but then proceeds to share how having to sit by Yasmina and having to translate for her;

Well that is just annoying me, cos I was trying to do my work and say you've got five minutes to do it and she asks you, 'what do you do'? And you take up your five minutes to explain it, and then you're the one that gets in trouble. That's why I don't like it, like I learned English, in eh... the first two weeks, and I learnt it. Sonja took longer, she took like two months, but Yasmina, she's really long here and she asks me stuff all the time and then she doesn't do anything, so I said 'just learn it' I had to learn it, I had no one – I had no one. Now when I look back in my books from year 2, I see that I couldn't spell anything, I was just laughing at myself. Like I used to spell 'wasn't' like 'wosnt' without an apostrophe. And I was just like, God...., like, I was really weird (photo interview, Peta 22nd March 2013).

Being new in country with a different language is a form of 'weirdness' and difference which from a vantage position of time, academic achievement, and to some extent popular peer success, as Peta is joint class representative, may be viewed upon as less than normal or aberrant. From Peta's perspective this is an individual struggle and despite her desire to maintain aspects of her Polish language and heritage, she resents having to tutor others to overcome gaps in their knowledge. Whilst the contexts are different, there are echoes of Albha's group experiences sounding through.

4.5.5 Being othered: racism and ethnic stereotyping

Few of the children spoke of direct experiences of racism, but as Sonja shares a photograph of the schoolyard she says there is a particular space which she does not like in Hopton Primary:

I think, year 5 girl is very rude because she said 'back to Poland because everybody don't like you here,' so I started crying because it's not nice and I said 'Yeah back to England, I don't like you' so that is a bit sad. So is Mrs Harris, I know Mrs. Harris is sad but that is not my fault for everybody being rude here. So for everything here I start crying because I don't want to go to school (photo interview, Sonja 11th January 2013).

Peta also talks about a sense of exclusion and being picked upon:

There's people in my class when I say something they just go (shows face of disdain) and pull faces and they laugh. Sometimes, I think people don't like me 'cos I'm from a different country and that's really not nice. Sometimes people will be just a racist, but that's gone over, I've dealt with it. And...I don't mind people not liking me, not everyone HAS to like me, but they don't have to be mean to me (photo interview Peta, 22nd March 2013).

These experiences of schoolyard conflicts tended to be downplayed by classroom teachers, two of whom mentioned that problems were more 'cultural misunderstandings' rather than actual racist incidents. Nevertheless, Mr Williams acknowledges that racism among the children is problematic:

Yeah we have, I think any school that says that bullying hasn't happened in their school is not quite telling the truth, yes, it does, it does happen. We find that the majority of the bully...the racist bullying that does go on is with our eastern European children, again it's the Polish children... it doesn't happen that often which is very pleasing, but we do have incidences of it. Most of the time we've found that, in the one of two incidences where it's been happening outside of school and we are very aware that there are pockets within the area where the school is located where relationships between the Polish and the local, well 'English community' to give them a name, are not fantastic and that can spill into school. And I'm fairly convinced that it's outside influences that are being brought into school and it's not sort of developing itself within school, we have a very severe line on it, it's basically a zero tolerance policy (interview, Mr Williams 26th February 2013).

Whereas, teaching staff were generally unwilling to talk about racist incidences, some were less inhibited about comparing, contrasting and profiling the perceived differing work ethics of children from differing groups. Mrs Dyson the TA at Saint Anthony's for example identified that, 'the Indians are very different, they're very keen to get ahead, and they are very keen with homework as well.... they have got real work ethic' (interview, Mrs Dyson 18th April 2013). As shared by Mrs Beckett, 'they are often better than the British kids' (interview, Mrs Beckett 18th April, 2013). This contrasts with the two Polish children who are both in the lowest performing group in the class.

Perhaps in a more subtle manner, the elision of cultural or linguistic identities contributed to the formation of subjectivised identities. Certain pupils did not have a positioning within the educational experience and this had implications for how

they interpreted the wider social world. This was exemplified in Joselito's observation about his experiences as a Filipino pupil in St Anthony's:

There's not much in the class to read about where I come from 'cos not much kind of people from there live here. Like India are famous here cause they were the first people who came here and not much people from where I came from are here, so they're not that much famous to the world like India or England or Australia. Barely nobody knows that place existed (photo interview, St Anthony's).

Within the class and in the enacted curriculum there is an unintended ambivalence towards Joselito's linguistic, cultural and ethnic heritage. It is quite possible that this contributes to a sense of ambiguity about his identity and sense of self, a point further explored below.

4.5.6 Nationality and ambiguity: considering notions of 'home'

Subjectivities, intersectionalities and performatives may also be expressed in pupils' perceptions of the problematic concept of nationality. A sense of loss and displacement clouds the experiences of some of the children who have recently arrived in England. During her interview, Yasmina discusses one of the photographs which she has taken in her home and she shares, 'so the most difficult is that all my friends, I had to leave them all in Poland, and also my Dad lives there too, so it is very difficult, this is a photo of him'. But that sadness and loss is also tinged by a sense of promise because according to Yasmina, 'England will be better, I can't say exactly for why this is the case, but it will be better for me and my mom and my brother' (photo interview, 26th February 2013).

Emerging and conflicting associations with national identities also feature in Sonja's interview. She has arrived in England relatively recently and struggles with the significance of home, place and national identity while sharing a photo of her home in Clareborne she states:

I don't know but I think I would be happier here, because if I go to Poland I am crying because I am (*wishing to go*) back to England and if I am in England I am crying because I like to go back to Poland, so I find it hard... my family are in Poland, so I start crying so I was, oh God and my Mum is like, I don't know Sonja, so it's very stressed because now my Mum says we may move back to Poland (photo interview, Sonja 11th January 2013).

Matthew in St Anthony's enjoys aspects of differing identities:

For me we normally stay in England but I really love India, 'cos it's fun really fun. I like tigers, tigers are like the national animal of India so I just took a picture of this and that's what we have in our house lots of pictures of tigers - that's our front door when we come in and there's a picture of a tiger (photo interview, Mathew 26th February 2013).

Later in the same interview Mathew shares his interest in reading and the particular interest he has in travel books:

I like going to the library in the town and there is normally some books about India there. The last one I read was about these English people who travel to India and what they see and what they call it and stuff, and the name of the book is called 'My trip to India' or 'Our trip to India', and then there's a different range of these books, so there's not only India, there's 'Our trip to Italy and Mexico' and stuff and it's the same covered stuff but a different country (photo interview, Mathew 26th February 2013).

A multi layered interpretation appeals to me here as Matthew explores the 'exotic' with which he is familiar. The travel book perhaps reflects one perspective of how a 'normal' English person travels to the far away culture where it is seen as alien and strange. I wonder how it might read to one whose cultural experiences are rather blended to create something new – much of the fiction, like the content areas in other subjects appears to reflect a notion of a shared unprobmatized culture where there are few if any representations of

‘others’. For Annessa in Hopton, who was born in Lithuania but who has lived in England for four years, there is less ambiguity about where belonging is, while showing a particular space in the school playground, she comments:

This is the place in the school where me and my friends come to play, I have lots of friends in the school Sally, Lisa, Lucie, Ronwyn. After school, I hang out with them too sometimes they come by ‘cos they live near me. That’s why I like it here, the food is less expensive, it’s not so cold and I can be with friends (photo interview, Annessa 15th January 2013).

Transitions are individual and complicated which has implications for perceptions of home, most of the pupils have capacities to navigate between differing ‘national’ identities and eschew essentialised tags of nationality and home.

4.6 CONCLUSION

The significance of space, of being in a particular place as an identified other at a time when immigrants are subject to social scrutiny and approbation, pervades this chapter. Situating the research in a relatively rural area enabled particular avenues of enquiry which are described to the fore of this chapter. Influences of cyber projections of schools’ cultures and manifestations of geophysical space within the schools studied also unveiled aspects of how ‘doing school’ is actualised in different settings. Resultant actions, their interrelationships with personal and institutional beliefs and value systems all contribute to how pupils from ethnic or linguistic minority backgrounds experience their education and develop their sense of self in an educational context. There is a spectrum of elisions and inclusions which may be glimpsed in the physical organisation of groups and individuals and in ways their identities are fostered by teachers and incorporated or otherwise within the curriculum. Attributes of inter-sectionality play significant roles in how particular individuals experience their education.

5. Analysis, synthesis and discussion

5.1 INTRODUCTION

Throughout this chapter, I seek to make sense of what the research has revealed and how it relates to pertinent literature. In so doing, I imposed what was for me a troubling sense of order on the rather entangled, interwoven and at times interrupted and disjointed series of insights from: readings, themes, stories, affectivities; insights and unsettling experiences in Hopton Primary and St Anthony's which, taken together, became a section of my research life and writing. As these migrated through time and space and crisscrossed through memory, forgetting and elision, some of the stories and incidences were imbued with a sense of possible becoming other; for the pupils, for the schools and for me (Cole, 2011; Cole and Masny 2012; Marble, 2012; Pearce et al, 2012; Semetsky, 2006). In the making of sense, I drew on understandings and experiences of other researchers who had also problematised the nature of conducting and sharing similar types of research (Benjamin, 2002; Cremin et al, 2011; Taylor, 2009; Youdell, 2011). Below then is a somewhat compromised linearity on what might have been otherwise. The following sections of the chapter address the key questions in light of the findings and their relationships with the wider research literature.

5.2 ANALYSING EFFECTS OF WIDER VALUES AND POLICIES

5.2.1 Immigration, race, ethnicity and the school experience

The research took place between the months of October 2012 and May 2013, prior to and during that timeframe, a socio-political narrative emerged portraying immigrants as exploitative and opportunistic (Jowitt, 2013; Skidmore, 2013). This had implications for the focus on Question 1 which was concerned with the influence of external factors on pupil educational identities. As recognised by Deleuze and Guattari, 'everything is political, but every politics is simultaneously a

macropolitics and a micropolitics' (1987: 213). National policy dialogues are interpreted and transposed into the affective domain of subjects within local settings. This had implications for teachers and pupils from minority ethnic communities as related by the TA Ms. Bronowski who identified how changed economic circumstances had generated a sense of unease among the immigrant communities who were made to feel increasingly unwelcome. Within the intertwined national, regional and local context, policy developments were mediated in schools while externally, 'through a combination of both media hype and social and political hype, "threat" profiles are socially constructed based on physical characteristics; country of origin and language' (Ortiz and Jayshree, 2010: 179). This national discussion which foregrounded local elections also occurred as the policy agenda within school shifted significantly so that schools were identified as being increasingly responsible for how they wished to interpret and create their own policies and practices (See for example, Ofsted, 2011). There also appeared to be a shift away from aspects of cultural and linguistic inclusion towards a concern for white working class boys, this policy shift was taken up and reflected in the particular concerns identified in St Anthony's.

There were subtle interplays between the roles of national policy discourses and how these were 'bought into' by teachers and the ways in which schools may seek to reinterpret or redevelop their own transpositions of policy orientations (Ball et al, 2011; Maguire et al, 2011). There are multiple strands and messages within policy papers, directives and dialogues which come together to form a semblance of coherence in an overall policy message. In its most manifest form, this resulted in the overarching predominance of a concern for SATS and an attendant fracturing of classrooms on the basis of ability differentiation. For example, in Hopton Primary, the Prospectus incorporated a discussion of SATS in a predominant position while providing information about the curriculum. Such shared understandings as to what school was about had profound implications for practice and particularly affected the pupils for whom English was an additional language. Current school practices as expressions of the external policy agenda create an image of being meritocratic while they are 'shot through with challenging

assumptions' (Cole 2011: 552). Policy orientations potentially masked systematic inequalities of privilege, power and unintentional institutional racism within schools (Ball, 2013; Gillborn, 2008; Macpherson, 1999). The practices of differentiated and categorising grouping are themselves problematic and infused with aspects of power, politics, affect and intention (Ball, 2013; Connell, 2013; Cremin and Thomas, 2005; Thompson and Cook, 2013). However, outcomes are uncertain because just as new policy orientations may replicate hegemonic cultural and social positioning (Gillborn, 2005), they may also enable divergent creative spaces for new thinking and action.

Drawing direct causal lines between policy and school-based effect is problematic. Nonetheless, tangents of association linked policies, practices and the resultant artefacts and spaces which became the enactment of policy (Evans and Davies, 2012; Heimans, 2012; Maguire et al, 2011). The 'entanglements of policy associations' (Heimans 2012: 318) created divergent policy practices (see Findings Chapter: 94-103) which were 'riddled with power concerns' (Cole and Masny, 2012: 2) influencing how ethos and culture were enacted. Overall, the elision of pupils' cultural and linguistic knowledge was a feature of school and wider educational policy documents.

While St Anthony's Inclusion Policy made specific mention of the importance of maintenance of pupils' first languages, there was no evidence to suggest that this policy was enacted. Conversely, at Hopton Primary there was a conscious effort among school leaders to ensure pupils' languages were supported and incorporate them, at least to some extent, into the curriculum. What becomes evident at an early stage in the analysis of the findings is that there are widely divergent practices and understandings as to how best to engage with linguistic and cultural diversity and there are few mechanisms available for ensuring that successful practices are shared across schools.

5.3 SCHOOL CULTURES: LIMITATIONS, POTENTIALS, CREATIVITIES

The individual school cultures were influenced by external discursive formations of 'sovereign, communal meanings' or grand narratives' (Maguire et al term, 2011: 598) which provided taken for granted and normative assumptions about the nature of education and how it ought to be realised in schools. The extent to which the outside enfolded the inside, and vice versa, ensured that dual aspects of the external (Question 1) and its enmeshed interrelationships with internal school cultures (Question 2) influenced the ways the two schools acted and this in turn affected the educational experiences of pupils.

Because the research took place in Year 6 classes, for the schools concerned, the primary grand narratives coalesced to form 'communal meanings' related to SATs and levels of pupils attainment (see, for example discussion 126-132). Additionally, there were concerns about the changing nature of the National Curriculum and how it might be best delivered. The ever looming prospect of external accountability through Ofsted also permeated actions and dialogues and these in turn shaped perceptions and expectations of possible pupil achievements. Categorisations were created and pupils were subsequently assigned sectioned and bracketed according to ability or impossibility of learning. The systematic grouping of pupils was also overlaid with notions of behaviour and discipline, where 'naughty' and unruly boys were assigned to the lowest performing groups (Ball, 2013; Youdell, 2011: 13). This corresponded with my observations in both of the schools and in all three of the classes. The process corresponds with Foucault's (1991) analysis of how educational establishments create mechanisms of disciplinary and sorting powers, these produce hierarchical classifications to delineate spaces that correspond to the worthfulness of individuals using criteria of 'bodies, activities and time' (Youdell, 2011: 37).

While causal and linear relationships between values, policies and practices were challenging to ascertain in the school based research (Question 2: 57), it was apparent that enfolding of dialogic and symbolic representations provided discernible linkages between school values and those of the wider society (de

Frietas, 2012; Maguire et al, 2011; Wang et al, 2011). For example, as shared by Mrs Neary, teachers may adhere to the pretence of being inclusive while not being concerned for pupils who are deemed as potential failures. Within St Anthony's the adherence to a values base of universality resulted in difficulties for the school to attend to individual cultural, ethnic and linguistic differences. Such an approach undermined capacity for creatively responding to diversity and difference as it tended to mask such differences and reinforced inequalities (Allen, 2004; Cochran-Smith, 1995b). Further, an interpretation of equality that presumes all pupils have shared experiences negates the importance of culturally and linguistically informed differences as well as eliding attributes of difference as starting points for learning.

Being a 'good school' inevitably involves practices of measuring, categorisation and splintering of pupil cohorts so the school, 'excels in providing a continuous stream of human capital for the knowledge economy... reliant on the production of individuals as; tradable individuals, a market statistic, part of a sample, an item in a data bank' (Semetsky 2012: 52). This school produces sufficient required data and is thus adjudged as being 'good', it also produces 'dividuals' (a Guattari neologism), or persons prepared for the market economy. Just as pupils are weighed and measured, so too are the schools:

We are very much prescribed by Government, this is what you can teach and you know we do work towards that because this is the same as any other school, this is how we are measured so to a certain extent we will play the game and get ourselves measured and come out at the right end, at the end of the day it is data that will make us float or sink as a school (interview, Mr. Williams 26th February 2013).

The concern is that such practices, 'systematically elevate the standing of notions such as ability, intelligence, talent, and learning difficulty' (Cremin and Thomas 2005: 432) while the concepts should be openly interrogated within schools as being socially constructed.

The cultural parameters within which schools operate are guided by precise organising principles of grouping and differentiation to which they are subject and these have 'the primary and fundamental character of the norm' as its basis (Ball, 2013: 51). The norm is established in a public domain of comparative data analysis and is dependent upon classroom based practices of 'educational triage' involving:

The deployment of notions of ability and intelligence, notions that are suffused with age old ideas of race and class hierarchy and which cement these classifications and their hierarchical arrangement and normalize the uneven distribution of opportunities and outcomes across differentiated groups of students (Youdell, 2011: 14).

What is important here, is that the delimiting dialogues of 'good work', 'effort' and acceptable and resistant behaviours fashion the ways in which pupils and teachers think about and engage with their work and produce shared understandings about what is acceptable. For example, in Mrs Beckett's class the contributions from Wojciech were imbued with suspicion and tinged with unacceptability (see page 116). As discussed by Maguire et al, the educational discourses and positionings 'offer the pleasures of performance to those who can inhabit these positions with a sense of achievement, although they are premised on the positioning of 'others' outside of such pleasures' (2011: 608). Those who are outside of the circle of goodness inhabit terrains peopled by pupils accompanied by TAs where the language of the classroom is threaded by discourses of 'abnormality', 'weirdoes', 'special educational needs', 'foreignness' and 'EAL'.

5.3.1 Striving beyond the machine: Leadership and rhizomic learning

Though the narrative of norming is pervasive, creative movements along the lines of flight can disrupt the prevailing order of things by enabling multiple becomings that are collective, dynamic and social (Ball, 2009; Cole, 2011; Colebrook, 2002). The Deleuzian concept of rhizomic flight provides a conceptual gateway through

which historical and social preconceptions may be ruptured giving way to unpredictable avenues where differences flourish and become sites for learning. Lines of flight can come about from opening doors to outside so that affectation takes hold of the educational space. During their interviews, three of the teachers in Hopton primary spoke of the school's openness to the wider community and Mr Williams spoke excitedly about an open day for grandparents (page 110), a concept borrowed from the Polish educational system.

The engagement of grandparents from the community might represent a contra 'flow of energy' and an affective desire which challenges the data signification of individuals uniting them in a new assemblage that includes a mapping to the wider emotions within a community (Cole, 2011). According to Ringrose (2011: 506) flows of energy are differentiated from the normative patterns or discourses of individualisation. In this instance, the difference of outside takes hold within the school and internal 'difference has been elevated to the level of the absolute', it is the difference of pupils that motivates the school to incorporate and follow that difference as a line of flight from normative educational experiences (Cole 2005: 11). An accepted conceptualisation of difference as expressed in grouping according to ability is referred to as 'differentiation'; however the practice is in fact a tyranny of repetition and sameness designed to limit potentialities for creativity and innovation. Conversely, placing difference at the centre of learning facilitates educational becomings (Coleman, 2008; Ringrose, 2011) and it can enable the development of a new culture, as expressed by Mr Williams (pp 112-113) there is a necessity for the school to greater reflect the diversity of its population.

Cultural and pedagogical dynamism comes about which is ever shifting and which shoots off branches of generative capabilities, some of these are unsustainable and tangential, and others may have longer term pedagogic and affective implications. Difference as the basis for pedagogy is not universally accepted, so the striving toward difference is never a complete or given, it must constantly become other than what it is.

5.4 LEARNING, TEACHING AND THE CURRICULUM

Research associated with Question 3 (page 57) identified the centrality of curriculum content and pedagogy in contributing to the ways in which pupils develop a sense of self and in fashioning educational subjectivities within schools (Esland, 1973; Measor, 1999; Richards, 2006; Taylor 2009; Youdell, 2006b; 2011). Much of the data which I gathered, in both St Anthony's and in Hopton included interrelated dimensions of language, literacy and identities. In the discussion below there is a particular focus on how these became contested attributes of learning and teaching within the two schools. While this focus does not provide an exhaustive overview of pupils' educational experiences across subjects of the primary school curriculum, it provided a touchstone for illustrating how teachers' identities and pupils resistances along with their subjections influenced the ways curriculum was mediated and interpreted (Latta and Kim, 2011).

5.4.1 The language of possibility: teachers' constraint and creativity

In recent work concerning the experiences of pupils with social, emotional and behavioural difficulties, Cooper (2005; 2011) has argued that that, 'there is no one type of provision that should be favoured over any other, except in terms of its ability to provide opportunities and support for social and academic engagement' (2005: 219). His argument is that while school cultures matter, what is equally important is that teachers have the requisite skills to engage with learners' requirements and that 'inclusion' does not equate to engagement. Whilst Hopton and St Anthony's may perceive their practices to have been inclusive, it was clear from observations in both schools that teachers rarely used specific strategies to enable pupils for whom English was an additional language to access the curriculum more effectively.

Such strategies might include focusing on the nature of grammatical or schematic structures associated with particular text types and genres (Conteh, 2012). Pupils were disadvantaged by a lack of capacity to grasp key vocabulary and this influenced their engagement with the curriculum. The lack of linguistic scaffolding

(Graf, 2011; Hammond, 2012) meant that it may have been presumed that pupils had 'cognitive difficulties' as opposed to encountering language barriers which challenged their learning. This probably resulted in their being placed in 'lower ability' groupings within the class. The pedagogical practices in both schools provided an exemplification of how mainstream teachers nationally feel ill-prepared for teaching English as an additional language. For example, fewer than 50% of teachers responding to the NQT survey identified that their training had been good or very good, this was the lowest response rate of all prompts (Teaching Agency, 2012: 20).

Despite a strongly inclusive policy acknowledging the importance of pupils' home languages at St Anthony's, there was limited evidence to suggest that these had been incorporated into the school space in any meaningful way. For pupils in the school there was no possibility of curriculum subversion through learning the language of the other (Cole, 2005: 3). As argued by Semetsky (2012), data defines the nature and place of the skin, it situates the body in defined spaces within the classroom and school, but the flightiness of language is a release which defies the boundaries of space and enables escape to becoming, it facilitates the school in moving beyond its bounded space within particular social and cultural confines to evolve into something new. According to Deleuze, Language learning involves elements of self unlearning and reformulation because it entails:

Composing the singular points of one's own body or one's own language with those of another shape or element, which tears us apart but also propels us into a hitherto unknown and unheard-of world of problems (Deleuze, 1994: 192).

There are interrelationships between the way in which the curriculum is perceived as having limited space for diversification and how any possibilities are foreclosed by the language and cultural experiences of teachers (Chan, 2010). A Deleuzian approach to education in contexts of diversity contests the notion of curriculum as sets of prefabricated and predefined truths which can be carved into sections and delivered by the teacher to the pupil.

Having conducted a comprehensive review of the literature, Mitchell (2013: 349) argues that there are close relationships between the positive incorporation of pupils' linguistic and cultural identities and their concept of self. She also draws on the work of O'Hara and Prithard (2008) to identify strong correlations between the use of fist language and the capacity of pupils from ethnic minority communities to engage with learning meaningfully. Providing for linguistic diversity within schools also allows for enhanced collaboration with the wider community which affects parental involvement in schools, a key determiner of educational success (Asher, 2007; Gibson and Hidalgo, 2009; Suárez-Orozco et al., 2009). It was clear that Hopton had made efforts to ensure that pupil's linguistic identities were incorporated into the ethos of the school, though in Year 6 because of examination constraints teachers were limited in the extent to which the linguistic capital of pupils might also be included in the curriculum.

During the research in both schools I was affected by individuals, such as Tanvi, Bryga and Wojciech at St Anthony's and Darius at Hopton who occupied 'the liminal space of alterity' (Rollock, 2012: 66). Their marginal spaces within the classroom and their defined lowly status were not consciously created by teachers, rather they were defined by the subtleties of absences and presences in literacy, in maths, in the geographies of classroom and in the subject areas where the terrain did not include the voice and experience of these othered pupils. These pupils were subjectivised by unseen dynamics where the curriculum and classroom created 'hierarchical racial structures' that bind pupils within categories 'that serve to maintain unequal order in society' (Ladson-Billings and Donnor, 2005: 372).

Perceptions of languages and their attendant cultures and their places within the curriculum were determined according to interpersonal conventions and perceptions of what is, or should be identified as 'the norm'. The extent to which they are incorporated in the life of schools is fashioned by the unwritten values and practices of acceptance, ambivalence or antagonism towards linguistic diversity among teachers and pupils alike. Practices are also impacted by the constraints of curriculum as expressions of linguistic inclusion and elision within schools, at times

such practices are also influenced by nuanced negative narratives which view the 'other' as embodiment of linguistic difference as being deficient.

5.4.2 Technology and the arts; enabling new learner becomings

Drawing on the rhizomatic of Deleuze and Guattari (1987), Youdell (2011) conjures the multiplicity of durable and permeable interrelationships which may occur in the assemblage of education. The more rigid and sustained attributes of the machine consist of the durability of conceptualisations of intelligence and ability, the corralling of pupils into striated teachable spaces and the testing of these pupils according to notions of (dis)ability. There are also embodied in the machine, 'lines of flight which might help us to imagine the practices that ensure if schools and teachers discarded 'intelligence' and its associated practices altogether' (Youdell, 2011: 47).

Perhaps this best explains the interactions which occurred when Wojciech was enabled to become other, through the unfamiliarity of the teacher with pre-existing categorisations, to allow creative interactions to take place in the classroom through the use of information technology (IT). Information technology became a tool which opened potentials beyond the confines of predetermined abilities and created new spaces of learning that ruptured the predefined contents of curriculum. The extra-ordinary educational experiences inherent in information technology are mirrored somewhat by the creative potentials of artistic endeavours which had, 'transformative capacities, offering individuals sensory, and even sensual, affects and producing allusions, strivings, investigations and result in affirmative injunctions', (Allan, 2013: 38).

Transformations and changes were also an integral aspect of the surprise and unpredictability of drama productions (also as observed by Semetsky, 2012: 47). and these were a strong aspect of pedagogy in St Anthony's. Allied to the interactions between content of the curriculum and subjectivities are the affectations associated with space and how this is interpreted in the social context

of schools. The materiality of space between bodies (Allen, 2013) interacts along with curriculum to create complex, changeable, and discursively produced subjectivities that are imbued with power relations (Johnston and Longhurst, 2010: 62). For researchers as well as for pupils and teachers, schools then are, troubling spaces where actors 'are schooled in the acceptable and unacceptable forms' (Youdell 2011: 129) of an external curriculum, its recreated internal interpretation and the spaces within which it is negotiated in classrooms. Nonetheless, these spaces also offer a consistent and persistent possibility of becoming other than what has been.

5.5 IDENTITIES: SUBJECTIVITIES AND PERFORMATIVES

Questions 4 and 5 were concerned with notions of subjectivities and performatives. My observations in both St Anthony's and in Hopton revealed how the use of disciplinary put downs and the shared creating of meaning around difference among staff facilitated:

The making of normal and identification of aberration, the process of othering, which occurred in daily classroom based conversations where dialogue, nods, facial gestures and humour were used to create categories which appeared tentatively formed through the possibility of constructing shared understandings of defining otherness. The limits of normalcy were negotiated and spheres of the abject other were peopled by the undesirable (Field notes, Hopton primary – following teachers planning meeting October 2012).

Identifiable forms of the taken for granted and seemingly objective educational experience as exemplified in acts of classroom discipline, the structuring of space and notions of achievement 'are infused with racial meanings and are a product of and reflection on racial ideology' (Hooks and Miskovic, 2011: 204) which act as forms of subjectivisation. These manifestations of power in play were augmented

by apparently innocuous social interactions charged with subtle meanings of inclusion and exclusion. This was represented for example when Abha is alerted to her otherness by the White girls who ask her to 'say it like an Indian' (see page 146).

However, there is also scope for processes of renewed subjectivisation to be subverted and for authorship of self to be realised, however fleetingly, through resistance and creativity. The notion of agency is explained by Butler (1997) as quoted in Youdell (2011: 22):

Because the agency of the subject is not a property of the subject, an inherent will or freedom, but an effect of power, it is constrained but not determined in advance...As the agency of a post sovereign subject, its discursive operation is delimited in advance but also open to a further unexpected delimitation (Butler 1997a 139-40).

This happens for example in Hopton primary as exemplified in the critical pedagogy of Ms Bronowski, the inclusion of grandparents in the educational process and in the use of pupils' languages to contest the norm. It also occurs in St Anthony's where there was scope and encouragement for pupils to become other particularly through drama and the arts.

5.5.1 Performatives and pupil groupings

Whilst I did not observe any teacher led discussions with pupils about the significance of particular spaces to which individuals or groups were assigned, pupils recognised that spaces were charged with meanings and they read and shared their interpretations of these meanings (the focus on performatives relates to Question 4: 57). Current possibilities within many schools are restricted by the embodied identity consequences of what Gore (2001:174) refers to as the classificatory mechanisms; the classification of knowledge, the ranking and classification of individuals, and the restrictions of time and space that delimit

possibilities of what one might be and where one's being might be realised (Taylor, 2009: 104).

Wojciech and Tanvi were both quite cognisant of, and were troubled by, their positioning in the class at St Anthony's. In particular, Tanvi's expressed desire to 'get better' was a reflection of her belief in a taken for granted educational narrative that she would improve if she just tried hard enough in order to be good enough. In this instance, the effects of comparative grouping appeared to have quite a detrimental effect on her sense of self. There is evidence that contrastive judgments impact on psychological well being, and this appears to be particularly the case for young people (Anderson, 2004; Cremin and Thomas, 2005: 433 Franzen and Bouwman, 2001).

5.6 INTERSECTIONALITIES AND EDUCATIONAL EXPERIENCES

Intersectionality (Question 5: 57) theory is frequently associated with novel epistemologies in which critical feminist research has expanded to take cognisance of the multifarious ways in which diverse identity markers such as: race, class and gender interact to position groups as socially peripheral and subjectivised (Phoenix and Pattynama, 2006; Staunaes 2003; Yuval-Davis, 2009). When applied reflectively, intersectionalities enable a more divergent and inclusive framework for interrogating the multiple confluences of disadvantaged positionings encountered by specific cohorts of socially constructed groups or individuals (Carbado, 2013; Gillborn et al, 2012).

My research made use of intersectionalities to better understand and portray the ways in which the educational and social experiences of Woychez and Darius were particularly problematic. In the first instance, Woychez was introduced to me as someone who would have 'nothing to contribute to the research'; he was cast as abject being beyond reasoning and needing constant links to the realities of normal education through his assigned TA (Field notes St Anthony's, 15th October 2012). His delayed, 'abnormal' second language acquisition combined with his

male Eastern Europeaness to create a 'troublesome' being which became ineducable. The categorisations of the assemblage provide rationalisations for exclusion. Woychez's family was also implicated in the thinking as to why this particular body was unsuitable for engaging with schooling. Family members were identified as not being willing to speak English at home thus language and culture, perceived intellectual capacities and gender all combined to create a quintessentially socially constructed problem. These subjectivities are recast into what Ball has described as, 'a biological problem of blood and race' (2013: 93).

Whereas Woychez appeared to be 'beyond language', and as such almost beyond being human, Darius in Hopton appears to be beyond culture, Mrs Carter stated that, 'he doesn't quite know how to play with children of any year group or of any culture' (interview, Mrs Carter 12th March 2013). As both boys are affixed statuses of being 'special' in addition to being second language learning immigrants, their positions appear almost impossible as learners. During the teachers' meeting in Hopton contrastive positionings were made between the female Eastern European learners and their 'macho' and 'naughty' male counterparts (see page 115). A combination of 'naughty boy', Eastern European and SEN appears to create a categorisation of difficult identity positionings. Their peculiar inaccessibility as learners, as interpreted by teachers, resonates with other research based in intersectionalities that complexify renderings of school based marginalised identities (Benjamin, 2002; Taylor, 2009; Youdell, 2012).

When discussing the distressing subjectivised educational roles of some African-Caribbean males in inner city schools, Youdell points out that their subjective roles have been internally and externally constructed to create, 'discursively embedded relationships between biographical or subcultural identities and learner identities trap students within particular identities which seem almost impossible to escape' (Youdell 2003: 19). It would appear for the two boys concerned, the concept of escape from defined circumscriptions of being is indeed a near impossibility. The reductionist classifications cross cut to further marginalise their engagement within classes both socially and educationally, there are reduced learning expectations

and their peer generated social classifications labelling them as 'weirdoes' brings them closer to the precipice of social ostracism.

I was also concerned about the affective dimension of Tanvi's socio-educational experiences and my field notes recorded: 'There is a possibility that Tanvi's formative experiences of gender, culture and schooling meld in a confluence of disempowering systems which render the self abject and inaudible' (Field notes taken in conjunction with photo ethnographic interview notes). For Tanvi the 'quiet girl' who needs to 'get better', there is a sense of self-pathologizing which is associated with comparative classifications of where she sits within the classroom groups. Additionally, Through predetermined skinned otherness, traces of reterritorializing subjectivizing tendrils reach into Abha's educational experiences at St Anthony's to contain her capacities of being and becoming different English-Indian, girl excelling in boy sporting world and girl excelling in white academic world.

However, her story of interacting intersectionalities also has rhizomic narrative qualities that draw on a heterogeneity of intermingling selves enabling indeterminate endings to be imagined. Nonetheless, as Bauman (2004) has shared, there are limits to the availability of identity freedoms and, in the educational context, it would appear that the more one moves into boy SEN, EAL, ethnic minority world, the fewer options there may be available for scripting the freedoms of multiple becomings.

If there is to be a Deleuzian reconceptualization of intersectionalities leading to possible lines of flight that would enable educators to eschew the bracketing of learners which have damaging affective and learning implications, it is best offered within Colebrook's analysis when she shares that: 'We think of difference and variation as grounded upon identity, rather than points of identity being abstracted from difference' (2002: 76). This is what Youdell (2011) refers to as a need to promote an anti-identity politics, a need to get away from the nefarious effects of categorizations. In this way, there can be no prescribed certainties associated with particular labels of being so that, 'one's self must be conceived as a constantly

changing assemblage of forces, an epiphenomenon arising from chance confluences of languages, organisms, societies, expectation, laws, and so on' (Stagoll, 2005: 22). The implications for an education that positively encompasses any form of difference are bound up with a necessity to consistently challenge processes of negative subjectivisation and their resultant restrictive performatives.

A rethinking of the education project engaged with immigrant pupils in rural schools would concern itself with the challenges of incorporating difference as the starting point for creativity. For example, in Woychez's case the challenge would be to address ways in which the assemblage of education; computers, language, culture and relationships might be reconfigured so that he becomes a learning leader along with the teacher. From this individual challenge for teachers would emerge a philosophy of *phronesis* to inform associated productive interactions with difference as their basis (Thomas, 2011, 2010; Semetsky, 2012). This is a philosophical and theoretical undertaking which has significance for my future ethical practices as educator.

5.7 CONCLUSION

This chapter has addressed the key questions associated with the research. In the first instance, it explored how the 'fold' of the external enveloped individual schools, their teachers and pupils in ways which were at times strongly identifiable and at others wholly unpredictable. For the two schools concerned, official policies and the national and regional facets of socio-political sentiments impinged upon teacher-pupil and pupil-pupil relationships as well as influencing affective attributes of self. The Deleuzian conceptual framework offered a plausible generative model for thinking about power and ways that it was played out in the schools as they incorporated, mapped or resisted external influences exemplified as different power flows. These included: external racisms, the structures and content of legislation and policy and how these were enfolded in intimate inter-relationships with the meanings and practices that delineate the social, the material and

affective conditions of educational life. All were enmeshed in the minutiae of the day-to-day subjectivities and affectivities of pupils (Tambouku, 2008; Youdel, 2012; Zembylas, 2007).

A study of the enactment of curriculum mediation within the schools provided insights into the ways in which they engaged with the difference within. At St. Anthony's, much of the official narrative involved a conceptualisation of the human experience, as one of 'tracing' or 'copying', (Deleuze, 1994) replicating what was perceived to be a universal human condition. But there were attributes of cultural practices which enabled rhizomic lines of flight to take hold and these were evidenced primarily in the arts. Within Hopton, language and divergent cultural practices became the sources of rhizomatic potentials which, at times, placed difference at the heart of learning. However, this school too was constrained by normative practices of 'differentiation'. In both of the schools, mediation of curriculum might be interpreted as a form of reading, where a diversity of reading and literacies facilitates re-envisioning of what is because:

Reading is both intensive (disruptive) and immanent. Literacies involve constant movement – from a territory (of bounded stability) through a deterritorialization (a disruption) to a reterritorialization (on a different territory, a different mapping) – in the processes of becoming other (Masny, 2006: 153).

Experiences of pupil engagement with the curriculum were also intimately tied up with the classroom spaces to which pupil-subjects were assigned (Allen, 2013; Reh et al, 2011). Delimiting experiences were associated with pupils who inhabited conceptual and physical spaces associated with neediness, and this was compounded when intersectionalities of gender, EAL and SENness coalesced to make learning and the school experience a virtual impossibility. 'Differentiation' masked the 'striated spaces' where material bodies and semiotic expressions of positioning sought to nullify conditions for lines of flight (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987: 474; Youdell and Armstrong, 2011: 145).

The implications of the research for the pupils concerned is that learning and teaching should be about developing a philosophy of education which embraces difference through constant challenging encounters aimed at extending learning rather than replicating it. Rather than a tracing of pre-existing patterns and practices from the known, provided from the knower to the non-knower, pedagogy which takes cognisance of racial and linguistic difference draws from difference forming a coming together to create something new and divergent. The teacher extends her own knowledge by engaging with difference and creating divergent ways of perceiving difference. It challenges the conceptions which physically map individuals into particular spaces by engaging with ways in which their knowledge contributes to, and legitimately constitutes a recognised community within the classroom. It moves from the didactic infatuation with replication of the historical past, as stamped in data, to a concern for the making, or remaking, of a negotiated present. It is mindful of power and seeks to disrupt its more nefarious attributes its use of preconception, pre judging – prejudice, it takes cognisance of the external environment but mitigates its most challenging attributes. It is a journey or challenge for the pedagogical self as part of a wider community, a philosophy of discovery and a pedagogy celebrating the unpredictability of difference rather than that of delivered sameness and certainty.

6. Conclusion and recommendations

6.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter provides a brief synthesis of the findings and an analysis of them in light of the key questions posed. Theoretical and practical insights are gleaned which set out the work's contribution to original learning and knowledge, in some instances these relate to my own professional practice, but the discussion also outlines the import for other researchers and practitioners. The conceptual framework which facilitated the research is reviewed and an evaluation of methodological considerations is also presented, this section shares some insights into the limitations of the research. Thereafter, suggested directions for future research are provided, as are proposed recommendations resulting from the work. The chapter concludes with a brief final reflection on the nature of the experience and resultant learning.

6.2 A REVIEW OF RESEARCH AIMS AND QUESTIONS

The first key question to arise from the review of the literature was concerned with identifying the ways in which external policies and wider social values influenced the ways schools 'do' education (Ball et al, 2012; Maguire et al, 2011). Wider political priorities for educational experiences which focused on maximisation of learning outcomes impacted on the school priorities. They also influenced the use of classroom learning spaces with those identified for 'high meritocratic achievement' rarely inhabited by pupils from ethnic or linguistic minority backgrounds. External factors thus had profound implications for pupil positionings and educational identities. The research identified that the ambient nature of racism in the wider community was significant for the rural context and that the schools' responses were quite different: from a belief that all pupils were equal to one which recognised difference and how the latter might be perceived externally as threatening, with a concomitant necessity for the school to counter such

perspectives. As discussed in some of the urban based studies, the research revealed how policies and practices reflected wider systematic representations of how the educational experience was subject to racialised practices, even though these may not have been intentional (Blustein et al, 2010; Gillborn, 2008; Ogbu, 1978; Reay 2008, 2004; Tronya and Williams, 1986).

The findings revealed that while there was a place for developing inclusive policies within schools, the role of cultural practices and values were seen to be more significant in influencing the ways that teachers engaged with pupils. A shared belief in the 'universality' of pupil experience were at variance with a recognising the significance of difference and incorporating such difference within the school. The expressions that 'all children are the same', reflected the influences of what has been termed 'colour-blindedness', a perspective that has been critiqued as masking inequality and racialised educational experiences (Cochran-Smith, 1995; Lewis, 2001; Solorzano and Yosso 2002). One of the most significant manifestations of external influences on school based practices were the ways in which space was carved with bodies to facilitate 'individual differentiation' in preparation for standardised assessments, a notion charged with taken for granted suppositions and quintessentially laden with values and power.

The second key question looked at how internal dynamics and associated school-based values influenced school cultures. The research focus sought to clarify the implications for pupils' educational and social experiences. An analysis of the findings identified that regenerations of school cultures were exemplified by enfoldings that involved processes, 'animated by ... movements, folds and foldings that together make up an inside: they are not something other than the outside but precisely the inside of the outside' (Deleuze, 1988: 97). Cultures within schools and classrooms were enmeshed with power flows between and within external and internal assemblages that defined, refined and reformulated pupils' status and determined the spaces which they inhabited. For example, the use of minor put downs within classrooms sought to define the hierarchy of individual pupils making the contributions of some 'othered' pupils problematic. Additionally, the shared

creation of othering exemplified how teachers recreated the culture of schooling to define aspects of normality and the shared identification of those who were perceived as being beyond the bounds of education. However, classroom and school cultures were not immutable. There was evidence of cultural changes and of rhizomic reorientations which provided opportunities for teachers and for schools to alter cultural forces of subjectivisation (Ball, 2013: 17). Avenues of openness and dynamic regeneration were created that countervailed the regimentation of stigmatising data. For example, certain leadership roles facilitated an:

intensive capacity 'to affect and be affected' (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987: xvi). Affects are not simple personal feelings but 'becomings that spill over beyond whoever lives through them (thereby becoming someone else)' (Deleuze, 1995: 137): becoming-other (Semetsky and Delpech-Ramey, 2012: 71).

This was achieved for example within Hopton Primary's willingness to involve the language of the other as part of the school's ethos and as exemplified by their opening of the school gates to the grandparents of pupils within. As witnessed in St. Anthony's, it was also achieved through the use of drama and information technologies which enabled individuals to redefine concepts of self and identity, Leadership also played a key role in disrupting taken for granted replications of exclusionary practices (Cohen, 2013; Ball and Olmedo, 2013). As illustrated in the research, through an articulation of key values and through recruitment which better reflected the cultural attributes of the school, new spaces for becomings were facilitated.

The subsequent and related Question 3 sought to clarify how enactments of teaching, learning and the curriculum, as entanglements of socio-historical, political, affective and imminent encounters, informed the ways in which ethnic identities were performed. The conceptualisation of space as a determinant of educational experiences provided for a particularly rich vein within the research. For most pupils open spaces for creativity were identified as their favourite ones

within the school. These were the spaces where there was scope to be other than the predefined self. Freedom and space were important for the pupils as was their capacity to create through technology. So, as identified in recent research (Gore, 2001; Johnson and Longhurst, 2010; Reh et al, 2011; Rollock, 2012; Taylor, 2009) there is a need for teacher education colleges and schools to become more mindful of the ways in which space and the peopling of space fashions the educational experience.

The two schools were constrained in the ways that they could practice education, as articulated by Mr Williams they were aware that they had to 'play the game' for Ofsted and to ensure that pupils made sufficient progress so that their schools would not become subject to additional unwelcome scrutiny. In Mrs Beckett's view, such external restriction severely hampered scope for creativity. The regimen of testing also adversely affected those who lived on the borders of schooling, as noted in my field notes during a mock SATS test at St Anthony's. Nevertheless, lines of deterritorialisation were created from the inaccessibility and cultural impenetrability of the SATS. In Hopton, Ms Bronowski shared how she has sought to span the world of English and Polish and to ensure that the new to English language learners were provided with an empathetic and meaningful encounter with SATS tests through translation of the examinations and by articulating clearly for pupils the cultural embeddedness of some SATS questions.

Additionally, interviews in Hopton Primary revealed that by incorporating an affective dimension to learning and teaching there was scope to re-envision educational experiences, for example as Mrs Harris stated; 'I base my teaching on the children's emotions, if they are happy I feel that the school is doing a good job' (interview, 21st March 2013). Drawing on the affective dimension allied with an awareness of racial and cultural importance may well prove a significant pedagogical approach to addressing racialised inequalities in the non-urban setting (Ringrose, 2011; Semetsky, 2012; Youdell, 2011). It will also be important for teachers practicing in schools with growing levels of linguistic diversity to become familiar with strategies enabling pupils to better access the curriculum.

The fourth key question posed sought to identify how identity subjectivities and performatives were choreographed, and to identify some concomitant implications for notions of race and ethnicity. Subjectivities were created according to the scope for individuals to exist within somewhat porous boundaries and these were unconsciously defined in socialisation interactions between peers and with teachers. As subjectivities were adopted, these resulted in performatives which were enactments rather than descriptions of the 'thing that it names' (Youdell, 2011: 26). For example, both Darius in Hopton and Wojciech were limited in the roles which they might adopt and their space within the 'naughty Eastern European boy' subjectivity restricted the way that they could engage in class. Nevertheless, even here as argued by Butler (1997a) and Youdell (2006b) there is scope for misfiring of performative enactments that can enable new discourses of interpretation to generate altered subjectivities, this is what they refer to as a politics of resignification. There is a sense that even while acting during particular times in history and in particular socially constructed contexts, subjected actors in educational contexts are consistently in processes of remaking identities that are, 'to a greater or lesser extent, but never completely, constrained by the contingencies of the particular historical moment in which they are inscribed' (Ball, 2013: 53). There were times that Wojciech was enabled to engage effectively within mathematics classes and these provided scope for him to reorient prescribed scripts defining his capabilities and role. Likewise for Darius, participation in class at times confounded expectations. Perhaps the learning for teacher education is to consistently interrogate the taken for granted expectations and to ensure that spaces for creativity are encouraged enabling pupils to arrive at what is extra-ordinary.

In looking at the constrained and future potential identities of pupils from ethnic minorities, the study seeks to realise a system of education which purports 'to open opportunities never to close them' (Noddings, 1993: 13). It aims to portray aspects of the current experiences of those who are marginalised in the macro-political world and to propose a philosophy of becoming (Deleuze and Guattari; 2009, 2004) that would enable educators encountering differences exemplified in

linguistic and ethnic diversity to think and act differently and to use difference as the basis for initiating their own research based praxis of becoming other, this is ultimately what might be referred to as an individual and collective praxis of identity (Done and Knowler, 2011). Thus the aims of the research as articulated earlier (see page 16), have at least been partially realised, because the nature of the research aims are such that they entail a continuous striving towards knowledge to improve inclusive practice.

The fifth research question sought to determine ways in which identity intersectionalities took place within the spatial, temporal and interpersonal parameters of the research sites, and what significance these had for pupils' social and educational experiences. The research identified that options for exploration and expansion beyond one's existing subjected self were influenced by relations of power that altered according to gender, social class, ethnicity and perceived notions of ability. While there was scope to re-envision the subjected self, as reflected in the attainments of both Abha in St Anthony's and Peta in Hopton, peer interactions also limit the extent to which difference is acceptable and accepted within normed attributes of social practice. Given that subjectivities and intersectionalities were frequently ascribed in relationships of power, there is an argument that they should be opened for critical interrogation within teacher education programmes, this is especially important in contexts where students from minority ethnic communities are taught by teachers who are culturally sheltered, white and monolingual (Ball, 2009; Chakrabarty 2012; Duhon and Manson, 2000; Hollins and Torres-Guzman, 2005). Additionally, as highlighted in the discussions on ethics (see pages 67-75) an important strand of the research posited my own learning as an active site for self-critical and ethical reflection and engagement, this aspect of the research is further explored below.

6.3 SHARING FURTHER INSIGHTS FROM THE RESEARCH

6.3.1 Exploring pupil identities in non-urbanised primary schools

For some time, ethnic diversity has been a consideration within the English educational experience. To date, much of the research concerning ethnicity and linguistic diversity and their interface with education has concentrated on urban contexts. Increasingly, primary school teachers and pupils in small towns and rural schools are encountering growing levels of linguistic and cultural diversity. The phenomenon is significantly under-researched and the implications for pupil learning and teacher education have rarely been addressed (Wenger and Dinsmore, 2005). In this research, the particular focus on the experiences of pupils from ethnic minority and linguistic backgrounds in two schools in a West Midlands town goes some way to addressing the lacuna in current research. Of particular significance is the positioning afforded to staff and pupils from Eastern Europe. On several occasions, Ms Bronowski sincerely thanked me for conducting the research because she felt that no one had previously provided her with a voice to share her immigrant experiences.

The findings from the research identified the necessity to equip teachers with requisite knowledge and skills to enable the teaching of English as an additional language and to facilitate the incorporation of existing cultural and linguistic capital within schools. By bringing to the fore the importance of school based cultures, the research provided a model for school leaders in less urbanised areas to take cognisance of, and incorporate, the wealth of cultural and linguistic capital with which pupils arrive in schools (Cummins, 1994, 2000; Bracken et al, 2008; Graf, 2011). The research approach and conceptual framework provided latitude for capturing the formative influences of external and internal power flows and forces and explained how these informed evolving pupil subjectivities, performatives and resultant fluid identities. It also provided scope for interrupting the most nefarious of these influences and the model might also be used to explore other attributes of pupil identities to ensure future creativity and positive recognition of difference. This innovative aspect of the research is further explored below.

6.3.2 Conceptual learning: A new approach to identities research?

The conceptual framework used for this research relied upon a synthesis of Deleuzian and CRT philosophical perspectives to provide a novel way of investigating the educational and social experiences of pupils from minority ethnic backgrounds in non-urban primary school settings. In the context of minority ethnic experiences, as far as I am aware, there are no other studies in other English speaking countries which have used this approach to explore the ways in which pupils subjectivised identities are formed in schools. Taken together, this combined conceptual approach revealed ways that systematic inequalities were exemplified and replicated within schools and, through a critical analysis of the findings, the research has identified ways in which these were, and might be, countered in moment-to-moment interactions within schools and classrooms.

The adoption of a Deleuzian perspective facilitated an interruptive theory of textual readings (Masny, 2010; 2013) wherein the imminence of practice and incompleteness of the text can provide alternative scripts to what has hitherto been historically defined. Opportunities to redefine current experiences can occur when something in the world is not recognised from our past experiences this is an act of 'fundamental encounter' with otherness (Marble, 2012: 12). This process comes about, 'only through a chance encounter with an unsettling sign (*during which*) thought can be jolted from its routine patterns ...' (Bogue, 2008: 3) which has the potential to initiate '... a disruption of ordinary habits and notions' (Bogue, 2008: 7). Thus difference, as exemplified in exposure to pupils' home languages or cultures for example, could become the basis for extending learning. However, the external and State sanctioned 'striated spaces' which help to perpetuate educational inequalities based on 'race', ethnicity and additional intersectionalities. The striated spaces such as SATS and the resultant practices of 'differentiation', 'work on the basis of inclusion and exclusion' (Hodgson and Standish, 2006: 568), and are deeply embedded into the current educational assemblage. Learning how to reconceptualise these spaces and to question their philosophical positionings became an important part of my research learning. The nature of researcher self-

learning is also innovative to some extent and for this reason it is further discussed below.

6.3.3 Research heuristics: Learning for self and others

A significant aspect of the research project was the extent to which I became part of the reflexive process of working with data and how this also involved a working with self. During the research, time was taken to reflect on the emerging implications for my present and imminent professional acting selves. In this way, the process became a 'critical ontology of the self' (McNay, 1994: 133, quoted in Ball, 2013: 17) which prompted me to explore ethical dimensions that were entangled in the research. The intricacies included: my relationships with pupils, my interactions - both affective and professional with school staff, and my further reflective discussions with peers and colleagues who helped clarify my theorising and writing.

Accordingly, there was a sense that as research progressed, it provided opportunities for my own lived experiences to become the basis on which meaningful lessons might be learned for myself and for future researchers. The learning became a journey where I realised that for some researchers knowledge is garnered, 'not by grounding empirical particulars in abstract universals but by active experimentation on ourselves in real life' (Semetsky 2012: 47). As identified in the research the implications of turning the critical gaze on the self as researcher in play continues to be important (Ball, 2013; Ball and Olmedo, 2013; Semetsky; 2012; Youdell, 2011). This perspective facilitated a review of who we might become as an educational community not only on the basis of our collective present beings, but also on the premise that future change is possible and imminent within the self and as self engages with others.

During seminars with colleagues, I recognised that; 'research is troubling, it shouldn't comfort us' (notes from a colleague A, appendix 8). As critical colleagues, we questioned whether by not acting and by adopting the role of self-effacers in the research process researchers might become complicit in the

perpetuation of inequalities. Colleagues also questioned how the duty of care should influence the role of the researcher (Appendix 8). Cole (2011: 556) provides a model as to how such critical self-awareness may be articulated and put into practice, he argues for a prioritisation of the language of pedagogy to include an imminent feedback system between all elements involved in the context of practice. This system would provide scope for teachers to interrogate the self in terms of language of power, and also to interrogate place as contested site where power and language from outside of school or university may determine the nature and affect of engagements within. There was a realisation by at least one of the teachers involved in the research that such critical and reflexive awareness needed to be strengthened within schools so that existing structures could be challenged and so that pupils might be treated as human beings rather than factory machines (interview Mrs Neary, 14th March 2013).

6.4 A REVIEW OF THE RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

While it may be traditional to individually specify the research methods and to provide a rationalised critique of each one in turn, in my experience the nature of critical research itself was perhaps the most troubling aspect of the research project. Over the duration of my time in St Anthony's and in Hopton, I received a very warm welcome. This was significant for two reasons; accessing any school while openly professing a critical conceptual perspective to one's research proved problematic and was very time consuming. Secondly, because schools are under increasing external scrutiny, I perceived a general unwillingness among schools to engage with the additional burdens of having a researcher on site. These two reasons appeared to coalesce and precluded the involvement of my intended third research site which was an academy primary school. One of the original aims of contrasting the individual cultures and ethos traditions of a diversity of schools was thus unattainable.

I was very grateful for the collaboration and support of the two schools concerned, as both were consistently open and supportive. However, it soon became clear that conducting critical research brings to bear anomalies between publicly articulated aspirations within schools and the practices of subjectivisation which occur on a daily basis but which are primarily unconsciousness and are an expression of the cultural attributes of schools and of the individual acculturation of teachers within them. I struggled to share ways in which I might bring the findings to the attention of the school staff especially at St Anthony's school. Ethically, I prioritised the need to maintain cognisance of pupils' well-being, but I was also aware about the need to be respectful of those who enabled my research in the first instance. The tensions which I experienced were also associated with my personal ambivalence towards an organised supposed universalism evidenced within Catholicism which I perceived was used to mask the ways in which power was constructed and maintained in the hands of powerful arbiters of knowledge. The problems I encountered included taking care of the pupils who had agreed to participate in the research while also being cognisant of my need to care for self in dealing with confusing and troubling feelings of trust, veracity and ethics. Below a section of my field notes provide an insight into the nature of the research and how this became particularly problematic:

At times I felt complicit and responsible for the humiliation of some of the participants in the research because put downs and shaming of particular students was achieved with knowing glances and shared smiles or nods between adults, including myself, in the company of children, thus marking the territory of control of adults. However, the excruciating experience of being a witness to, and at times participating in, this form of social bonding and relationship development has strengthened my belief in the necessity for the affective dimension to be incorporated into teacher professional development. This on the morning of the publication of the mid Staffordshire report which illustrates the complexity of interrelationships between the socio-political context, financial crises and their implications for public good and the need to focus on the social dimension as well as an

infatuation with concepts of effectiveness, productivity and numerical data (Field notes, St Anthony's March 2013).

6.4.1 A note on the methods

My experiences of working through the research space and time resonated with the observation made by Taylor (2009) that the processes were infused with, 'ambiguities, dissonances, synergies and illuminations between methods, data, understanding, interpretation, theory and writing' (2009: 53). Coming to a conceptual understanding as to how data should be analysed contributed in no small measure to the research process. Early in the process, I grappled with the notion that structural grounded approaches, as advocated by Strauss and Corbin (1997; 1998), might best provide a systematic approach to the analysis of the data. However, the critiques of researchers such as Thomas and James (2006) provided a salutary unpicking of the positivist and functionalist foundations which informed this approach. Its potentialities for ascribing a diminutive role to the voice of the informant were revealed, because grounded analysis, 'relegates the original voice—the narrative—of both the respondent and the discussant in the research exercise' (Thomas and James 2006: 791) I was prompted to explore alternative analytical approaches (Thomas and James 2006; Haig, 1995) and ultimately used narrative approaches in the presentation of data.

As I experienced, and as expressed by Leitch and Mitchell (2007: 61), there were stimulating challenges when it came to analyzing and representing the data while simultaneously facilitating creative interpretations of that data. There were also procedural challenges associated with narrativity, on the one hand the method enabled creativity, it facilitated hints of causality between interacting lines of research, and provided avenues of possible playful interconnection between strata on a three dimensional cartographic representation of pupil's experiences of school (taking into consideration space-time actors and their multiple identities with

the potential for future change). However, attributes were also chimerical and illusive making defined lines of probability impossible to articulate.

Of necessity, the narrative changed according to the perspectives which were adopted and as differing phases of the work were approached. The lack of a defined set of analytical tools built on a tradition established by Schatzman (1991: 304), who called for researchers to avail of 'common interpretive acts', whereby constructive processes rather than predefined products should be brought to fruition to interpret meaning from the data. These acts involved:

- Reflexive awareness, such as the acts of reflection advocated by Bourdieu (2004) and Wacquant (2004);
- Review and subjection of the argument by peers who scrutinize and critique formative interpretations of the data;
- Evaluation of differing possible ways of interpreting the data and presentations to peers about the formative development of methodology, findings and analysis;
- Drawing differing strands of formative understanding together to create informed conclusions.

While fluid and creative, the process of data analysis did not lack for a systematic approach as advocated by Miles and Huberman (1994) and Stake (2006). Each individual case school was first analyzed to reveal thematic underpinnings of its narrative and to uncover an informed understanding of the findings and assertions that were specific to each case. After individual case analyses were completed, I conducted a cross-case comparative analysis to consider theoretical explanations that recognized the uniqueness of each case and also helped to explain similarities and differences within and across settings and participants (Noblit and Hare, 1988).

Ultimately, the use of documentary research, the use of interviews and observations and the use of photo elicitation to enable pupil participation created a

partial insight into practices and experiences of subjectivisation but also the methods provided opportunities for pupils to share their enthusiasm, as shared by Woychez: 'I like being a photo detective, yes' (photo elicitation interview St Anthony's). On reflection, I would have used the photo data differently, I was initially troubled by the fact that some of the pupils did not share my understandings as to how the images would be used. For several pupils the task was not straightforward and for Darius, in particular, the exercise seemed to be enjoyable but unrelated to the guidelines which I had shared with the pupils. For this reason, I altered the use of images and rather than using the photos as either connotative or donotive of meaning, I used them as prompts to enable conversations about social and educational experiences. In hindsight, I now recognise that some of the images did in fact have inherent value, so it would have been informative to have incorporated these images directly as part of the data set. Nevertheless, the research process was valuable.

Pupils consistently told me during visits how excited they were to see me coming into the classroom, they wanted to share their experiences and were excited about the fact that their differences were noteworthy and important. For teachers, the methods of interview and observation revealed aspects of self subjectivisation as well as potentials for thinking about and doing education differently. I also used the process of subjecting the methods and their findings to peer review in order to test the veracity of my own thinking and to engender space for reconceptualising practice by putting difference at its centre, in so doing I was also following the final strand of professional collegial advice of Colleague A (Appendix 8).

6.4.2 Challenges of articulating others' voices

The complexity of the task was further complicated by the need to ensure an iterative consideration of how much the pupil voice should be presented in ways that were relatively unprocessed by my adult perspectives, an approach advocated by Fielding (2004: 298). Norwich (2013) problematises the conceptualisation of the pupil voice when applied to accessing the views of pupils who have communication difficulties, and I had not factored this into the planning for the

research. I was mindful that my task of researcher was to make sense of the diverse stories in order to create a coherent, plausible and articulate tale from the multiplicity of voices (Cremin et al, 2011). I was also mindful that pupils' voices were reflective of differing realities and that these realities existed as part of a subjective experiences as well as being formed and expressed in light of wider societal interactions existing at differing levels including among groups, communities, within the educational organisation and as part of a broader socio-cultural experiences. I consistently made myself aware of the inherent dangers of ascribing preconceived readings of the fluid realities which existed within these multifarious layers requiring interpretation. The concept of self-awareness and self-checking also applied to the sphere of ethical engagement within the research domain, and whilst interacting with the research informants (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992: 4). Though there was always a danger that my difference as white, male, internationalised Irish researcher placed me in spaces of unintelligibility from what it was to be pupil other, even while equipped with a critical perspective as represented in CRT (Chakrabarty , 2012: 45).

6.5 NEW DIRECTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

Previous research has identified the problematic nature of male Black and Afro-Caribbean educational identities especially in contexts of urban education (Noguera, 2003; Stevens, 2009, 2011; Titus, 2004; Youdell, 2006a). Given that the educational and social experiences for the two White Eastern European 'SEN' boys who participated in this research were especially challenging, it would be interesting to identify whether this was a systematic occurrence in more rural educational settings and to explore whether it might also be a feature of urban education.

As the research has identified, a Deleuzian perspective on educational practice would begin, not when the student arrives at a grasp of the material already known by the teacher, but when the teacher and student begin to experiment in practice

with what they might make of themselves and their world (May and Semetsky 2008: 150). How might teacher education be informed by such a perspective (Marple, 2012: 27), is it possible to extend the learning into sites of teacher education to disrupt the striated effects of current policies and to consider alternatives that promote more creative and equitable possibilities for disenfranchised pupils?

Phronesis has been identified as having profound implications for an ethical engagement with one's personal and professional practices (Semetsky, 2012; Thomas 2010, 2011, 2012). It is an approach to professional action and awareness that has potential to incorporate ethics as becoming 'an inventor of new immanent modes of existence' (Deleuze and Guattari, 1994: 113). It would be interesting to explore how teachers might use this ontological reflective capacity for becoming-other over the longer term. What might it be like for such a creative and ethical philosophical method to be applied to the self as pedagogue, professional, writer and social actor? I am curious as to its future implications for troubling research and for troubling the notion of subjectivities.

6.6 PROPOSED RECOMMENDATIONS

The following recommendations emerge from an analysis of the data and are discussed with reference to wider research. The first of the recommendations pertains to the linguistic diversity as praxis for teaching and learning. This discussion is followed by a suggestion that networks of leaders be formed to resist powerful, and at times racialised, forces that subjectify pupils and constrain potentials for educational creativity. The final recommendation proposes that pre-service and practicing teachers adopt a phronetic approach to investigating the significance of difference within classroom settings, and that the positioning of the values based ethical acting self be interrogated as an integral part of this process.

6.6.1 Migratory languages: the incorporation of linguistic difference

Pervasive throughout the research findings were examples of how language practices, and the general elision of linguistic diversity, had a powerful effect on pupils' perceptions of the nature of schooling and how this impacted on their affective engagement with education, language learning and literacy.

Firstly, in both of the research sites, as a result of my classroom observations, my impression was that pupils' acquisition of conversational and academic English was arrived at incidentally rather than through a joint working through of challenges between teachers and pupils. This was particularly the case in my observations of three pupils; the newly arrived pupil Yasmina in Hopton, and two boys in St Anthony's, Wojciech and Joselito. As Joselito had been living in the UK for 6 years, it was apparent that his English language conversational skills were advanced. However, as identified earlier, he required support to further enhance his grasp of the academic and cultural assumptions underpinning a productive encounter with the curriculum and the demands of assessments influenced by particular cultural norms. Perhaps because of pressures of examinations and the limitations of time, classroom practices rarely provided opportunities for determining the critical concepts and words which would enable joint meaning making to be developed. Additionally, because of his 'SENness', terrible assumptions were made about Wojciech's capacity to learn through and about the English language which placed him close to the educational escarpment of 'abjectivity', where the abject individual is one 'who is both outside the terms of recognisability and conceived of as threatening to contaminate those within its terms. The abject is a risk, a threat, and so must be expelled' (Youdell, 2011: 42). For Yasmina, equipped with a bilingual dictionary and with a sometimes disgruntled Polish speaking partner, navigating the terrain of learning English and accessing the curriculum became very much an individualised struggle rather than one that might have constituted learning for a potentially imminent and evolving classroom community.

A second significant finding in the research was the extent to which pupils' subjectivised views of their home languages were influenced by linguistic elision within the school and classroom. Despite affirming school policies regarding the incorporation of linguistic diversity in St Anthony's, Matthew stated that he did not use Kerala because of a perception that he 'might be told off'. There was a feeling that school was not a place where one's home language might be entertained. Having arrived in St Anthony's some three years before the research was conducted, Bryga was clearly embarrassed about the possible deficient associations with being a Polish speaker and wished to disassociate herself from any linguistic knowledge, literacy or capacity in Polish. She self-censured her linguistic and literacy abilities perhaps not wishing to appear different from the norm, where the norm precluded interacting in any language apart from English and the 'modern foreign languages', such as French or Spanish, officially sanctioned within the school culture and curriculum. While there were efforts in Hopton to incorporate different languages within classroom contexts, this mainly occurred in rather tokenistic and decontextualized greetings rather than enriched opportunities to learn. Though the presence of the Polish school on the grounds, albeit at weekends, denoted a willingness to engage with the linguistic other, there were few tangible ways that this was realised within classroom pedagogy.

The problems of language and learning for pupils whose language or cultural experiences are minoritized are multifaceted, in the context of this research they might be approached by proposing two interrelated recommendations. Firstly, to further investigate how CRT and Deleuzian philosophy might inform pedagogies and conditions that best enable the learning of EAL both inclusively and productively, regardless of when pupils have joined a class, presumed (dis)ability, or from where they may have arrived. Secondly, by adopting Deleuzian approaches to orient ways in which minoritized languages other than English may become desired as a focus for learning and, by being so desired, alter the otherness of these languages and their attendant interlocutors. The significance of these recommendations is briefly explored below.

The role of CRT in the space of language and literacy pedagogy is under-researched. However, as identified by Liggett (2014) recent language policy developments in the US illustrate how pupils' languages are subject to purposeful exclusion from the social and school domains and he argues that CRT best explains the operation of majoritarian linguistic privilege. From the research, it was noteworthy that Mr Williams speaks about Hopton Primary as not being the usual, 'White middle class school', recognising that perhaps difference in the language that one speaks and one's accent demarks one as being 'raced' differently from being white. On a micro-practitioner level, the interrelationships between being withdrawn from class, supposedly to improve 'language', as experienced by Wojciech, and a capacity to achieve in school certainly merits some additional study in terms of teachers' perceptions of pupils' origins and presumed abilities. Having recommended ways in which CRT might effectively reveal the nature of racialised practices as exemplified in language learning, it remains to propose ways in which such practices might be addressed.

In terms of language pedagogy, whether this is oriented towards the teaching and learning of English as an additional language, or towards the inclusion of linguistic diversity in class, there are suggestions that a Deleuzian approach has much potential to inform practice. Johnson notes, 'Deleuze's ideas offer rich insights into what language and learning are. For Deleuze, learning always emerges from experimentation with the real, rather than from generalised instruction', (2014: 62). This approach contrasts with hitherto directive curricular practices which specify decontextualised learning outcomes that stripped away the semiotic richness, immanence and emotive attributes of language learning (whether EAL or learning additional languages). There is significant potential for a radical reinterpretation of this pedagogy through a creative reading of the new languages curriculum for primary schools (DfE, 2014). In the first instance, this curriculum acknowledges that; 'learning a foreign language is a liberation from insularity and provides an opening to other cultures' (ibid: 226) and it also provides openness of choice regarding what languages might be taught and is non-directive regarding outcomes.

So a Deleuzian approach offers hope to reorient the curriculum to explore the potentials for revealing non-essentialised and contradictory aspects of cultural explications of ways of being as lived and expressed through language. Not so much by proposing, for example that, 'this is the Polish language', or 'here we have some Polish food', but rather here we have a series of words working together and this is a possible way that these words might be ordered to understand things differently, and to come to a greater realisation as to how I (as pupil or teacher who may or may not have familiarity with this language) order, and use language and words and in what contexts these might make sense. This approach to learning another's language (rather than a foreign one) allows for a multiplicity of (unpredictable) interpretations which provide pupils with capacities, not to name the other, but rather to learn from and perhaps even fleetingly embody the other through, for example, the singing of a Christmas song in Polish.

The recommendation draws on Ibrahim's observation of language learning (2005: 80) where "being" is analogous to using one's mother tongue while "becoming" is to cast oneself into the unknown of learning a second language. This in a Deleuzian sense, is an striving towards or a 'becoming' pedagogy, it is not so much the curriculum as presented or delivered (learn the list of prescribed words to know something), but as experienced, because, 'We learn nothing from those who say: 'Do as I do'. Our only teachers are those who tell us to 'do with me' (Deleuze, 1994: 23). When pupils and teachers jointly encounter a shared challenge of learning a second language that has hitherto been unknown, conditions are in place to generate a 'shock' of the new where genuine learning can be attained (Marble, 2012). A potentially new, positive pedagogic dynamic is also created where pupils, as becoming reflective, more knowledgeable users and sharers of a language that they speak and write, also become teachers of that language (whether the language is English or any other language). This is a pedagogy devolved of absolutes, suffused with the Deleuzian rhizomatic 'and, and.....and', which posits difference as its point of departure for learning (Johnson 2014) and where the guideposts are of virtuality and imminence work towards jointly created outcomes that are deterritorialised and open.

6.6.2 A learning leadership: countering divergence and divining for diversity

The data pertaining to the role of leadership presented in the findings chapter and the subsequent discussion, illustrated the ways in which the personal, professional and socio-political values and actions of school leaders contributed to school practices and illustrated how these in turn influenced pupils' educational and social beings. There is evidence from the research that classrooms are set up to (re)create inequalities and that the classroom organisational structures are presented as being both rational and meritocratic. This strain of thinking and action permeated discussions with the head teacher in St Anthony's school. One of the central tenets of CRT is that racism is normal, not aberrant, within society and so has become an ingrained feature of our societal landscape, it appears natural and is thus unquestioned (Delgado, 1995: xiv) and this was reflected in many of the classroom practices. In both schools, the grouping of children according to 'ability' ensured that pupils for whom English was an additional language inhabited the peripheries of learning spaces. However, there are ways in which unjust practices might be disrupted through judicious and informed school leadership. In seeking to challenge the named otherness of being Black, female and othered, Davidson has suggested that through Deleuze's (1993) conceptualisation of the fold, individuals might (re)conceptualise an identity internally and so escape the alterity of being in, 'the static, illusionary position of the other' (Davidson, 2010: 129).

For younger pupils, realising such a heuristic involves the unlikely eventuality of arriving at an awareness of their own ascribed positionality of otherness and being willing to, and having access to sufficient resources to, effectively challenge this position. It follows that within the school context, head teachers and classroom teachers have an important role in facilitating the escape from the supposed fixedness of racialised educational identities. Through the incorporation of CRT and Deluzian philosophical approaches in leadership professional development, colleagues could be provided with the reflexive tools enabling them to challenge orthodoxies and established exclusionary practices by developing 'alliances against exclusivity' (Valle and Connor, 2011).

Head teachers, and those in positions of senior leadership in schools, often act as arbiters, or sometimes as unwitting reacting receptors and sentient implementers, of local regional and national policies which subsequently feed into the micropolitical context of schools. The research data suggested that ambient policies and practices affected the space, organisation and interactions within the schools and had a powerful affective dimension on pupils as well as teachers, especially those from minority ethnic communities. For example, the negative societal portrayal of migrants as usurpers and as being othered persons was 'sensed' by Louisa Bronowski in Hopton Primary School. She could feel the wider antagonism towards her to such an extent that she felt she and her community had to 'justify our being here'. Additionally, for the two school leaders who participated in the research, there was also a 'sensing' of policy and this was realised in a diversity of ways within the schools.

In a reflection of wider policy agendas, Mrs Beckett 'feels' the data inform her that 'our white working class boys' are not performing as well as other pupils. Here, an education system which is pervasive through and in whiteness (Castagno, 2014) militates against the achievement of those who are made to be 'divergent' (Gillborn, 2013). Othered pupils from minority ethnic backgrounds have been placed in a competitive, seemingly advantageous, position in comparison to working class white pupils. In this way, policy becomes an enfolder, an emotive, affective and social perspective that when enacted within schools illustrates how, 'Policy is written onto bodies and produces particular subject positions' (Ball et al, 2012: 618). There is a need then among school leaders to contest the splitting of subjectivising ascribed identity markers which, as Youdell (2011) points out, is exclusionary and consistently seeks to territorialise and constrain potential for creativity of being. However, whilst highlighting the confining nature of cartographical affective enfoldings of policy, Webb et al (2013: 66) also identify scope for deterritorialisation through the artistic and creative nature of leadership as reflected in the notion of the Deleuzian fold. It provides latitude for teachers to reorient themselves in countervailance to inscribing policies through the art of ethical, personal recreation.

The ensuing recommendation is that networks of leaders be formed to transform the academic argument of Deleuzian philosophy, aligned with the insights provided by CRT, to reveal how they might be enacted in the practice of the everyday within schools. In this way, they will be countering the supposed universal orthodoxies of the mantra 'we are all equal', and instead divining the diversities inherent in heterogeneity, striving towards the imminence in the 'we are all different', and assisting pupils and themselves, as phrased by Conley, to 'battle to win the right to have access to difference, variation and metamorphosis' (Conley, 2005: 171). In so doing, this recommendation incorporates Semetsky's; 'concepts of poiesis, or making, and autopoiesis, as—literally—self-making, or making of the "self", (*which*) are critical for describing the dynamics of such a process understood as creative—versus destructive—and potentially leading to the production of new meanings, habits and values (Semetsky, 2003: 6). It also recognises Youdell's call, informed by Lacau and Mouffe (2001), for the development of 'a collective radical politics build on agnostic pluralism in which the particular concerns of individuals and groups are tethered together in chains of equivalence which do not pit concerns against each other in a struggle for primary or seek to identify a singular, homogenizing primary concern' (Youdell, 2011: 135). The collectives could be identified among school leaders, middle leaders and among educators who work with them and will develop a unique corpus of examples of how Deleuzian philosophy enables school leaders to develop ethical, practical, imminent and hopeful responses to the unbearable ascriptions of race, language, nationality, ability, gender, class and other identity markers.

6.6.3 The rhyzomic teacher practitioner: Phronetic and ethical development

A key aim of the research was to inform my own capacity to provide critical guidance for trainee teachers whose work increasingly involves engaging constructively with diversity. When questioned about their levels of preparedness for engaging with linguistic, cultural or ethnic differences, none of the classroom teachers, or those in positions of leadership in the two schools shared beliefs that

they had been adequately prepared in terms of initial or continuing professional development. However, teachers in Hopton Primary indicated that the presence of Mrs Bronowski, a specialist teacher with QTS and with an appreciation for EAL, had strengthened their capacity to better incorporate linguistic diversity and to diversify the curriculum to reflect pupil differences. Nonetheless, the research also revealed that in both schools there were instances where teacher practices were unwittingly, and at times overtly, informed by negative subjectivising racialised practices.

It is questionable to what extent white teachers who express a sense of preparedness for engaging with differences are aware of their own positions of privilege and how the value base and practices underpinning this privilege impacts on the assemblage of space, affectivities, policies, power plays and curriculum inclusions and elisions which together contribute to the interrelated educational mechanisms (Castagno, 2014; Smith and Lander, 2011). The space for addressing race, such as it existed, has largely been eviscerated from teacher education programmes in England (Lander, 2014: 300). This leaves the potential open for the return to unquestioned liberal celebrations of 'inclusive' multiculturalism, which are problematic - being predicated on the exoticism of 'otherness'. Drawing on Butler's work, Youdell argues otherness itself is inextricably dependent upon a subject naming and positioning itself in an oppositional tension with the other - identifying the other as outside a norm (2012: 153). The challenge then is to arrive at a teacher education research and pedagogy which reveals and tackles systematic prejudices and which eschews notions of facile cultural otherness. This approach ultimately contests the notions of fixed identities, even problematising the inherent selectivism of identities based research, and revealing the power implications for identity assigning policy orientations (Youdell, 2011).

The ensuing recommendation is that teacher educators work with pre-service trainee and practicing teachers to promote critical research aimed at investigating ways in which the imminence of school and classroom encounters can be used to promote liberating discourses and practices. This could involve, for example,

building on the initiative of prior researchers who have used phronesis as a means of researching, revealing and altering subjectivising and unjust practices (Flyvbjerg, 2008; Lovat & Semetsky, 2009; Semetsky, 2012; 2003; Thomas, 2012a; 2012b; 2010). Such work is professionally and politically important as it operates at a nexus illuminating the ways in which the outside becomes the inside through an examination of the Deleuzian fold as educational praxis. It involves, 'authorising a particular kind of context-based knowledge and grounding that knowledge in the public political debates of the society under study' (Thomas, 2012b: 3, paraphrasing Flyvbjerg, 2001). Essentially, phronesis constitutes a programme of 'deliberative pedagogies' that contributes to the realisation of a personal philosophy of the teaching self while facilitating wider public debate and as such, it is an ethical and social imperative (Thomas 2012a: 42).

While not seeking to delimit the possible scope of context-specific research, a rhizomatic interpretation of the findings in this study hints at possibilities for future work. Classroom based investigations and learning for trainee teachers might include for example a focus on; the power afforded in the use of striated, homogenous territorialising and extensive spaces. This might include a focus on the 'materiality of space' between persons as suggested by Allen (2013), or an investigation of the 'geographies of knowledge' as explored by Livingstone (2005) and Prior (2008). In an era dominated by a focus on outcomes, where as observed by Mrs Denny in Hopton Primary, pupils have become no more than 'output machines', it would be beneficial to re-establish a concern for the affective dimension in learning and teaching, to explore in particular its place in relation to 'abject' learners. Care for pupils and a consideration of their physical, social, psychological and spiritual well-being goes to the heart of the educational experience and as pedagogues our, 'ways of knowing and acting ought not operate as detached technical systems but should be adaptive, responsive and open to a milieu that is not represented objectively but felt affectively' (Colebrook, 2002: 145).

Turning towards the need to develop an ethical dimension to reflexive professional practice, a critical area within teacher education is the relatively underutilised approach to whiteness studies to interrogate presumptions about privilege and how this might play out in classrooms (Gillborn; 2013, 2008, 2005). Methodologically, the further studies could also provide opportunities for practicing and intending teachers to read and create counter-narrative as data which elucidate the social and educational experiences of 'othered' pupils and 'insist on firsthand narratives about racial oppression in schools and society' (Leonardo, 2013: 602). In post-structuralist writings, narrative is also seen as an important tool for revealing the processes by which subjectivisation takes place and the ways in which identities may be ascribed and indeed adopted by particular individuals or cohorts. There are risks associated with promoting such research for example the professional repercussions of countering strong performance data driven narratives within teacher education intuitions (Bonta, 2013: 62), but these must be weighed ethically against the professional imperative to alter the unbearable experiences of some pupils and to strive towards a realisation of the transformative potential in education for self and pupils.

6.7 CONCLUDING REMARKS

The research involved a critical ethnographic investigation of the experiences of pupils from ethnic minority backgrounds who attended two schools in the English West Midlands. I was concerned to establish how pupils' social and educational identities were formed in more rural contexts. The pupils' experiences and attendant identity formations were explored over an eight month period. The findings indicate that linear associations or direct causal relationships between macro and micro political interactions and their effects upon pupils' identities are problematic. Rather, concepts about self and the subjectivisation of social and educational beings are developed through complex interrelationships linking psychological, social and political influences. Aspects of social control influencing the ways in which individuals have space and freedom to form are fluid, iterative

and interactive but also sociologically restrictive. So teacher education needs to develop, 'new open spatial forms, open systems rather than closed systems' (Semetsky, 2008: xi), to facilitate the development of a multiplicity of identities. The ideational flows which shaped and eroded particular attributes of pupils' beings were influenced by power and prejudice, but these too can be, and were, resisted in day-to-day school based practices.

Whilst I strove to gleam insights to truth, because of the nature of the research, ultimately the views and findings to which I arrived, could only be partial and as such they were and remain contestable and open to further debate. As a personal, political and identity strewn piece of research, it is also imbued with the veracity of the micropolitical as reflections of the macropolitical and how these may be 'permeated with affective and ethical dimensions of care, trust and love that creates the conditions for the actualization of virtual potentialities' (Done and Knowler, 2012: 846). Ultimately, the research enabled me to envision how educational experiences might be realised differently for those from ethnic and linguistic minorities.

Appendix 1: Parent consent letter

Dear Parent/Guardian,

16th October 2012

My name is Seán Bracken. I am carrying out research for my Doctorate of Education at the University of Leicester and I am working at the University of Worcester. My research looks at how children from differing cultures are included or excluded in school. My research also looks at how children become friends, how they study and how they take part in the school community. I hope that the research will give me a better understanding of how children with differing languages and cultures interact in schools. This should help me and others to prepare new teachers to work better with all children.

Your primary school gave me permission to do research in the school. I am writing to ask your permission for your child to take part in this research. If you agree please sign on the next page. I will also ask your child if he/she wants to take part.

The research takes place over the next seven months. Your child will not miss out on any schoolwork. I will observe your child in the playground and in the classroom. I will also give your child a camera and ask him/her to take some photos of what he/she likes and dislikes about school. I will ask him/her to take photos of some things that he/she likes from home. Together, we will talk about the photographs. We will also talk about friendships and study. The conversations will be tape-recorded for my study. I will make sure that nobody else listens to these tapes.

I will also make sure your child's name, his/her views, and photos **are not printed or openly shared** with anyone else so they might know who your child is. If, your child appears bored, does not want to talk, or tells me at any time that he/she does not want to take part in the research, he/se will be able to return to his/her study or play. I would be very happy if you allow your child to take part in the research, but he/she does not have to. Please call or email me if you have any questions.

Yours sincerely,

Seán Bracken, University of Worcester.

Phone Home: 01905 357521,

Phone Work: 01905 542370

Email seanbracken@gmail.com

PERMISSION SLIP

YES MY CHILD CAN TAKE PART

If you allow your child to participate in the research, please sign the permission slip below and return it to your child's school by **Friday 9th November**.

I agree to allow my child, {child's name}, to participate in the study on how children from differing cultures are included or excluded in school.

I understand that I have the right to stop my child's participation at any time and that information about my child or my family will not be shared with anyone else.

Parent's (or guardian's) signature:

Date:

Child's birth date:

NO, I WOULD PREFER THAT MY CHILD DID NOT TAKE PART

If you would prefer your child not to participate in the study on how children from differing cultures are included or excluded in school please sign the permission slip below and return it to your child's school/nursery to your child's school by **Friday 9th November**.

I do not wish my child, {child's name} to participate in the research.

Parent's (or guardian's) signature:

Date:

Appendix 2: Plan of research activities

	October	November	December	January	February	March	April	May
Review of key documentation (OFSTED, policy documents, website)								
Interviews with key staff (SENCo, EAL TA, Class teacher)								
Engagement with photo ethnography								
Classroom observations								
School informal observations								
Follow up interviews								

Appendix 3: Student permission

Dear

November 2012

My name is Seán Bracken. I am studying my Doctorate of Education at the University of Leicester and working at the University of Worcester. My research looks at how children from differing cultures become friends, how they study and how they take part in the school community. Your school gave me permission to do some research in the school. I would like your permission to take part in this research. If you agree to take part in the research, please sign on the next page.

The research takes place over the next 7 months. You will not miss out on any schoolwork. I will observe you in the playground and in the classroom. I will also give you a camera and ask you to take some photos of what you like and dislike about school. I will ask you to take photos of some things that you like from home. Together, we will talk about the photographs. We will also talk about friendships and study. The conversations will be tape-recorded for my study. I will make sure that nobody else listens to these tapes. I will also make sure that the information is not shared with your teachers. I will also make sure your name, what you say and the photos you take **are not printed or openly shared** with anyone else so they might know who you are.

If you get bored, don't not want to talk, or tell me at any time that you don't want to take part in the research, you will be able to return to your study or play. I hope that my findings can improve the ways in which teachers work with children with differing languages and cultures. I would be very happy if you take part in the research, but you do not have to. Please let me know if you have any questions.

Yours sincerely,

Seán Bracken,

University of Worcester.

Phone Work: 01905 542370

Email seanbracken@gmail.com

PERMISSION SLIP

I**agree** to participate in the study on how children from differing cultures are included or excluded in school.

I understand that I have the right to stop taking part at any time and that nobody will have the information shared about me or my family, unless it is necessary for Seán to do so by law

My signature

Date.....

I**would not like** to participate in the study on how children from differing cultures are included or excluded in school.

My signature

Date.....

Appendix 4: Teacher permission

March 2013

My name is Seán Bracken. I am studying my Doctorate of Education at the University of Leicester and working at the University of Worcester. My research looks at how children from differing cultures are included or excluded in school and how their identities may be formed within the school. My research also looks at the cross section of student identity, for example aspects of gender, social class, language diversity and how these factors may interface with children's engagement in the school community.

I intend to digitally record an interview which addresses three key areas; namely your experiences within the school, the nature of teaching, learning and curriculum implementation and how internal and external policies impact on practice. The conversations will be digitally recorded for my study. I will make sure that nobody else listens to these recordings and once transcribed the recordings will be deleted. Every effort will be made to anonymise the research and your engagement with it.

I would be very happy if you take part in the research, but you do not have to. If at any time you wish to stop the interview, please let me know. I am happy to respond to any questions which you may have.

Yours sincerely,

I would like your permission to take part in this research. If you agree to take part in the research, please sign the section below.

Iagree to participate in the study on how children from differing cultures are included or excluded in school. I understand that I have the right to stop taking at any time and that nobody will be shared information about me or my family.

My signature

Date.....

Appendix 5: Evolving Interview Schedules

Early iteration of questionnaire for teachers and school leaders

1. How confident to you feel when working with students for whom English is an additional language?
2. What are the school's policies towards learners with English as an additional language?
3. What are some National policies affecting children for whom English is an additional language?
4. Are the resources you have sufficient to enable you to work effectively with children for whom English is an additional language?
5. What additional resources do you think you might require?
6. Are there any of the child's cultural heritage to you think it might be important to include in the teaching and learning?
7. To what extent do you feel it might be worthwhile to include the child's first language in teaching and learning?

Principal teachers interview schedule:

Setting the scene	How long have you been principal of the school?
	How many teaching staff are there in the school
	How many children are in the school?
	What is the proportion of Traveller children and others who come from diverse linguistic or cultural backgrounds?
Social and personal	What was your reason for choosing to become principal of a diverse school?
	How would you suggest being principal of a diverse school might differ, if at all, from being a principal in a culturally homogenous school?
	Can you describe some challenges and successes which your school has had while interacting with those from ethnic minority backgrounds?

	How does your own cultural background influence decisions which are taken regarding the education of children and parents from minority backgrounds?
	To what extent have inclusive policies been developed within your school and how are these exemplified in the school practices?
	How would you describe the ethos of your school?
	What are the external influences on that ethos?
	In your view, what impact does your school ethos have on the lives of children from diverse backgrounds?
Curriculum	In your view, should the formal curriculum be mediated the same way in terms of content and methodology to all children in schools with diverse student body?
	To what extent should children's languages and religion be reflected in the formal and informal curriculum?
	What aspects of the informal curriculum would you say addresses the needs of Travellers and other children from ethnic minority backgrounds?
	Given that the curriculum was developed some 10 years ago, to what extent do you believe it meets the needs of all learners – especially those from diverse backgrounds?
Teaching and learning	How are the parents/guardians of children from ethnic minority backgrounds involved in teaching and learning within the school?
	How do staff assist one another to address the needs of ethnically diverse learners?
	What forms of formal professional development have you and your staff been provided with in the field of diversity? Is this an area of importance to you?
	How have issues of racist bullying been addressed within the school?
Other areas	Are there other aspects of the school policies or practices which you would like to discuss in regards to the area of cultural, linguistic or ethnic diversity?

Appendix 6: Final reviewed interview schedule

School leader interview schedule:

Setting the scene	How long have you been in your role at the school?
	Who are some educationalists who have most influenced your outlook on education?
	How many children are in the school?
	What is the proportion of children who come from diverse linguistic or cultural backgrounds?
Social, personal and professional	What do you admire most about this school?
	Can you describe some challenges and successes which your school has had while interacting with those from ethnic minority backgrounds?
	How effective was your teacher training in preparing you for an engagement with cultural, ethnic or linguistic diversity?
	Have there been opportunities for staff to access continued professional development enabling them to engage effectively with diversity?
	Have you ever questioned how your own cultural background might influence decisions which are taken regarding the education of children and parents from minority backgrounds
	To what extent have inclusive policies been developed within your school and how are these exemplified in the school practices?
	How would you describe the culture of your school?
	What are the external influences on that culture?
	In your view, what impact does your school culture have on the lives of children from diverse backgrounds?
	What difference do you think a child's cultural or linguistic heritage might have on the nature of what's taught and what's learned?
	How are current policy changes impacting on learning and teaching for all students and for those from minority ethnic communities in particular?

	How have issues of racist bullying been addressed within the school?
Curriculum	In your view, should the formal curriculum be mediated the same way in terms of content and methodology for children who come from diverse cultural and linguistic backgrounds?
	To what extent should children's languages be reflected in the formal and informal curriculum, if at all?
	In what ways does the school engage with the wider communities of children who come from diverse cultural backgrounds?
	What might be some of the constraining factors which inhibit complete inclusion of children's ethnic, cultural or linguistic identities?
Teaching and learning	How are the parents/guardians of children from ethnic minority backgrounds involved in teaching and learning within the school?
	How do staff assist one another to address the needs of ethnically diverse learners?
	What forms of formal professional development have you and your staff been provided with in the field of diversity?
	How has your own professional development prepared you for working with students from ethnic minorities?
Other areas	If you could envisage a school which catered perfectly for every student's learning requirements, what might such a school look like?
	Are there other aspects of the school policies or practices which you would like to discuss in regards to the area of cultural, linguistic or ethnic diversity?

Appendix 7: Group interview questions

The following questions posed to pupils in St Anthony's and Hopton evolved from their first individual interviews.

Some of you are interested in keeping your home language, but do not want the language to be used in school? Why might this be?

Some of you feel that your teachers would be disappointed if you spoke your home language in school. Why might this be?

Some of you identified your favourite subjects as being mathematics in particular, why do you think this might be?

Some of you were unhappy where you were placed and grouped in class, why might this be?

Most of you like ICT and PE and drama, why do you think this might be?

Some of you see England as home, others India or Poland, why do you think this might be? Is it possible to live in, or have two homes?

Do you feel English? Why?

What do you think would help you as a group to become 'the best' in the class?

Many of you like reading, but there are few books in your languages or about your countries in the library, why do you think this might be?

Some of you have been bullied because of your accent or because of the way you look, why do you think this is? How can it be stopped?

What are your views on SATs, are they necessary? If so, how might you become better at taking them?

Appendix 8: Research Seminar 6th March 2013

Collegial Feedback – written by colleague A:

1. Is this how she sees herself, or how others see her? (Colleague 1 on first example)
2. Can education make us better? Better based on what? What does better mean?
3. Do you make yourself too vulnerable. Falling into familiar roles. Power and peer relationships – the teacher only has the power that the children all them/vest in them. Igor – you are not in an objective position? Why did you choose to focus on the children and not the teaching? Are “foreign” children a threat from within? Threat to school standards / results? Is that what threatens you? Are you more troubled than Igor?
4. Does giggling equate to being naughty (Igor)? Could the child be pleased or embarrassed?
5. Is this a new way of doing research – by involving colleague comments / reflections / interpretations? (Colleague 3)
6. Self-fulfilling prophecy. Do you reinforce the label by using it?
7. You were using all your senses – and this led you to that interpretation. (Colleague 3)
8. It is honest and heart rending.
9. Health warning regarding [interpretation of] gesture etc.
10. Research is troubling. It shouldn't comfort us. Do you become complicit if you don't act? How does the duty of care influence the role of the researcher?
11. Ethicality – acting to help/support: is it naturalistic/instinctive behaviour?
12. Long-term ethics. Could stepping in muddy waters stop change in the long run?
13. SB: I'm not a troubled man; I'm a troubled researcher.
14. My own additional thought – was about the contrast between society as homogenous and heterogeneous i.e. difference as the norm.

Appendix 9: Significant informants' schedule, SENCO

Setting the scene	How long have you been in your role at the school?
	Who have been the most influential educational influences on your thinking and actions as a teacher?
	Who do you work with within the school?
	What is the proportion of children who come from diverse linguistic or cultural backgrounds?
Social, personal and professional	What do you admire most about this school?
	Can you describe some challenges and successes which your school has had while interacting with those from ethnic minority backgrounds?
	How effective was your teacher training in preparing you for an engagement with cultural, ethnic or linguistic diversity?
	What role do you have in working with children for whom English is an additional language?
	Have there been opportunities for staff to access continued professional development enabling them to engage effectively with diversity?
	Have you ever questioned how your own cultural background might influence decisions which are taken regarding the education of children and parents from minority backgrounds
	To what extent have inclusive policies been developed within your school and how are these exemplified in the school practices?
	How would you describe the culture of your school?
	What are the external influences on that culture?
	In your view, what impact does your school culture have on the lives of children from diverse backgrounds?
	What difference do you think a child's cultural or linguistic heritage might have on the nature of what's taught and what's learned?
	How are current policy changes impacting on learning and teaching for all students and for those from minority ethnic communities in particular?
	How have issues of racist bullying been addressed within the school?
Curriculum	In your view, should the formal curriculum be mediated the same way in terms of content and methodology for children who come from diverse cultural backgrounds?
	To what extent should children's languages and religion be reflected in the formal and informal curriculum, if at all?
	In what ways does the school engage with the wider communities of children who come from diverse cultural backgrounds?

	What might be some of the constraining factors which inhibit complete inclusion of children's ethnic, cultural or linguistic identities?
Teaching and learning	How are the parents/guardians of children from ethnic minority backgrounds involved in teaching and learning within the school?
	How do staff assist one another to address the needs of ethnically diverse learners?
	What forms of formal professional development have you and your staff been provided with in the field of diversity?
	How has your own professional development prepared you for working with students from ethnic minorities?
Other areas	If you could envisage a school which catered perfectly for every student's learning requirements, what might such a school look like?
	Who are some educationalists who have most influenced your outlook on education?
	Are there other aspects of the school policies or practices which you would like to discuss in regards to the area of cultural, linguistic or ethnic diversity?

Appendix 10: Research participants (Anonymised)

SCHOOL STAFF AND PUPILS – HOPTON PRIMARY

Name	Further details
Mr Stephen Williams	Deputy head teacher, EAL Co-ordinator, Behaviour coordinator.
Mrs Carter	Senior phase leader, part time teacher of 1 Year 6 class along with Mrs Neary.
Mrs Neary	Co teacher with Mrs Carter and school SENCo.
Ms Louisa Bronowski	TA with QTS who had responsibility for EAL. Originally from Poland.
Ms Radcliffe	TA Spanish teacher.
Mrs Harris	Year 6A classroom teacher.
Pupil name	
Darius	A recently arrived Lithuanian heritage boy who is discussed in school as having special educational needs.
Sonja	Polish female pupil who has been in the school for two years.
Peta	Polish female pupil who has been in the school for three years and a Year 6 class representative.
Yasmina	A newly arrived Polish pupil whose interview was translated for me by Louisa (the TA) she expressed a strong interest in ICT.
Annessa	A female pupil of Lithuanian heritage who has lived for four years in England.

SCHOOL STAFF AND PUPILS – ST ANTHONY’S PRIMARY

Name	Details
Mrs Beckett	Year 6 teacher, deputy head teacher, MFL, drama and literacy co-ordinator.
Mrs Dyson	HLTA Year 6.
Mrs. Natasza Walicki	TA and designated person with responsibility for EAL.
Mrs Baldwin	Head teacher.
Mrs Jenkins	SENCo (part time).
Pupil name	
Joselito	Filipino heritage male pupil who has lived in England for 6 years.
Abha	A ‘high performing’ female pupil of Karala Indian heritage.
Wojciech	A Polish boy who has lived in England for some 7 years. He was identified in discussions as having special educational needs.
Bryga	A Polish girl who is generally placed in ‘lower performing’ groups.
Tejas	One of the Karala heritage boys generally placed in the ‘mid’ performing group, he was very enthusiastic about the research.
Oojam	A male pupil of Karala Indian heritage who acted as Macbeth.
Tanvi	A female pupil of Karala Indian heritage who is generally placed in the second lowest, or lowest performing groups for mathematics and English.
Matthew	A male pupil of Karala Indian heritage.
John	A male pupil of Karala Indian heritage.

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