Brokering Britain
The teaching of ESOL citizenship

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Abstract

This thesis gives an account of an ethnographically-informed case study of two ESOL citizenship courses offered as an alternative to the *Life in the UK* test. Using the concepts of 'brokering' and 'stance' I draw together four levels of context: theoretical debates about citizenship; the social and political events which led to the introduction of the citizenship programme; the institutions where the case study classes took place; and the pedagogy and interaction in the two classrooms.

The teachers are shown to adopt different stances on the political, institutional and local influences on ESOL citizenship: one, perceiving ESOL and citizenship to be synonymous, made few changes to her lessons whilst the other attempted to teach citizenship head-on. Analysis of the latter reveals that much of the curriculum content centred on a received notion of British culture, although some attention was paid to political citizenship knowledge and contemporary debates. A close examination of classroom talk shows that teaching about Britain required considerable relational and 'stance work' on the part of the teacher as she strived to make topics accessible to students and to mediate – or 'broker' – between them, the official programme and her own values and beliefs.

In both classes, citizenship remained at one remove from students' local experiences, either because of its erasure from the syllabus, because of the urgent imperative of exam preparation or because, in attempting to mitigate the more troublesome aspects of Britishness, the teacher evaded certain citizenship related topics and positioned students more frequently as representatives of their countries of birth than as Londoners. The findings suggest that if citizenship is to be addressed meaningfully in ESOL, social and political content needs to be brought centre-stage alongside a language curriculum and pedagogy which develops the capabilities for active, participatory citizenship.

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To Janette and Diane and the students in their classes at Northside and Eastfields, wherever they are now.

Acknowledgements

Introduction and orientation

0.1 Background

The background to this thesis was the citizenship testing programme, introduced by the New Labour government as part of the 2002 Nationality, Immigration and Asylum Act. Under the Act, people born overseas wishing to acquire British nationality were required, for the first time, to pass a formal test – known popularly as 'the citizenship test' or sometimes the 'Britishness test' – of knowledge of 'life in the UK'. The multiple choice questions, drawn from the handbook *Life in the United Kingdom: A Journey to Citizenship,* tested various areas of knowledge about British institutions, customs, heritage and day to day life. From the start, this test achieved a certain degree of notoriety and was the source of much lampooning in the media; writing in the *London Review of Books*, for example, Andrew O' Hagan (2006: 22) called it 'the funniest book currently available in the English language'. Less notorious, but taken up by significant numbers of people, was an alternative to the test which permitted applicants to take a course of English for Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL) with a citizenship element built into it; as a result of this, teachers of ESOL became teachers of citizenship almost overnight. This thesis describes an ethnographic study of two of these ESOL citizenship courses and the ways in which the teachers acted as intermediaries – or brokers – between the official version of Britain produced by the UK government and prospective new British citizens, their students.

0.1.1 Inserting citizenship into ESOL

The insertion of citizenship into ESOL was not secured without an element of struggle. At the time the legislation was first mooted I was an ESOL practitioner and had spent several years teaching in a Further Education college during a time of upheaval which had seen the introduction of a new centralised national curriculum, new teacher training standards and a new national research centre under the auspices of the government strategy for adult basic education known as *Skills for Life*. Although as practitioners we had welcomed the injection of cash into our 'Cinderella' sector, many of us were critical of the government involvement in our profession and the increased auditing and managerialism which went along with it. The ESOL citizenship programme, which made citizenship a statutory part of ESOL teaching, was therefore received by some as a further incursion by the government into ESOL and caused – amongst some people at least – a certain amount of consternation, not to say hostility; the Home Office was accused of asking us to do its

'dirty work' and some in ESOL, already beleaguered by paperwork and inspections, saw this as one more task we felt ill-equipped to carry out. Others, however, saw the potential for teaching citizenship as part of ESOL and viewed it as a way to secure more funding and as a source of interesting lessons in an area of teaching which had long been 'in search of a subject matter' (Harrison 1990: 1), a view which was helped considerably by the introduction of a pack of high quality ESOL citizenship teaching materials. One of my original motives for studying ESOL citizenship arose from the contradictions I heard about citizenship in some of the debates in the ESOL sector at the time: whilst some vowed to have nothing to do with the whole project, others stated that everything they did was citizenship and always had been. Some argued that adult migrants needed to be taught citizenship whilst others pointed out that many ESOL students were already exemplary citizens. As time went on, of course, the arguments gradually subsided, citizenship was incorporated into the everyday business of ESOL and the relationship between citizenship and ESOL became 'common-sense'. At the time of my research, however – the fieldwork for my study was carried out between 2007 and 2009 – it was a relatively recent innovation and very much a 'hot topic' amongst practitioners.

0.1.2 ESOL citizenship today
The 'ESOL classes' route to citizenship came into being in 2005 and was available to applicants for eight years, but despite being taken up by large numbers the option to take an ESOL citizenship class instead of the *Life in the UK* (LITUK) test was withdrawn in October 2013. As a result of this, applicants for naturalisation or residence in the UK who are not native speakers of English currently have to take two tests: the LITUK test and a test of English language at intermediate level. The classes I describe in this thesis, therefore, are no longer part of the UK's citizenship regime – although as I will show, many of the issues affecting the teaching of citizenship to ESOL students which were relevant at the time of my research remain so today.

In some ways the world in 2015 is a different place from 2007. A programme of austerity measures applied to public services since the banking crisis in 2008 has meant a drastic reduction in the funding of ESOL, and five years of a right-leaning Conservative-led coalition government has meant a hardening of attitudes towards immigration and citizenship; getting British nationality or legal residence in the UK is undoubtedly more of a hurdle than it was when the citizenship programme was first introduced. Of course, some

would argue that by introducing the citizenship regime in the first place, New Labour simply paved the way for the more draconian measures to follow – but that aside, the original test was, in theory at least, supposed to be easy to pass, was intended to encourage people to get citizenship, and formal membership of the polity called the UK was seen as a good thing. In other ways, though, the world is not so different and, as I show in this thesis, many of the citizenship-related themes which I discuss are as prescient now as they were then – in fact, most of them are more problematic and more seemingly intractable than ever. Whilst I was writing up this thesis in 2014-15, for example, the debate about 'Britishness' became intensified by the closeness of the vote in the referendum on Scottish independence, an argument raged about the best way to commemorate the centenary of the beginning of World War 1 and schoolteachers were being taxed with teaching 'British values' as an antidote to the 'islamification' of some schools in Birmingham and East London. Questions about institutions such as the NHS and how they contribute to our national identity have been raised by events such as the opening ceremony of the London Olympic Games in 2012 and there is an ongoing, frequently acrimonious debate about immigration, exacerbated in 2014 by the election to Parliament of two members of the anti-immigration party, UKIP. Austerity has brought to these debates a more pressing urgency and a focus on economic issues such as low pay, the cost of welfare benefits and the increasing cost of care for the elderly. All of these themes emerged in my classroom recordings and feature in my discussions, particularly in Chapters 7 and 8 in which I pay close attention to how one of the teachers 'brokered Britain' in her talk and in conversation with her students.

Thematically, then, the concerns of the teachers and students in my study are still highly relevant today. Another thing which has not changed is the continuing role of ESOL at the centre of debates which at first sight seem to have little to do with the activity of teaching English to people born abroad. Since 2001 'the English language' and levels of English competence in migrant communities have been linked to questions of community cohesion, integration, segregation, unemployment and security by politicians, some parts of the public and the media, and their rhetoric has remained similar across changes in political administration. A lack of English has been cited as contributing to communities living 'parallel lives', the country 'sleepwalking into segregation', 'schizophrenia' between generations, a feeling of 'discomfort' in local communities – the list goes on. So it is perhaps of little surprise that ESOL has been susceptible to intervention by governments

wishing to be seen to be doing something about major electoral issues such as cultural diversity and immigration – the most notable of these being the citizenship test and the imposition of a citizenship component in ESOL courses introduced in 2005. This thesis, then, is partly a historical record of the insertion of the citizenship programme into ESOL and what two teachers made of this new requirement but also, and more importantly, it is an exploration of broader questions which arose from the embedding of citizenship into ESOL, all of which remain relevant today: the role of pedagogy in the teaching of citizenship, the place of British national culture in English language teaching, and, of particular importance in the current climate, the role of ESOL in addressing the concerns and issues affecting linguistic minority migrants to the UK.

0.2 Aims of the thesis

I have two main aims in this thesis. The first is to discuss the citizenship literature and the debates underpinning the UK citizenship legislation and to explore their relationship to the ESOL citizenship classes I observed. When I began my project I knew something about ESOL but had only a lay person's knowledge of the concept of citizenship. The research and resulting thesis would undoubtedly have looked very different if it had been approached by a scholar of citizenship, who would have recognised more quickly the traditions and models of citizenship which were invoked in the debates and which found their way into the *Life in the UK* handbook and citizenship teaching materials. As I started to read the citizenship literature, however, I discovered that the contradictions and differing stances on citizenship that I had noticed amongst practitioners in the sector were to be found in the polyvalent nature of citizenship itself (Joppke 2010:1) and the complexities of the debates surrounding it in the UK.

Internationally there has been a lot of academic interest in citizenship testing regimes but much of this research has focused on the politics and ideology of the tests themselves or on their effects on applicants; to date, very few studies have been carried out on the *intermediaries* in these regimes, i.e. test designers, materials writers and teachers. Olga Griswold (2010), a US scholar who has researched the teaching of citizenship to adults, points out that few studies have addressed 'how political and cultural ideologies of the accepting nations are conveyed through the language addressed to potential citizens themselves' (p.491). The second aim of the thesis, then, is to provide an ethnographically grounded account of how citizenship was inserted into ESOL and how teachers brokered

between the ESOL citizenship programme and their students. In particular I aim to consider how, if at all, the tensions and contradictions reported in the citizenship literature – about, *inter alia*, exclusion and inclusion, national identity and political participation – played out in my case study classrooms.

My study was guided, then, by the following central question:

1. How did teachers approach the teaching of citizenship to ESOL students?

And these sub questions:

2. What is 'citizenship'? (Chapter 1)
3. How did the UK ESOL citizenship programme emerge? (Chapter 2)
4. How was citizenship inserted into ESOL in two different colleges of Further Education? (Chapter 5)
5. What were the characteristics of the two ESOL citizenship classes? (Chapter 6)
6. In what ways did pedagogy in one class position students and what were the effects of these positionings? (Chapter 7)
7. What stances on Britain and British citizenship were evident in one of the teacher's pedagogic practices and classroom talk? (Chapter 8)
8. What were the implications of this research for future ESOL citizenship teaching? (Chapter 9)

In chapters 5 and 6 I will show that there were several important differences between the two classes, the main one being in the approaches to citizenship taken by the two teachers: it was clear from the start of my fieldwork that one of them, Diane, approached citizenship directly whilst the lessons of the other teacher, Janette, differed little from mainstream ESOL language classes. This is the main reason – others will be explained in Chapter 4 – that in the final two sub-research questions and corresponding chapters (7 and 8) my focus is on one teacher rather than the other.

0.3 Map of the thesis

In this introduction I have described the background to my study and my personal interest in the topic of citizenship and how it was inserted into ESOL. I have also discussed the current situation and made the case for the relevance of the study for the teaching of

ESOL and citizenship today. In Chapter 1, drawing on literature from the field of citizenship studies (a sub-field of political science), I step back to explore the concept of citizenship itself from its origins in Ancient Greece and Rome through to its modern manifestations. In Chapter 2 I continue this discussion but look in particular at the events and debates which underpinned the emergence of the citizenship test and the ESOL citizenship programme in the UK, i.e. the revival of citizenship under New Labour and the debates about the economy, immigration, community cohesion, Britishness and English language competence. I also provide an overview of the main legislation affecting ESOL citizenship, a brief discussion about citizenship education and a description of the UK ESOL sector. After these two contextualising chapters I move on in Chapter 3 to map the theoretical literature I drew on to help me interpret the data I gathered from my two case study classes. This literature is from several inter-related fields: language and citizenship testing, the teaching of citizenship to adults, the teaching and learning of national culture in language education, second language socialisation and 'stance', a concept adopted from sociolinguistics which I employ to explore the actions and talk of the teachers in their roles as brokers. In Chapter 4, the methodology chapter, I situate my study in the broad traditions of ethnography, linguistic ethnography and classroom ethnography and provide details of the data I collected, how I went about it and how I attempted to be accountable to all of the data in my analysis. I end the chapter with an explanation of how I chose extracts from the classroom recordings to explore more closely and the resources the teachers drew on to express their stances. Chapters 5 to 8 are empirical chapters in which I describe what happened when the teachers set about teaching citizenship to ESOL students; in these chapters, rather than present the empirical findings separately from the analysis, I have opted to provide analytical comments as I go along, thereby combining description and analysis. In Chapter 5 I discuss how the two teachers went about planning their ESOL citizenship classes and how this played out alongside the other demands and institutional imperatives they faced in their professional lives. I also explore in Chapter 5 the stances on citizenship expressed by the two teachers in the interviews I carried out with them during my fieldwork. In Chapter 6 I move my lens into the classrooms themselves and discuss the characteristics of each one, with a particular focus on exam preparation, language instruction and classroom constructions of citizenship. In Chapter 7 I discuss pedagogy and positioning – an integral part of stance – and how the pedagogy in Diane's class positioned students in different ways: as 'not-knowers', representatives from their countries of birth, and as voters and workers in the UK economy. In Chapter 8, the final

empirical chapter, my focus is on the various representations of Britain and the stances the teacher took up – simplified, personal, serious and sidestepping – in her attempts to broker the nation for her students. Finally, in my concluding chapter, Chapter 9, I pull together the points I have made throughout the thesis and consider the implications of my findings for future citizenship teaching to ESOL students and for citizenship education more generally.

Chapter 1: Citizenship

1.1 Introduction

Historically, the concept of 'citizenship' has not been prominent in British political thinking or policy making, and although the idea of citizenship is an ancient one, the legal category of national citizenship in the UK only came into being after the 1981 British Nationality Act. Prior to this, the legal right to live and work in the UK applied equally to all those who were 'subjects' to the British Crown, i.e. those born in the British Commonwealth as well as in Britain itself. In 2000 David Miller pointed out that citizenship was 'not a widely understood idea' (p.26) in the UK; in fact, Miller argued, the figure of the 'citizen' had traditionally provoked mirth (e.g. in comedy programmes such as *Citizen Smith*) or wariness (i.e. in the representation of a citizen as a busybody). Soon after this, however, citizenship became 'a recurrent concern' (Clarke 2005: 47) which was taken up with 'distinct enthusiasm' (ibid.) in several major policy areas.

During the New Labour period (1997-2010)[1], 'citizenship' emerged as an example of what Raymond Williams (1976/1983) called a 'keyword': a prominent culturally significant term whose meanings seem 'inextricably bound up with the problems it is being used to discuss' (p.15). Notably, 'citizenship' was not included in Williams' *Keywords*, presumably because it did not exist as a formal category in Britain until 1981 and because, as Miller suggests, it was a term with little political or social currency in 1976. One of the recurring points made across the literature on citizenship is that the concept is 'notoriously polyvalent' (Joppke 2010: 1), 'chameleon-like' (Wahl-Jorgensen 2006: 198) and 'contested at every level from its very meaning to its political application' (Lister 1997: 3). To add to the indeterminacy of the term, the other concepts linked to citizenship during the New Labour period, namely 'cohesion', 'integration', and 'Britishness', are also regarded by some commentators as equally polyvalent and contested. Rather than approach these categories and terms as unitary and unchanging, then, I understand them as being formed from particular vantage points and historical positions, and as 'social constructions, produced in discourse and ideology' (Rampton *et al* 2014: 5).

In the first two chapters of this thesis, therefore, I give a broad overview of the different positions and discourses on citizenship which were circulating at the time the programme

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[1] In this thesis I am mainly concerned with the period 1997-2008, the year my fieldwork was completed.

came into being; this is intended to serve as an orientation to my exploration of their classroom meanings in the empirical chapters 5-8. In Chapter 2 I describe the way citizenship was taken up by New Labour and the particular debates which underpinned the introduction of the citizenship testing programme. First, however, in this chapter I map the various traditions and elements of citizenship itself, drawing principally on literature from political theory, in particular the field known as 'citizenship studies'.

1.2 Citizenship

The basic definition of a 'citizen' is an individual who has certain rights and privileges, as well as duties to the nation-state in which s/he lives. James Banks (2008: 129) points out, however, that basic definitions do not reveal the complexity of citizenship as it has developed in modern nation-states. Rogers Brubaker (1992), for example, shows that citizenship has different traditions in different countries (his examples were France and Germany); rules vary as to who counts as a citizen and as to what the rights and responsibilities attached to citizenship are. Furthermore, within states the concept is not a stable one and is liable to change along with society itself, so that 'multiple historical conceptions' (Shafir 1998: 4) of citizenship are possible; this is borne out by the constant struggle for citizenship rights to be extended to previously excluded constituencies, e.g. women, minority ethnic groups, disabled people, sexual minorities and so on. Ralf Dahrendorf (1994) points to a further complication, i.e. that 'citizenship' as a concept does not belong to the political left or right but that people 'bend the term to their own predilections':

> The right prefers to speak of 'active citizenship' in order to emphasise the obligations of people. The left tries to develop a notion of 'communitarian citizenship' which combines solidarity with welfare rights. The centre turns the concept into an almost vacuous label for everything that is not to be regarded as either right or left. (p. 13).

Finally, citizenship is further complicated by the proliferation of claims to citizenship based on identities other than nationality, such as, *inter alia*, cosmopolitan, or global, citizenship (Delanty 2000; Falk 1994; Osler 2005; Starkey 2011, 2007), linguistic citizenship (Stroud 2001), eco citizenship (van Steenbergen 1994c) and sexual citizenship (Richardson 2000; Weeks 1998).

The ambiguity and complexity of citizenship has been shown to date back to its origins in European antiquity (Turner 1993). The historian of ideas, J.G.A. Pocock (1995) explains that two different models of citizenship developed out of separate traditions which are still evident today: the 'legal' tradition and the 'political' tradition which I describe in the next section (see Bellamy 2008; Delanty 2000; Ignatieff 1995 for overviews).

1.2.1 Traditions of citizenship

The legal tradition originated with the beginnings of jurisprudence in Ancient Rome; its modern legacy is the notion of citizenship as a legal status and the central importance of 'rights' in liberal democracies. Gerard Delanty (2000: 9) characterises this tradition of citizenship as corresponding to 'market and state-centred conceptions of citizenship' as a formal and legally coded status. The rights of citizens in this tradition are likely to include, *inter alia*, equality before the law, the right to vote, the right to own property and to accrue wealth. These rights are generally signalled by way of a passport, residence permit or identification papers (see Sadiq 2009 for a discussion on the importance of 'papers' for citizenship). In exchange for rights and benefits, the polity – in modern times this is usually the state – imposes a number of obligations such as the payment of taxes and the requirement to serve in the armed forces; beyond these obligations citizens are free to pursue their private interests, as long as these do not impinge on the individual rights of other citizens.

The political tradition dates back to Aristotle and his notion of the 'civis' and entails 'the more substantive dimension of participation in the civic community' (Delanty 2000: 9). By contrast with the liberal tradition, which holds citizenship to be a largely private matter, 'political' citizenship requires the engagement and active participation of citizens in the social institutions, organisations and processes of public society and is regarded by some theorists as the proper meaning of citizenship. Pocock (1995) writes that Aristotle believed that the basic nature of humans – in Ancient Greece this was restricted to men – was that they were 'political animals' and that political participation was the only route to fulfilment; participation was a duty which involved the acceptance that people would rule as well as be ruled. This model of citizenship is less concerned with the legal element of citizenship than with political participation and behaviour and has been re-interpreted in subsequent historical periods by thinkers such as e.g. Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1968), Hannah Arendt (1958/2003), Robert Putnam (1963) and Jürgen Habermas (1993). There are differing types

of political citizenship ranging from grassroots, radical democratic movements (Mouffe 1992) to 'conservative communitarianism' which emphasises the rights and duties of citizens to the state.

The relationship between the two traditions of citizenship are seen by theorists as producing several 'axes of tension' (Squires 2002). Firstly, the legal model of citizenship is regarded by advocates of political citizenship to encourage passivity and 'thin' (Kostakopoulou 2006) or 'banal' citizenship (Macgregor and Bailey 2012) i.e. as little more than a legal status signalled by the holding of a passport. During the New Labour period, for example, politicians began to express their concern that too much emphasis had been placed on the 'rights' aspect of citizenship and not enough on the responsibilities and duties that accompany them, and a version of the political, participatory element of citizenship was increasingly invoked by New Labour politicians. I return to this discussion in Chapter 2. Meanwhile in the next three sections I outline three further areas of debate in the citizenship literature: the problem of inclusion/exclusion perceived by analysts as inherent to citizenship; the relationship between citizenship and nationality and the challenges posed to traditional notions of citizenship by cultural diversity.

1.2.2 Inclusion/exclusion

The policy analyst Ruth Lister (1997) points out that citizenship is essentially 'Janus-faced': although it serves as an important rallying point for the inclusion of disadvantaged and oppressed constituencies (women, lesbian, gay and transgender people, indigenous ethnic groups and so on), citizenship always excludes at the same time as it includes; mechanisms for this are immigration rules, for example, or, in some countries, legal restraints on citizenship on people from minority ethnic and linguistic groups. The inclusionary/exclusionary nature of citizenship is seen by theorists (Anderson 2013; Bosniak 2006; Brubaker 1992; van Steenbergen 1994b) as one of its most enduring and notable contradictions. There are three main sources of exclusion debated in the literature: legal exclusion created by nationality and immigration rules (see Chapter 2); the exclusion of cultural and linguistic minorities from full citizenship (1.2.4) and the exclusion documented extensively in the literature on citizenship caused by inequality and social class which I deal with next.

One of the main tensions in the concept of citizenship is that whilst political citizenship holds all people to be equal, 'economic processes ceaselessly generate inequality' (Ignatieff 1995: 56). This problem was raised by Karl Marx (1977) in his 1844 paper *On the Jewish Question* in which he argued that 'rights' and the formal equality of citizenship served only to mask the substantive inequalities of capitalist societies.[2] The problem was again addressed by the sociologist T.H. Marshall whose *Citizenship and Social Class* ([1950]1992) is regarded by some as 'the most influential work on citizenship ever written' (Joppke 2010: 9; see also van Steenbergen 1994b). Marshall proposed that there were three types of citizenship rights which had developed chronologically: 18th century civil rights i.e. to property ownership, personal liberty and justice; 19th century political rights i.e. to participate in governance; and, in addition to these two older traditions, 20th century social rights i.e. rights of economic and social security. Marshall proposed that social citizenship meant 'the absolute right to a certain standard of civilisation' ([1950]1992: 26) and that full access to social rights would redress problems of unequal access caused by capitalism and enable 'full membership' of the community (ibid: 6). This notion formed the basis of welfare states such as that founded in Britain after World War II around the time Marshall was writing.

Marshall's thesis has been critiqued on several grounds, firstly for his parochialism – he wrote exclusively about England – and secondly because he believed that with the coming of social citizenship the full participation of the individual in the community would be realised. However, although in most countries economic inequality has not been eliminated in the way Marshall predicted, his work is believed to have heralded a broadening in the definition of citizenship from a purely political one to one which implies a greater emphasis on the relationship of the citizen with society as a whole (van Steenbergen 1994b). The institution of citizenship has been criticised for its 'universalism' i.e. for representing the citizen by default as white, male, heterosexual and able-bodied (Fraser and Gordon 1994; Hall, 2000; Young 1998). This leads to the condition of 'dis-citizenship' (Pothier and Devlin 2006, Ramanathan 2013) in which certain groups are excluded from full participation despite formally possessing equal rights under the law; as Lister (1997: 4) points out 'much of the political history of the twentieth century has been characterised by battles to extend, defend or give substance to political, civil and social rights of citizenship'.

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[2] Marx's paper is about the claims of Jews in Germany for equal status. He did not argue against Jews having rights as such but rather that this would not guarantee the end of inequality which was, for Marx, economic and caused by the capitalist system itself.

1.2.3 Citizenship and nationality

A further source of exclusion is produced by the status of nationality which is closely linked to legislation on immigration and naturalisation (see Chapter 2). Citizenship is taken by many people to be synonymous with nationality. Joppke (2010), for example, maintains that citizenship makes little sense without the legal framework of the state and the two need to be viewed together; his definition of citizenship in fact is that it is 'a status denoting membership in a state' (p. viii). Brubaker (1992: 31) calls citizenship 'an international filing system, a mechanism for allocating persons to states'. The nation state is the locus from where rights have been bestowed and where 'efforts at defining, controlling, challenging and subverting notions of citizenship' have been made (Wahl-Jorgensen 2006: 202); indeed, Turner (1994: 166) has predicted that citizenship might in the future come to be seen as relevant only to the period of history in which the nation state was dominant. However, although the nation state and citizenship are tightly linked, nationality and citizenship are not regarded by all theorists as synonymous. This explanation from Andrew Mycock (2010: 341) points to a differentiation between the two:

> Nationality is a legal status defining membership of a state; citizenship follows on from nationality but encompasses conditional rights and obligations. Citizenship involves an active element which most commonly reflects the granting of political rights that are distinct from more passive forms of nationality which often have shared cultural or ethnic connotations. It is therefore possible for two differing but overlapping forms of identity to emerge within a single state, one based on civic constructions founded on a common citizenship and another founded on national ethnic community that may or may not be linked to – or congruent with – the state concerned.

The points made here by Mycock signal a prominent debate in the citizenship literature about the exact relationship between the nation state and citizenship and between two types of national identity: civic national identity which is based on civic constructions (such as a welfare state, national broadcasting, the law and so on) and ethnic national identity which emphasises common ethnic and cultural roots. In the 1990s, some analysts believed that citizenship had become largely de-coupled from nationality. Writing in 1994, Yasemin Soysal maintained that in many parts of Europe a situation of 'post-national' citizenship had become the norm, i.e. that many migrant workers in north western European economies had legal resident status and civil and social rights which were very similar to those of native citizens, thereby removing the need for migrants to seek full naturalisation in their new countries of residence. The decoupling of rights and national membership, however, is regarded by other theorists, such as Joppke (2010) as problematic: social rights

such as access to health care and welfare, for example, can be removed more easily from non-citizens, and people who are not naturalised rarely have full political rights. Joppke (2010) also points out that just about the time that some theorists deemed national citizenship to be in decline, states discovered it as 'a tool of integration' (p.22). Since 2001 and the events of '9/11', the debate about citizenship and national identity has intensified since nation states have been perceived to be under threat both from above – from processes of internationalisation such as the emergence of supranational formations such as the EU, international institutions such as the IMF and concepts such as universal human rights – and from below, i.e. from the proliferation of allegiances amongst citizens to authorities or identities other than state national ones; national identity is now seen to be only one amongst other competing – and sometimes stronger – identities such as ethnic or religious. The response by many governments to the perceived threats caused by mass migration and phenomena such as global terrorism has been increased security within states (Bigo 2002) and to tighter management – often by the means of language and citizenship tests – of who is permitted entry and who can become a legal citizen (Walters 2004); this will be discussed further in Chapter 2.

1.2.4 Cultural diversity and citizenship

The final, related, debate I map in this chapter concerns the existence of cultural and linguistic diversity within most nation states and the questions this raises for citizenship. Until the second half of the 20th century, theorists did not consider the challenges to citizenship arising from cultural diversity, and the generic 'citizen' tended to be presumed to belong to the majority, dominant culture. However, in more recent times, the presence of sizeable minority ethnic groups in most modern liberal democracies, whether these be 'indigenous' or groups who have settled after migration, has raised questions about minority rights and multicultural citizenship and the exclusion of some constituencies from access to their full set of rights. Banks (2008: 130), for example, states that:

> Ethnic and language minority groups in societies throughout the world are denied full citizenship rights because of their languages and cultural characteristics, because they regard maintaining attachments to their cultural communities as important to their identities and because of historic group discrimination and exclusion.

With the rise of struggles for recognition by minorities within states and the advent of mass migration, scholars such as Christian Joppke (1999, 2010), Will Kymlicka (1995), Charles Taylor (1992), Bryan Turner (2006) and Iris Marion Young (1998) began to consider the

philosophical and political issues for citizenship arising from the increasing presence of large ethnic, religious and linguistic minorities. At the risk of simplification, and bearing in mind that policies adapt and change within states, official approaches to cultural diversity in western democracies have traditionally adopted two orientations: assimilation of minorities into a common culture where differences are confined to the private sphere, the most usually cited example of which is France (Brubaker 1992), and 'multiculturalism', the most usually cited example of which is Canada (Kymlicka 2003).

Multiculturalism is a complex term used to describe societies and communities which are *de facto* multi-ethnic as well as to refer to official national and local policies (Turner 2006) in which a degree of public recognition – and sometimes differentiated rights – are afforded to different groups who retain their cultural differences. The Canadian political theorist Will Kymlicka (1995, 2003; Kymlicka and Norman 2000) has argued that liberal states have to accept certain minority rights in order to maintain their commitment to the principles of freedom and equality. Rather than consider multiculturalism in the abstract, Kymlicka advocated the examination of real, particular questions produced by the presence of minorities with practices and needs which differ from the majority group. These included, *inter alia*, religious/cultural public holidays, i.e. which of these the state should observe, and language, i.e. whether to include minority languages alongside the majority or official languages in public institutions such as education, the legal system and so on; more recently, the debate about the wearing of the veil in France and other countries has pointed to similar questions (Shirazi and Mishra, 2010). In some countries which had previously adopted a degree of official multiculturalism, however, there has been a shift to policies which foreground 'community cohesion', integration and the renewal of citizenship as the official approach to managing diversity (Hasan 2010; Rattansi 2011; Vertovec and Wessendorf 2010); this will be discussed further, in reference to the UK, in Chapter 2.

1.3 Conclusion

As Audrey Osler and Hugh Starkey (2005b) point out, citizenship is more than just a legal status; it is about participation and, related to this, a feeling of belonging. However, as I have shown in this chapter, citizenship excludes at the same time as it includes and for some 'stands not for universalism but for closure' (Bosniak 2006: 31). There are several barriers to participation and 'full' citizenship rights (Ramanathan 2013; see also Heller 2013; Wodak 2013), all of which are likely to militate against a feeling of belonging:

exclusion because of economic inequality; exclusion because of difference from the mainstream, i.e. on the grounds of gender, ethnicity, language, disability, sexuality and culture; and exclusion because of laws concerning immigration, residence and nationality. Migrants – i.e. the students in the classes in my study – are thus liable to be (or feel) excluded on three counts: firstly, as people who are not yet full legal members of the polity, secondly because as migrant workers they are likely to be economically disadvantaged and therefore unable to accede to their full set of rights, and thirdly because they belong to ethnic, religious or linguistic minorities.

Another key point which I have made in this chapter and which was relevant to the creation of the citizenship programme in the UK concerns the relationship between citizenship and nationality; despite the rise of other models – cosmopolitan, post-national and so on – the nation state continues to be the most important site from where citizenship is decided and rights are granted. Nationality is therefore highly significant in the concept of citizenship, as is national identity. Although there are two types of national identity, civic and national, these are also inter-connected and in Chapter 2 I will show how some players in the UK citizenship programme invoked the former whilst perhaps overlooking the power of the latter, especially given the emergence of debates about Britishness.

In the next chapter I will describe the relationship between the main models of citizenship and the UK citizenship testing programme. I will show that during New Labour the revival of citizenship came about as a response to several complex concerns: welfare reform; changes in immigration after '9/11'; the turn to 'community cohesion' which figured across several strands of policy (Amin 2008; Phillips 2006; Robinson 2004, 2005; Vertovec 2006); debates about 'Britishness'; and debates about English language competence. As I show in Chapter 2, citizenship began to be regarded not as a process or a status, but as a 'tool of integration' (Joppke 2010: 22), exclusion was addressed through English language and citizenship classes and the different elements of citizenship – legal and political – were reconfigured not as rights and practices but as items of knowledge to be tested.

Chapter 2: The emergence of the ESOL citizenship programme

2.1 Introduction

In this chapter I turn to citizenship in the UK, focusing in particular on the period from 1997, the year New Labour came to power, to 2009, the year I completed the field work for this study. As I showed in Chapter 1, the concept of citizenship is polyvalent and 'chameleon-like' (Wahl-Jorgensen 2006: 198) yet in recent times social and political problems have been formulated increasingly in terms of problems of citizenship (van Steenbergen 1994b: 1). British policy analysts such as John Clarke (2005), Janet Newman (2010) and Bridget Anderson (2013) argue that citizenship was revitalised in British politics as a solution to a wide range of concerns which included not only the perceived lack of cohesion and integration of migrants with the host population – my principal focus in this thesis – but also in response to other concerns such as voter apathy, anti-social behaviour and welfare reform.

Like Chapter 1, this chapter will serve as a contextualising chapter to orient my discussion about the teaching of citizenship in the empirical chapters 5 – 8. In the first section (2.2) I explore the revival of citizenship under New Labour, starting with a brief discussion about the changes in the economy which have had a particular impact on citizenship in British society. I follow this with an overview of the two areas of policy and two public debates which influenced the emergence of the citizenship testing programme: immigration, community cohesion, English language competence and Britishness (2.3). I then provide a description of the main legislation and key texts in the ESOL citizenship programme (2.4) and continue with a discussion about the relationship of citizenship with education, ending with a brief overview of the ESOL sector in the UK (2.5).

2.2 New Labour, citizenship and the economy

Twentieth century analyses of citizenship such as T.H. Marshall's ([1950]1992) *Citizenship and Social Class* were produced during a time when most western countries were adopting a form of welfare state in which the aim was for full employment, economic growth, the welfare of citizens and 'a compromise between capital and labour' (Harvey 2005: 10). As I discussed in Chapter 1 (1.2.2), Marshall believed that the social rights necessary for the end stage of full citizenship would be guaranteed by this kind of system. However, any analysis of citizenship in the period of New Labour must take into account the changes wrought by

what is known as the 'neo-liberal' or 'market state' (Kundnani 2007) which rose to ascendancy after the Anglo-American neo-conservative revolution of the late 1970s (Isin and Turner 2007). 'Neo-liberal' is a problematic term to define, partly because, as Marnie Holborow (2012: 15) points out, it can be defined in various ways: as an economic theory, as a discourse, as an ideology and as a new form of capitalism. The definition offered by David Harvey (2005) is: 'a theory of political economic practices that proposes that human well-being can best be advanced by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an institutional framework characterized by strong private property rights, free markets and free trade' (p.2). The system is characterised by what Pierre Bourdieu (2005) called the 'neoliberal imperative', in which the state withdraws partially or entirely from economic matters, and public services such as health and education are wholly or partly shifted into the private or voluntary sectors.

Harvey (2005) points out that although neo-liberalism operates under the guise of minimal state intervention, the state plays a key role in ensuring the correct conditions are in place to facilitate the optimum functioning of markets. This had an effect in many areas of New Labour policy: for example, immigration had to be 'managed' (Anderson 2013;) to ensure flows of labour into particular sectors, while at the same time being seen to address those voters presumed to have anxieties about the perceived increase in immigration (Kofman 2005: 454). The rise of the market state also brought the problem of inequality addressed by Marshall and of the relationship between the state and the individual – i.e. citizenship – back into sharp focus, as I discuss in the next section.

2.2.2 The revival of citizenship

New Labour's relationship with the market state was characterised by the adoption of the 'Third Way', a political approach theorised by Anthony Giddens (1998, see also Blair 1998). This was an attempt to find a solution to the tensions caused by the need for economic competitiveness and increasing inequality and social polarisation with a combination of meritocratic incentives, managerial interventions (Martin 2003: 658) and the revival of community values. A central plank in this paradigm was the revival of a version of citizenship which was introduced top down through policy, formal education and what has been called 'public pedagogy' (Bernstein 1996; Bonal and Rambla 2003; Hayward 2010; Newman 2010; Pykett 2010). Harvey (2005) argues that strong collective institutions such as trade unions and socialist-oriented political formations pose a barrier to the maximal

functioning of the market. This presented a contradiction for New Labour, who, as a party with roots in social democracy and socialism, had to find a compromise between its traditional support for collective institutions and the welfare state and its newer role as facilitator of a free market economy. Some critics (e.g. Landrum 2002) believe that citizenship was the way to achieve this compromise and that the 'deconstruction of welfare, as an ideological and policy objective' was predicated upon 'the reconstruction of citizenship' (Martin 2003: 566). The form of citizenship promoted by New Labour was a version of participatory, political democracy – not the tradition rooted in civic republicanism and radical democracy espoused by some members of 'old' Labour and the political Left, but instead a version of the political model of citizenship known by theorists as 'conservative communitarianism' (Delanty 2000) in which emphasis is given to the duties and responsibilities of citizens[3]. This provided an antidote to the passivity of the liberal rights model and gave the government 'a means of reconciling the collectivist tradition of the left with notions of individual rights and responsibilities' (Lister 1997:2).

The promotion of this type of citizenship manifested itself in a variety of government discourses about 'civic responsibility' and the promotion of what has been called 'the activated citizen' (Johansson and Hvinden 2005) i.e. the person who volunteers, becomes an 'expert patient', manages their own lifestyle and wellbeing and so on. Therefore, New Labour did not position citizens simply as 'the inhabitants of a neo-liberal economic order, pursuing their individual interests to the exclusion of all else' but rather as 'moralised, choice-making, self-directing' (Clarke 2005: 451) members of a 'community of value' (Anderson 2013: 2), i.e. good citizens who make responsible choices about their lives and are concerned with the welfare of others and of their communities. Furthermore, 'citizenship' under new Labour was not one unitary concept, but consisted of 'a variety of intersections between the state and members of society' (ibid.) involving more than one process. Clarke (2005) summed up this multiplicity thus:

> At different points citizens have been activated, empowered, and made the subjects of 'responsibilities' as well as rights. They have acquired new legal obligations, been subjected to expanded technologies of surveillance, while some have become the objects of formalised induction into the meaning and status of British citizenship (p. 147)

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[3] Delanty (2000) outlines three traditions within the political model: a) liberal communitarianism which wishes to retrieve the lost dimension of 'community' and the human qualities such as neighbourliness that bind them b) civic republicanism in which politics is the main way that communities are held together and c) conservative communitarianism which emphasises the duties and responsibilities of citizens. New Labour drew on all three of these traditions but most frequently on c).

On this view, then, citizenship emerged not as one policy but as several, accompanied by the production – in public and media discourse, as well as government policy texts and legislation – of not one type of citizen but many. Drawing on the Foucauldian notion of 'governmentality' which emphasises the ways in which states manage their populations and how individuals are educated to monitor and regulate their own behaviour (Danaher et al 2002 xii), Clarke (2005) argues that 'citizenship' was used by New Labour as an attempt to 'organise both the unity of a people and the differentiation of a national population' and that in this process different types of citizen were imagined and invoked:

> In New Labour's terms 'we' are a nation of tolerant, law-abiding, hard-working families with consuming expectations. But we are also a series of socio-demographic differences to be governed: the law-abiding and the anti-social; the increasingly aged and the ill-fed/obese young; the rational choice-makers and the irresponsible; the hard working families and gay partnerships; the modern multi-cultural society that remains quintessentially British/English. New Labour seeks to both direct (to write the story of the national future – what it means to be modern) and govern (to organise the differentiation and integration of a complex population). (p. 457)

The revival of citizenship during New Labour, then, was not centred in a single area of government nor emanated from a single dominant ideology, but was the result of a 'cluster of concerns' (Newman 2010: 713) which included the management of immigration and diversity, voter apathy, the reform of the welfare state and the need to cultivate active, choice making responsible citizens.

Political commentators such as journalist Owen Jones (2011), theorists such as Harvey (2005, 2013) and Bourdieu (2005) and academics such as Anderson (2013), Martin (2003), Newman (2010) and Clarke (2005) have pointed out that one of the consequences of the shift of responsibility for the well-being of the population from the state to citizens themselves is that failure to thrive is increasingly discursively construed as the fault, not of systems, but of individuals who fail to properly manage their own lives. Debates about public services therefore become moral ones and individuals are blamed for problems perceived to cause a financial burden, such as obesity, smoking, poor diet, bad parenting (Gambles 2010), poor English and so on (Landrum 2002). During New Labour, some of the solutions to these problems were coercive, such as the introduction of anti-social behaviour orders, whilst others involved educating the populace 'that the state is an enabler, rather than a provider of services' (Brooks and Holford 2009: 88) through public

information campaigns (e.g. 'five a day'[4]), instructional programmes such as good parenting classes offered through strategies such as *Sure Start*[5] and, increasingly, through popular entertainment such as TV shows with a pedagogic theme such as how to eat on a budget, how to discipline children and so on. These strategies have been seen by some researchers of public policy as indicative of a turn towards a 'pedagogical state' (Bernstein 1996; Bonal and Rambla 2003; Hayward 2010; Newman 2010; Pykett 2010), under which 'teacherly' practices are extended into traditionally non educational spheres of life (Pykett 2010) and populations are taught to adapt to long term changes in economic and social conditions. The other way the government ensured that citizens participated in this turn to citizenship was through formal education in schools and, for the first time in British policy, through citizenship testing and ESOL citizenship classes. I discuss this further in sections 2.4 and 2.5. In the next section, however, I will map the events, policy developments and public debates which underpinned the introduction of the citizenship testing programme.

2.3 Government policy, public debates and citizenship

In the previous sections I have discussed changes in the economy and welfare reform and the way in which the concept of citizenship was employed to facilitate these changes. The neo liberal imperative impacted not just on welfare but on other areas of policy such as immigration – in which the government played 'hopeful host to transnational business, seeking to attract inward investment by offering a secure and stable environment, an abundance of skilled low-wage labour and limited state regulation' (Rampton *et al.*, 2001: 4) whilst also appealing to certain sections of the electorate by being seen to be 'tough' on asylum and immigration (Blunkett, 2002) – and 'community cohesion' in which the government attempted to address local manifestations of problems caused by social inequality. These two areas of policy also impacted on the emergence of the citizenship testing programme for applicants for British citizenship and residence in the UK.

2.3.1 Immigration policy

In the UK, the legal definition of citizenship and immigration have been tightly linked. Hansen (2000) comments that 'the story of post-war migration is the story of citizenship' (p.35) and points out that the legal category of British national 'citizenship' came into being *because* of immigration when the 1981 British Nationality Act created the category for the

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[4] A campaign to encourage people to eat more fruit and vegetables
[5] A government strategy to improve pre-school nursery provision

first time. Prior to 1981, under the 1948 British Nationality Act, the legal right to live and work in the UK applied equally to all those who were 'subjects' to the British Crown, i.e. those born in the British Commonwealth as well as in Britain itself. Between 1948 and 1981, however, restrictions on who was considered eligible to enter the UK gradually tightened with the introduction of 'patriality' rules which required that immigrants had at least one parent or grandparent who had been born in the UK, thus limiting the immigration of large numbers of people from the Caribbean and Asia. Under the legal definition of British National Citizenship after 1981, only those who were born in the UK, or who emigrated because they had proof of a lineage of British descent, became eligible to carry a UK passport.

The relationship between citizenship and immigration was highlighted again by the 2002 Nationality, Immigration and Asylum Act which created changes in both immigration legislation and the requirements for naturalisation and residence and led to the citizenship testing programme under discussion in this thesis. There were two major strands to immigration policy during the New Labour period: the perceived need to 'manage' migration and 'securitisation' after the events of '9/11'. By the beginning of the New Labour period in 1997, immigration policy was regarded by the government as chaotic and *ad hoc* and unable to provide a constant flow of workers into the sectors which needed them. New Labour's strategy was summed up by David Blunkett, then Home Secretary, in his introduction to *Secure Borders, Safe Haven: Integration with Diversity in Modern Britain* (Home Office 2002), the White Paper which preceded the 2002 Act, as follows:

> Migration is an inevitable reality of the modern world and it brings significant benefits. But to ensure that we sustain the positive contribution of migration to our social well-being and economic prosperity, we need to manage it properly and build firmer foundations on which integration with diversity can be achieved. (p. 4)

This was followed in the text itself with further proposals 'to ensure that people with the skills and talents we need are able to come into the UK on a sensible and managed basis' (p.11). As well as managing migration for economic motives, a further element in the approach to immigration under New Labour was the so-called 'war on terror' which began in 2001; this saw an increased securitisation of immigration (Bigo 2002, Khan 2014) and the introduction of changes in the law regarding war criminals, people trafficking, illegal entry, marriage visas and asylum seekers. The requirements that new citizens be tested on

their knowledge of life in the UK and participate in a citizenship ceremony were introduced as part of this legislation.

However, although citizenship and immigration legislation are closely related, most accounts of the origins of the citizenship testing programme (Blackledge 2008; Khan 2013; McGhee, 2008, 2009; Taylor 2007; Young 2003) trace them not directly to immigration but to the official reports[6] produced in the aftermath of a series of street disturbances amongst Asian and white youths and the police in Bradford, Burnley and Oldham in summer 2001, which I discuss in the next section.

2.3.2 Community cohesion

The debates which followed the northern 'riots' were about ethnic segregation and a perceived lack of integration and cohesion in the affected towns. All of the official inquiries into the causes of the 2001 riots emphasised the lack of integration they perceived between the two communities. The chief finding of the Cantle report (Home Office 2001a) was that:

> Separate educational arrangements, community and voluntary bodies, employment, places of worship, language, social and cultural networks, means that many communities operate on the basis of a series of parallel lives. These lives often do not seem to touch at any point, let alone overlap and promote any meaningful interchanges. (p.9)

Metaphors similar to the 'parallel lives' one used by Cantle after the 2001 disturbances also appeared in the other reports. The Ouseley report (Ouseley 2001: 6) produced for the district of Bradford stated that communities were 'fragmenting along racial, cultural and faith lines'. Likewise, the Denham report (Home Office 2001b: 11) which summarised all four reports, commented that there was 'fragmentation and polarisation of communities – on economic, geographical, racial and cultural lines – on a scale which amounts to segregation'. Later, the metaphors of separateness employed in the official reports were taken up and extended in public discourse.[7]

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[6] These were the Cantle Report (Home Office 2001a) an independent inquiry into the disturbances; the Denham Report (Home Office 2001b) produced by a cross-departmental government group; the Ouseley report, produced for Bradford District (Ouseley 2001). There were also reports into the events in Oldham (the Ritchie report) and Burnley (the Clarke report).

[7] For example, 'sleepwalking to segregation', the title of a speech made by Trevor Phillips, chair of the Commission for Racial Equality (CRE) to the Manchester Council for Community Relations, September 22nd 2005 which was widely reported in the media.

The solutions proposed for the problem of segregation were the promotion of community cohesion and a renewal of the concept of 'citizenship'; this is summarised in this statement from the Cantle report:

> We believe that there is an urgent need to promote community cohesion, based upon a greater knowledge of, contact between, and respect for, the various cultures that now make Great Britain such a rich and diverse nation. It is also essential to establish a greater sense of citizenship, based on (a few) common principles which are shared and observed by all sections of the community. (p.10)

In many of the discussions which followed the riots, multiculturalist policies were apportioned the blame for the segregation and perceived lack of cohesion in the northern towns. It should be noted, however, that all of the reports pointed out that the causes of the disturbances were multiple and complex. In addition, both the causes and actual extent of the ethnic segregation in the northern towns has been widely debated by researchers (e.g. Finney and Simpson 2009; McGhee 2005); Ash Amin (2003: 461) states that the causes of the disturbances were 'highly particular local economic circumstances and their racialized negotiation' whilst other have pointed to specific areas of policy such as the allocation of social housing to explain the geographical divides in the northern towns (Phillips 2006). Despite this, the riots and their aftermath are generally viewed as the beginning of 'a sustained critique' (Rattansi 2011: 69) of multiculturalism. Multiculturalism as a policy had in fact already been criticised both by conservatives, who consider it to be a threat both to national identity and the viability of the welfare state (see e.g. the argument in Goodhart 2004) as well as left-leaning critics (Gilroy 1992; Kundnani 2007; Malik 2014; May 1999; Rattansi 1992, 2011; Vertovec and Wessendorf 2005) who regard official multiculturalism as fostering essentialist views of ethnic cultures – i.e. the reduction of the complexity of a 'group' to a few 'essential' characteristics – and of ignoring the consequences and effects of racism. There is broad agreement amongst contemporary commentators on both left and right, however, that since 2001 there has been a shift in UK policy away from modest official multiculturalism (Banting *et al* 2006) to one which emphasised 'community cohesion', integration and citizenship as the approach to managing diversity in the UK (Hasan 2010; Rattansi 2011; Vertovec and Wessendorf 2010).

2.3.3 The English language debates

It was in the period after the 2001 northern riots that one of the main barriers to cohesion began to be identified as the perceived lack of English language competence in migrant

communities, which led later to the insertion of citizenship teaching into ESOL. As reported in 2.3.2 'language' appeared in the Cantle report as one in a list of reasons why divisions existed between communities in the northern towns. The White Paper *Secure Borders Safe Haven* explicitly linked a lack of English to a lack of cohesion: the text states that some applicants for naturalisation did 'not have much practical knowledge about British life or language' and that this, as well as leaving people 'possibly vulnerable and ill-equipped to take an active role in society', could lead to 'social exclusion' and 'contribute to problems of polarisation between communities' (p.32). Although the argument that a lack of English was causing a breakdown in community cohesion was contested by sociolinguists (see e.g. Blackledge 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009; Cameron 2013; Wright 2008b), after 2001 poor English appeared regularly as a theme in political speeches and texts about integration, cohesion, terrorism and security[8], and the citizenship test and ESOL citizenship classes were proposed as a solution. There were therefore two inter-related rationales offered to support the tight link between citizenship and English: firstly, the common-sense notion that citizens need English in order to participate fully in British society and to gain access to their full set of rights and secondly that lack of English caused a breakdown in community cohesion. To these can be added a third rationale, that the English language began to be perceived as one of the markers of 'Britishness' (Cameron 2013) and it is to the debate about national identity which I now turn.

2.3.4 The Britishness debates

Commentators (Blackledge and Wright 2010; Kostakopoulou 2006; Hogan-Brun *et al* 2009; Slade and Möllering 2010; Wright 2008b) point out that since the early part of the 21st century, many new or revived citizenship testing regimes have been accompanied by a renewal of debates about national identity, culture and values – e.g. 'Britishness', 'Australianness' (Chisari 2012) and so on – in the face of perceived threats from globalisation, mass migration and political and religious extremism. To simplify considerably, in the academic literature there are two distinct perspectives on the historical development of nations: a) that national identity is formed on the basis of a *pre-existing*

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[8] David Blunkett, for example, criticised bilingual families for not speaking English at home, and was criticised for using the negative term 'schizophrenia' in his critique (Blunkett 2002: 77). Soon after the London bombings in a 2005 speech, the PM Tony Blair, announcing measures for dealing with Muslim extremism, talked of 'an unhealthy separateness' in some communities where there were people 'who have been here for 20 years and still don't speak English' – despite the fact that the perpetrators of the 2005 attacks on London transport were native English speakers. Also in 2005, Margaret Hodge raised the concept of the migrant *unwilling* to learn (see Shohamy 2009: 47) when she said 'we have to make the learning of English an unavoidable must. … immigrants have to see language acquisition as an essential part of the contract they enter into when they settle in Britain. People should not opt out of their obligations on the back of multiculturalism'. (Speech given to Labour think tank, Progress, on 15-10-05)

shared language, culture, history and religion which are necessary pre-requisites for building political citizenship (Smith 1986) and b) that 'nations' are 'constructions' and that the conscious building of nations tends to take place *after* the creation of a political state (Anderson 1983; Gellner 1983; Hobsbawm 1990). Despite their differing analyses, both of these theses point to importance of fostering – and in the case of established nations such as the UK, maintaining – national loyalties through means such as education, the law, the media, the heritage industry, public ceremonies and official policy statements, i.e. the 'primary socialisation agents of the nation-building project' (Suvarierol 2012: 212). New Labour's 'Britishness' project (see Gamble and Wright 2009) was one such attempt; ideas were mooted for, *inter alia*, a British day, an Institute of Britishness, flying the Union Jack more often on public buildings and more teaching about British history in schools (Mycock 2010: 340) whilst commentators on the centre-Left called for a dialogue which might lead to a 'progressive' notion of Britishness (see e.g. Johnson 2007 for examples). Therefore, although the designers of the citizenship programme advocated a 'civic' type of citizenship (see Chapter 1, 1.2.3) and played down the ethnic aspect of national identity in the citizenship legislation, the revival of citizenship under New Labour and Britishness were intertwined from the start, so much so that the *Life in the UK* test was dubbed the 'Britishness' test in some parts of the media and much of the public debate about the test turned on its contested representations of British history and culture. Britishness was promoted enthusiastically by Gordon Brown in particular (see Hassan 2009); his focus on Britishness intensified[9] around the same time as the citizenship testing proposals were being implemented and, according to Bernard Crick (2009), the chair of the LITUK advisory group (see 2.4 below), served to undermine the efforts of the group to avoid the conflation of national identity with the civic, multicultural citizenship they wished to promote. Against this background, then, in the next section I outline some of the main details of how the programme came into being and the key texts which were produced.

2.4 The citizenship testing programme: policy and texts

As mentioned in 2.3.1, testing of English language competence and knowledge of life in the UK became a legal requirement for naturalisation under the 2002 Nationality, Immigration and Asylum Act. The principal statement in the White Paper preceding the Act regarding English language teaching and citizenship testing was the following:

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[9] According to Crick (2009) Brown used the term 'Britishness' 80 times in his 2007 speech to the Labour Party conference.

> In an increasingly diverse world, it is vital that we strengthen both our sense of community belonging and the civic and political dimensions of British citizenship. In particular, we intend to offer language teaching and light touch education for citizenship for those making a home in the UK – with a view to a simple examination for citizenship applicants similar to that which exists in many other countries. This will strengthen the ability of new citizens to participate in society and to engage actively in our democracy. This will help people understand both their rights and their obligations as citizens of the UK, and strengthen the bonds of mutual understanding between people of diverse cultural backgrounds. It will also help to promote individuals' economic and social integration. (Home Office 2002 p.11)

Following the 2002 Act, the 'Life in the United Kingdom' Advisory Group, was created by the Home Office with the brief to 'consider how best to achieve the government's plans to promote language skills and practical knowledge about the United Kingdom for those seeking to become British citizens' (Home Office 2003: 8). Bernard Crick, the political theorist who had been responsible for the citizenship curriculum in schools in 1998 led the group. The advisory group's final report was *The New and the Old* (Home Office 2003) which made several recommendations to the government and spelled out the committee's vision of citizenship (see also Kiwan 2008a and Crick 2009). The report proposed a civic notion of citizenship and national identity, rather than an ethnic one and contained several statements which promoted the notion of 'multicultural citizenship'. With regards to national identity, for example, the report stated that there was no need 'to define Britishness too precisely nor to redefine' it (p.11) and that 'being British' meant respecting those 'over-arching specific institutions, values, beliefs and traditions that bind us all, the different nations and cultures, together in peace and in a legal order' (p.11). In the same section there is a statement defining the committee's notion of multicultural citizenship:

> We see a multicultural society as one made up of a diverse range of cultures and identities, and one that emphasises the need for a continuous process of mutual engagement and learning about each other with respect, understanding and tolerance – whether in social, cultural, educational, professional, political or legal spheres. Such societies, under a framework of common civic values and common legal and political institutions, not only understand and tolerate diversities of identity but should also respect and take pride in them (p10)

Many of the proposals of the advisory group – for example, to supply a handbook in the main migrant languages upon entry to the UK, to offer bilingual literacy classes to those with low levels of education and so on – did not get implemented[10]. One of the

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[10] The group also recommended citizenship classes for all applicants, not just those with English at below Entry level 3, and consistently pointed out the need for better funding for ESOL (see ABNI 2008).

recommendations which was adopted, though, was the development of a handbook, *Life in the United Kingdom: A Journey to Citizenship* (Home Office 2004, 2007[11]). This forms the basis for the questions in the *Life in the UK* test and is the only officially sanctioned source for those studying for the test; further discussion of the cultural content of the handbook can be found in Chapter 3 (section 3.3).

The level at which the test was set, Entry level 3[12] on the adult ESOL core curriculum (DfES 2001) was regarded by ESOL experts on the advisory group as too high for some applicants, so an alternative programme of 'English language-with-civic-content' (Home Office 2003: 14) was proposed and accepted. There were therefore two ways of providing evidence of knowledge of English and life in the UK: people at or above Entry level 3 studied the handbook and took the computer-based test, while people below this level were able to meet the requirements by completing an ESOL citizenship course and showing they had progressed from one level to the next, thereby bypassing the need to take the test itself. A package of materials was developed and produced by the National Institute of Adult and Continuing Learning (NIACE) and LLU+ which were expected to be used for at least 20 hours of an ESOL citizenship scheme of work in order for a course to meet Home Office requirements[13]. Different versions of the materials were produced for learners in Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland and along with the handbook, they formed the *de facto* ESOL citizenship curriculum; the cultural content of the materials receives further attention in Chapter 3 (section 3.3). From 2005, then, citizenship was incorporated, in different ways and to different degrees, into ESOL courses across the UK. In the final section of this contextualising chapter I describe the sector which was the professional setting for my fieldwork, the adult UK ESOL sector. Before this, however, I briefly discuss the relationship of formal education with citizenship in both the compulsory schools sector and adult education.

2.5 Citizenship and education

Rachel Brooks and John Holford (2009: 97) point out that educational curricula in the compulsory school system are 'important locations for the articulation and practice of discourses of citizenship'. Citizenship education has a long pedigree (see Heater 2004,

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[11] A new edition was published by the Coalition government in 2013, some time after my research ended. Entitled *Life in the United Kingdom: A Guide for New Residents* (HomeOffice 2013) it points to both the continuities and discontinuities between administrations, and to the way citizenship moved from a tendency to civic nationalism to ethnic nationalism i.e. with the new focus on British history etc.

[12] Entry 3 corresponds approximately to B1 on the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR).

[13] See Taylor 2007 for a full account of the story of this project

Starkey 2015) and an extensive academic literature. This tends to centre on four debates about the role, aims and scope of citizenship education which can be summarised as: 1) whether citizenship is best learned formally or informally through socialisation (or both); 2) whether the curriculum should favour knowledge transmission about citizenship or promote opportunities for 'active citizenship' such as volunteering and so on; 3) whether the curriculum should focus on the rights and responsibilities of citizens or address structural inequalities in society (Faulks 2006) and 4) whether young people should be educated for national citizenship or, in keeping with internationalisation, for cosmopolitan citizenship (see e.g. Banks 2008; Osler and Starkey 2001; Starkey 2011, 2007).

New Labour's revitalisation of citizenship education began in 1998 with the introduction of the citizenship curriculum for schools. This was presided over by Bernard Crick, as was the ESOL citizenship programme which came later. Crick's main interest was in the political, participatory model of citizenship. In the report on citizenship in schools (QCA 1998), for example, Crick wrote:

> We aim at no less than a change in the political culture of this country, both nationally and locally: for people to think of themselves as active citizens, willing, able and equipped to have an influence in public life and with the critical capacities to weigh evidence before speaking and acting. (p.7)

Later Crick expressed his belief that this needed to be extended to applicants for UK nationality, as, according to him, it made little sense to educate children for participation if new adult citizens were ignored. *The New and the Old* states:

> The question of naturalisation requirements cannot be separated from the general aims of public policy to increase participative citizenship and community development… new or expanded initiatives …are underway in all parts of the United Kingdom to increase adult participation and citizenship skills. (Home Office 2003: 9)

Despite Crick's intentions, however, commentators have pointed out that citizenship education in both the schools sector and adult ESOL was proposed by the government as a means to address – or seem to be addressing – a range of serious social and political problems over and beyond participation and citizenship skills; in the late 1990s this was the problem of institutional racism highlighted by the McPherson report[14] (see Gillborn 2006)

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[14] Recommendation 67 of the report was 'that consideration be given to amendment of the National Curriculum aimed at valuing cultural diversity and preventing racism, in order better to reflect the needs of a diverse society'.

whilst in 2002, as I have described in this chapter, it was migrant integration and community cohesion.

The 1998 Crick report and the resulting school citizenship curriculum was subsequently criticised for its 'universal' approach and for failing to properly tackle the problem of racism and other structural inequalities which it had been expected to address (Gillborn 2006, Olssen 2004). Other criticisms levelled at the school curriculum were that citizenship education needs to move beyond a preoccupation with national citizenship and to educate young people for cosmopolitan citizenship, i.e. which encompasses the local, national and global levels (Banks 2008; Osler 2008; Osler and Starkey 2005a, 2005b; Starkey 2015). Conversely, however, other critics insisted that the school curriculum needed to include more recent British history[15]. Citizenship education has also been accused, mainly from critics on the left, of existing principally to produce self-governing citizens of the type described by Clark (2005) in section 2.2.2, thereby acting as a site for the reproduction of neo-liberal values and ideologies. Despite these criticisms, however, citizenship education has also been defended for its potential for the nurturing of critical capabilities and resistance; as Jessica Pykett (2010) points out, citizenship education actually serves *both* of these functions:

> Whilst it set out to define and delimit a notion of acceptable citizenly behaviour akin to the New Labour discourse of respect and responsibility, it also opened up a space within the secondary school for students and teachers to question this direct intervention in their governability and their constitution as citizens. (p.625)

This duality points to the important role of teachers as 'mediators' (Kohler 2015) in citizenship education, one of the central themes of my thesis which I address using the concept of 'brokering' and teacher stance (see below, and Chapter 3).

2.5.1 Adult education, citizenship and the ESOL sector

The theoretical debates about citizenship and education in the schools sector apply equally to adult education – the site of adult ESOL provision – but the emphasis in the latter tends to be on an ongoing debate about the purpose of adult education itself and its role in citizenship formation. This debate reproduces a conflict between the progressive or emancipatory traditions of adult learning which have a long, well-established tradition in

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[15] This was addressed in 2007 by the Ajegbo report (DfES 2007); see Osler (2008) and Starkey (2008) for discussion.

Britain (see, for example, Coffield 2008; Martin 2003; Tawney 1966; Williams 1990[16]) and the role of adult education in service to the economy which in recent times has seen an increasing move towards 'vocational' courses and the intervention of the government in areas such as adult literacy, numeracy, information technology and ESOL.

ESOL in the UK is taught in various settings i.e. colleges of adult or further education (FE), the voluntary sector, the charity sector and work training organisations (Baynham and Roberts *et al* 2007) but my case study was carried out in two colleges of FE, and most of this section deals mainly with that sector. Historically, the provision of ESOL has, to a certain extent, reflected the policies and attitudes of governments to immigration and migrant populations and has always had a role in the integration of newcomers to the country. Although English language teaching for immigrants in the UK has a longer history (Rosenberg 2007), the first large-scale growth in the field occurred from the 1950s onwards as a response to migration in the post war period, mainly from the ex-colonies in south Asia. In the 1980s, some ESL (as it was then called) attempted to better reflect the realities of life as experienced by ethnic minority immigrants; some teaching reflected notions of cultural pluralism and anti-racist struggles, and addressed issues such as unemployment, racism and discrimination in the workplace (Roberts *et al* 1992a). There was also greater value accorded to multiculturalism, including bi- and multilingualism, in contrast to the earlier period and to the 1990s/2000s.[17]

At the time of this research, ESOL was provided under the national[18] adult basic skills strategy known as *Skills for Life* (DfEE 1999). Under this strategy ESOL underwent a period of 'professionalisation', with a statutory national curriculum, a national teacher training framework and a concerted attempt to move it away from its homespun image (Roberts 2006). The new regime heralded by *Skills for Life* saw a rise in audit and surveillance in the form of inspection regimes; for teachers this has meant their work has become more performance oriented (Ball 2003) and audit driven, and more directly accountable to a range of 'stakeholders', especially funding bodies. This period was also marked by other imperatives, namely the drive to align ESOL provision with work, the 'personalisation' regime (Cooke 2009b), and the need for ESOL students to pass external assessments. The latter in particular looms large in the sector, given that both eligibility for

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[16] Raymond Williams' essay addresses a further debate in adult education between radical Marxist approaches and that of institutions such as the WEA which were regarded as having a more domesticating function.
[17] For parallels in the schools sector see Harris, Leung and Rampton (2002).
[18] This does not include Scotland

citizenship and funding – a constant source of scarcity and instability – are contingent upon students passing exams (see Chapters 5 and 6).

As a professional field, ESOL has areas in common both with EFL, with which it shares a grounding in applied linguistics, some aspects of L2 pedagogy and teacher training qualifications, and with adult basic education (ABE), with which it shares a more explicit commitment to the education of disadvantaged adults. Teachers may come from either of these backgrounds or have experience of both (Hamilton and Hillier 2009; Rosenberg 2007). As well as a hybrid academic identity, ESOL has two strong social strands which are rooted in different parts of its past: a voluntarist tradition going back to the 1960s and '70s (English was needed for basic survival and taught by volunteers in students' homes) and the left-leaning political tradition which I described earlier which, in the 1980s, was strongly influenced by anti-racist politics. Both of these strands – or residual traces of them (Williams 1977: 122) – persist, and they interweave with a third strand which is the more functional, skills-driven policy currently in place in ESOL (Burns 2007; Cooke and Simpson 2008, Simpson 2015).

At the same time as the changes described in the ESOL profession, there have been considerable changes in the student body, caused by changing patterns in migration, an intensification in the numbers of people seeking asylum and events such as the expansion of the EU in 2004. The ESOL student body reflects the changing demography of the UK population, at least in major cities which are characterised by what Steven Vertovec (2006) labels 'superdiversity', (see also Kyambi 2005) i.e. neighbourhoods and areas increasingly made up of people from many different origins with no single dominant ethnic or linguistic group. There is also a high degree of diversity within groups which do share the same language or ethnic origin, along the lines of class, gender, educational and professional background and immigration status, which, according to Vertovec (ibid.), is one of the more important determiners of differential access to material resources amongst minority populations. The ESOL student body in the two settings where my research took place (see Chapter 4) was multilingual, multi-ethnic and internally diverse and marked in particular by the students' varied educational backgrounds, which ranged from tertiary level education to those with just a few years of schooling.

ESOL, then, is highly heterogeneous and, perhaps inevitably, research (Baynham and Roberts et al 2007; Baynham 2011) has shown that teachers take up different stances within the field and in relationship to the student body: some are closely involved in political struggle around policy and pedagogy, others regard their work as a humanitarian endeavour – especially those working with students regarded as vulnerable in some ways such as refugees and asylum seekers (see Hodge 2004) – whilst others prefer to distance themselves from the relationship between politics and applied linguistic knowledge, a stance which the critical linguist Alastair Pennycook (2001: 29) has called 'centrist autonomist'. Unsurprisingly, then, as I discussed in my introduction, when ESOL practitioners became teachers of citizenship almost overnight there was a wide range of responses in the sector. As I will show in the rest of this thesis, how ESOL citizenship was approached in colleges and other adult education institutions depended on two factors: a) the arrangements made locally by college authorities (see Chapter 5) and b) the stances – on ESOL, on citizenship, on the public debates underlying the citizenship programme and on the official texts and materials – which individual teachers took in order to broker the curriculum. Exploring how this played out in the classrooms of two ESOL citizenship teachers is the central aim of Chapters 5-8.

2.6 Conclusion

In this chapter I have shown how 'citizenship' – by its nature polyvalent and chameleon-like – was adopted as a solution to a diverse range of inter-related social and political problems: welfare reform; immigration; community cohesion; national identity and English language competence, and I have described how citizenship became inserted into the field of ESOL. I have indicated throughout that this process was characterised by disagreement and debate amongst politicians, academics, the public and ESOL practitioners themselves. These tensions were not of course directly referenced in the key texts and materials which, as I show in Chapter 5, tended to erase the contested social and political undercurrents of the citizenship programme and to limit content to facts and figures about Britain. However, by taking an ethnographic approach to ESOL citizenship, i.e. by interviewing teachers and spending time in their classrooms, I was able to observe how the teachers brokered the curriculum, which – if any – of the discussions and debates found their way into lessons, how the teachers talked about Britain and British institutions, how they conceptualised citizenship and how they addressed the needs and experiences of their students. In the next chapter I describe the literature I drew on to help me do this.

Chapter 3: Teaching citizenship and cultural knowledge

3.1 Introduction

This chapter maps the theoretical literature I drew on to interpret the data I gathered from the two ESOL citizenship classes. It ranges across four areas: 1) language and citizenship testing and teaching (3.2); 2) the cultural content of the official citizenship handbook and ESOL citizenship materials (3.3); 3) the teaching and learning of cultural knowledge in EFL, Modern Foreign Languages (MFL), and ESL/ESOL (3.4) and 4) 'stance', a concept adapted from sociolinguistics which I employ to explore the actions and talk of the teachers (3.5) and which I also discuss in Chapter 4, the methodology chapter. This literature will be revisited in subsequent chapters (5-8) in which I describe how my two case study teachers approached the requirement to teach citizenship and cultural knowledge, what they chose to teach, what they omitted and how – if at all – they positioned themselves with regards to the political discourses and theoretical issues which I mapped in Chapters 1 and 2.

3.2 Research on citizenship testing, test-takers and teaching

Although the teaching of citizenship to migrants has not received much attention in terms of research, there has been a lot of academic interest in language and citizenship testing. At the time the citizenship programme emerged in the UK, similar regimes were being implemented or revitalised in other western democracies, e.g. Australia (Chisari 2012; McNamara 2009a; Slade and Möllering 2010); Canada (Nygren-Junkin 2009); Denmark (Adamo 2008); Germany (Laversuch 2008; Piller 2001; Stevenson and Schanze 2009) and the Netherlands (van Oers 2008). As such, this forms one of the immediate political contexts for my study and the literature provides insight into the debates about the ideologies behind the testing regimes and, as I show in Chapter 6, into the experiences of test-takers i.e. many of the students in the classes in my project. Several overviews of citizenship testing (Extra et al 2009; Hogan-Brun *et al* 2009; Löwenheim and Gazit, 2009; Slade 2010; van Avermaet 2009; Wright 2008b) have suggested that there were similarities in terms of terminology – 'cohesion' and 'integration' appear cross-nationally – and rationale, e.g. all national policies officially state that their aim is to foster migrant participation and integration. They also show, however, that the nature, level of difficulty,

content and purpose of the tests differed from place to place[19]; some commentators considered the function of tests in some countries – e.g. the UK where the official policy was to encourage people to take up citizenship and the test was intended to be easy to pass (Home Office 2004: 13) – to be mainly symbolic whilst others conclude that some tests have real gate-keeping functions intended to discourage applicants[20]. As I discussed in Chapters 1 and 2 (and see Chapter 6), in the UK much of the academic work carried out from a theoretical perspective has been critical of the tests; commentators such as Back *et al* (2002), Kostakopoulou (2010), Kofman (2005), McGhee (2008, 2009), Osler (2009) and Wolton (2006) argue that the use of a test as an integration tool is illiberal and discriminatory, although as I showed in Chapter 2 there were those who argued that the programme was a vehicle for encouraging participation and making the citizenship process fairer (Crick 2009, Gidley et al 2012; Kiwan 2008a, 2008b, 2008c).

Another similarity amongst citizenship tests is that in all cases the language in which citizenship knowledge is to be displayed is the standard variety of the dominant or official language(s) of the country in question[21]. A body of theoretical work on citizenship programmes emerged (Blackledge 2006, 2007, 2008; Hogan-Brun *et al* 2009; Milani 2008, 2009; Piller 2001 Shohamy 2009; Wright 2008a) which took a language ideologies perspective, i.e. one which critiques the assumptions about language which underlie the testing regimes (see e.g. Woolard 1998). According to this perspective, assumptions underlying citizenship tests are a) that nation states ought to be united by a common national language, b) as an extension of this, that societal (and sometimes individual) monolingualism is desirable, c) as a further extension, that linguistic diversity is problematic and d) that testing of the competence of migrants in the dominant language can address – or be seen to address – these problems. In the UK, as I showed in Chapter 2 (2.3.2) the English language was at the centre of several debates underpinning the introduction of the citizenship programme and a major reason why citizenship became closely related with ESOL.

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[19] In some countries such as the Netherlands and Germany, the test has been accused of aiming questions at particular populations who are perceived as being culturally different (i.e. less liberal or open-minded) to the host population; in some *bundeslands* in Germany, for example, the test was dubbed the 'Muslim test' (Laversuch 2008).

[20] In Denmark, for example, the level of linguistic competence and citizenship knowledge required to pass the test is very high and the pass rate is correspondingly low (Adamo 2008), whilst in the Netherlands (van Oers 2008) applicants face a total of three separate tests. Since 2013 the UK test – once regarded as easy to pass – has become more of a hurdle than under New Labour; applicants are now required to reach Entry level 3 as well as subsequently pass the LITUK test.

[21] In Australia, the resource book upon which the test is based is available in 37 languages – but the test itself must be taken in English (Chisari 2012; Kunnan 2012).

Most of the academic work I cite above is theoretical rather than empirical and whilst it provides a useful backdrop to my study, as Sherilyn MacGregor and Gavin Bailey (2012) point out, there is a dearth of work which explores the UK citizenship testing programme from the perspective of the applicants themselves. There are exceptions to this, however. A small body of work in the UK, for example, has examined citizenship ceremonies, and comes to slightly conflicting conclusions. Mark Rimmer (2008) argues that the ceremony is a positive rite of passage popular with new citizens whilst others (Khan 2013, Fortier 2013) are more ambivalent; Kamran Khan's ethnographic research in Birmingham, for example, described how officials 'watch the lips' of the candidates and concluded that the ceremony is another 'test' which has to be undergone by applicants for naturalisation. Anne-Marie Fortier (2013), drawing on her own experiences of gaining citizenship after migrating to the UK with her same-sex partner, critiques what she sees as the normative nature of the citizenship ceremony which 'subsumes ambivalences, conflicts and some forms of difference' (p.708).

The research on citizenship ceremonies by Khan and Fortier highlights a theme which is prevalent – and which became relevant to my study (see Chapter 6) – in the critical literature on citizenship regimes, i.e. their public, ritualistic nature. Michel Foucault (1977: 184) regarded the examination as 'a surveillance' which 'establishes over individuals a visibility through which one differentiates and judges them'. Tim McNamara and colleagues (McNamara 2005, McNamara and Roever 2006) view citizenship tests as a modern incarnation of the 'shibboleth' of biblical times which marked the lines between the 'in group' and outsiders. As I show later in Chapter 6 (6.6.1), some of the students in my own study certainly seemed to experience this sense of differentiation; they reported in particular that they felt they were being singled out because they were from non EU countries and/or were Muslims (Cooke 2009a). ESOL citizenship classes were not free from the 'us' and 'them' dynamic created by the citizenship test, a theme I revisit in Chapter 6 (6.6.1) and in my discussion about pedagogy, positioning and stance in Chapters 7 and 8.

Most of the students in my study reported they were happy with their ESOL citizenship classes, however, a point which is reflected by other research on test-takers in the UK. Han *et al* (2010), MacGregor and Bailey (2012) and Gidley *et al* (2012) are studies based on interviews and focus groups in which migrants were asked about their experiences with the

LITUK test, the ceremonies, ESOL classes, 'Britishness' and their sense of belonging in the UK. MacGregor and Bailey (2012) report that their interviewees found the naturalisation process overly costly, bureaucratic and unwelcoming but were enthusiastic about their classes and generally supported the notion that it was in their interests to learn English and that the government was 'fair' to expect them to do so. Similar attitudes were found in the larger mixed methods study by Gidley *et al* (2012), by Han *et al* (2010) in their small qualitative study and by Tom Levesley (2008) who carried out over 80 qualitative interviews for the government's review of citizenship overseen by Lord Goldsmith in 2008; applicants in Levesley's report were ambivalent about the LITUK test and some aspects of life in the UK but overall were 'happy to endorse the English requirement for citizenship status' (p. 23). A more detailed and nuanced picture of the 'journey' to citizenship is offered in Khan's (2013) doctoral research, an ethnographic study of the trajectory of one test-taker, 'W', a migrant from Yemen living in Birmingham. Khan shows how W approaches the test pragmatically, helping other migrants prepare for the test by translating the handbook into Arabic so they can draw on the resources of their own multilingual, multi-ethnic 'personalised communities' to learn the required information to pass. W has an ambivalent attitude towards ESOL, however, which he felt did not prepare him adequately for higher education. He also finds that although he has a high level of competence in English, he has little chance to use it with other speakers; in his research Khan thus problematizes the discourses which were prevalent at the time which posited that learning English led to economic advancement and integration.

With regards to the *teaching* of citizenship to ESOL/ESL students, there is not, as far as I can ascertain, any research in the UK which has explored the role of the teacher in the classroom, although the studies by Han et al (2010) and MacGregor and Bailey (2012) included interviews with ESOL citizenship teachers. There is one doctoral study by Rob Peutrell (2014), however, a qualitative interview-based study of twenty-two ESOL teachers in Nottingham, which, as I will show in Chapter 5, resonates in some ways with mine. Peutrell found that teachers generally interpreted citizenship in a practical way, focusing on the everyday life practices and perceived cultural values of the community. They saw their role as being to help new arrivals and language minority students negotiate entry into the community in which they had come to live and to avoid pitfalls and potential vulnerabilities. Whilst the teachers were critical of aspects of citizenship policy, notably in regard to the treatment of asylum seekers and the introduction of the citizenship test, they

were generally sympathetic to the aims and assumptions of community cohesion and integration, including its critique of multiculturalism. The teachers were generally resistant to the idea of a mandated citizenship curriculum for ESOL students, however; in their view, education for citizenship was already implicit in ESOL and teachers 'were doing it anyway'. MacGregor and Bailey (2012) also report that the teachers they interviewed were critical of the insertion of a language requirement into the citizenship application process but for different reasons; they argued that policy-makers show little understanding of the process of second language acquisition and that the ESOL citizenship classes set up false expectations amongst the public as to the level of English competence learners are able to reach in a short time.

Elsewhere, there is a sizeable literature about 'civics' (another term for citizenship instruction) and ESL in the USA, Canada and Australia, much of which consists of curriculum guides and programme evaluations (e.g. Murray 2003; Nash 2004; Wrigley 2012). With the exception of work by Olga Griswold (2010, 2011) and Ariel Loring (2013), however, as far as I can ascertain few scholars have focused specifically on the teacher's role in ESL civics classes and on how 'political and cultural ideologies of the accepting nations are conveyed through the language addressed to potential citizens themselves' (Griswold 2010: 491) i.e. by intermediaries – or brokers – such as teachers[22]. This is the central concern of my thesis and as such I hope to contribute to the very small body of work made up of Griswold and Loring's studies. In their research they make two points about the role of the teacher as intermediary which will be relevant to my discussion later: a) that local understandings of 'citizenship' are diverse and proceed from teachers' differing philosophical approaches (Loring 2013: 189) – or stances – so despite the standardized test there is considerable variety in the classes which prepare students for it and b) there are consequences of 'teaching to the test' which they argue leads to superficial treatment of difficult knowledge and missed opportunities for deeper learning; both these points will be discussed in relation to my data in Chapters 6 and 7.

Griswold and Loring are concerned with civics in the USA, where the test deals principally with the American constitution, and the attempts made by teachers to mediate

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[22] There is of course a large body of work which explores the reproduction of ideologies and norms in standard ESL/ESOL instruction (i.e. not that which is aimed at people preparing for naturalisation) which I discuss in 3.3.2, some of which covers the production and reproduction of citizenship through the 'hidden curriculum' e.g. the work of Douglas Fleming (2008, 2010,) and Brian Morgan (Fleming and Morgan 2011). In this section, however, I have limited my survey to research on classes which teach citizenship or civics explicitly in situations where students are intending to apply for naturalisation.

constitutional knowledge to people who have migrated from overseas. As I will show in the next section, the two main texts which underpinned the ESOL citizenship programme – the *Life in the UK* handbook and the materials produced for the citizenship courses – did contain some material about the voting system, Parliament and so on, but also a large amount of content concerned what might be called British 'culture' i.e. institutions, demography, emblems and details about daily life. In the next section I offer a brief description of these two texts and the cultural facts and figures they contain, and then move on to explore some of the literature on how cultural knowledge of this type has been addressed in different areas of foreign and community language teaching.

3.3 Cultural knowledge in the ESOL citizenship programme

In Chapter 2 (2.4) I mapped the process by which citizenship came to be incorporated into ESOL courses across the UK. As part of this process the Life in the UK Advisory Group recommended the production of a handbook *Life in the UK: A Journey to Citizenship* (Home Office 2004, 2007) which formed the basis of the questions for the citizenship test. For ESOL citizenship classes, a set of materials were commissioned and designed by a team of ESOL materials writers under the auspices of the National Institute of Adult and Continuing Learning (NIACE); these materials were expected to be used for at least 20 hours in order for an ESOL citizenship course to meet Home Office requirements. In the absence of a formal curriculum, the materials, along with the LITUK handbook which teachers also consulted, formed the *de facto* ESOL citizenship curriculum.

3.3.1 The LITUK handbook

Two versions of the handbook were in use during the period of my research, the first edition which was published in 2004 and the second, an updated version produced in 2007[23]. Here I refer mainly to the first edition as this was the one being used by the two teachers when I carried out my fieldwork. The handbook is a multi-authored text and is described in the introduction as a 'compendium of information' (p. x); the front cover states that the handbook was published 'on behalf of' the Life in the UK Advisory Group and a note in the introduction explains that it was compiled by *The Citizenship Foundation*[24].

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[23] This modified the level of the text to make it accessible at Entry level 3 and removed some of the errors and sections which had been particularly lampooned. A new chapter was added about volunteering and whilst many ESOL teachers regarded it as an improvement it was criticised by some academics for over-simplifying some details about democratic and Parliamentary processes (White 2008)

[24] An organisation which works with schools and young people 'to understand the law, politics and democratic life' and which 'promotes participation, helps teachers to teach citizenship and works with young people on issues that concern them' www.citizenshipfoundation.org.uk accessed 22-12-14

The Foundation was responsible for all the sections except two, 'The making of the United Kingdom' and 'How Britain is governed', which were written by the chair of the committee, Bernard Crick. Other organisations such the Citizens Advice Bureau and the Employability Foundation were consulted by the LITUK committee who approved the final version. The text states that it was intended 'to assist teachers of English as a second language, mentors and others helping immigrants to integrate' and was used as a reference by teachers when planning the first ESOL citizenship courses (see Chapter 5); it is therefore included here in order to demonstrate the types of cultural information it contained. The table of contents was as follows:

1. The making of the United Kingdom
2. A changing society
3. Britain Today: a profile
4. How Britain is governed
5. Everyday needs
6. Employment
7. Sources of help and information
8. Knowing the law

Chapter 1 is a broad brush potted history of the United Kingdom[25]. Chapter 2 is about immigration to Britain, the changing role of women, children, families and young people. The text is a mix of history, facts and figures and information about drugs and the law regarding the employment of children. Chapter 3 is about the current population, religion, the regions of Britain and customs and traditions such as saints' days and other holidays. Chapter 4 is about Parliament, the Prime Minister, the monarchy, the Houses of Parliament, the devolved governments of Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland, voting, local government, the EU, the Commonwealth and the United Nations. Chapter 5 is about housing, utilities, paying bills, banking, the health services, education, driving and leisure[26]. Chapter 6 is about looking for work and employment law and Chapter 7 explains where to go for further help, e.g. libraries, Citizens Advice Bureaux, the police, the media. The final

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[25] This chapter earned the committee a considerable amount of negative publicity because of the errors it contained and because producing an official version of history on behalf of the Home Office was seen by many historians to be unacceptable. During the rewrite in 2006-7 this chapter inevitably provoked the most discussion and revisions, particularly in response that it was too focused on English history and not the other countries in the UK.
[26] This chapter contained the infamous advice of what to do if you spill a drink in a pub (p.101) and was also criticised in the conservative press as being a 'benefit charter' for immigrants. It has since been considerably modified in the third edition of the handbook published by the Coalition government.

chapter, Chapter 8, is about the rights and duties of a citizen, what to do in the case of being arrested, the human rights act, the different kinds of court and what the law says about various areas such as marriage, divorce, consumer goods and children.

3.3.2 The NIACE materials

The citizenship materials (NIACE/LLU+ 2005) were commissioned by the Department for Education and the Home Office, i.e. the two government departments with responsibility for ESOL and citizenship respectively, and developed by a team of ESOL materials writers[27]. The materials were written at the same time as the *Life in the UK* handbook and were therefore not directly derived from it. However, the starting point for the materials were the recommendations for the syllabus in *The New and the Old* (Home Office 2003) the report of the LITUK advisory board which commissioned the handbook and as such they emanate from the same source and bear similarities in terms of topics. The six broad categories recommended by the advisory group for the citizenship curriculum were: British national institutions, Britain as a diverse society, knowing the law, employment, sources of help and information and everyday needs. The materials writers extended these six categories to twelve, as follows:

1. What is citizenship? This section contains: an overview of the contents and the various meanings incorporated by 'citizenship'; vocabulary for citizenship; the naturalisation process; national stereotypes; exploring beliefs values and opinions.
2. Parliament and electoral system: MPs; the Cabinet; local government.
3. Geography and history: the countries which make up the UK; flags and symbols; population; the Suffragettes; finding out about kings and queens and places of interest.
4. The United Kingdom as a diverse society: the history of immigration; body language; culture and diversity; festivals and celebrations;
5. The United Kingdom in Europe, the Commonwealth and the United Nations
6. Human Rights: legislation and case studies.
7. Working in the United Kingdom: jobs; interviews; reading a pay slip; contracts; the minimum wage; discrimination at work.
8. Health: children; absence letters to school; using a pharmacy.
9. Housing: types of accommodation; renting; sharing a flat.

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[27] The materials writers were from LLU+, a unit housed in London South Bank University which provided teacher training and professional development in the adult education sector.

10. Education: the school timetable; choosing schools; the National Curriculum; the ESOL curriculum.

11. Community engagement: fund-raising for a school; volunteering; Comic Relief[28].

12. Knowing the law: legal vocabulary; the law courts; legal age requirements; drugs and the law; immigration and asylum.

The materials pack is described by the authors as a 'menu' which teachers can use to 'pick and mix' (p.vi) according to the needs and features of their particular class, although it was recommended that all teachers employ section 1, 'what is citizenship' by way of orientation[29]. In this chapter my intention is not to describe these materials in detail, nor to discuss the pedagogic approaches they contain but rather to draw attention to the broad categories covered by the handbook and the materials in terms of the types of cultural knowledge they contain; it is worthy of note, however, that some of the chapters contained rather eclectic subjects which at first glance seem to be very different orders of knowledge, e.g. in the chapter on 'diversity' students study both the history of immigration and 'body language' – presumably by way of exploring cultural differences. This is another manifestation of the polyvalent nature of citizenship discussed in Chapters 1 and 2 – citizenship can mean all things to all people – and is the reason why the ESOL citizenship scheme of work which I discuss in Chapter 5 (5.2) was able to cover a broad range of seemingly disparate topics which all came under the rubric of 'citizenship'.

3.3.3 Cultural knowledge in the handbook and materials: overview

The cultural knowledge contained in the two texts which make up the *de facto* citizenship curriculum can be broadly divided into three types: 1) political knowledge i.e. facts and figures about UK parliamentary institutions and processes, 2) institutional knowledge i.e. facts and figures about systems and services such as the NHS, education, social security, the law, the police and so on and 3) knowledge about daily life and customs, including national and religious festivals, emblems, history, demography and leisure. In this way, the models of citizenship I outlined in Chapters 1 and 2 were interpreted as items of knowledge to be learned and tested and the complex issues and debates underpinning the citizenship programme were entextualised and codified in the handbook and NIACE

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[28] A large national fund-raising event organised annually by the BBC.

[29] The pack also contains suggestions for teaching and differentiation, recommendations for sources of local information, was cross-referenced to the ESOL core curriculum and different versions were produced for Scotland and Northern Ireland. My aim in this chapter is to discuss the broad areas of cultural knowledge contained in the two texts; I address the question of how these were used in Chapter 6.

materials. The political model of citizenship, for example, is interpreted in the chapters on voting, democracy, participation, the British, Scottish and Welsh Parliaments and local government, and both texts reference global versions of citizenship with brief nods to supranational bodies such as the EU and the UN. The legal model of citizenship which is concerned with rights and obligations finds its way into the two texts through the facts about the law, whilst social citizenship of the type theorised by Marshall (1950/1992, see Chapter 1, 1.2.2) is represented by the information about entitlements to the welfare system, the NHS, schooling and so on. Finally, a lot of the material in the handbook – and, as I show in Chapters 6-8, the classes – is about heritage and everyday national 'culture' and information about demography, religion and the UK as a multicultural society. Some of this information is what British-born people are presumed to already know but which newcomers to the UK probably learn through socialisation over time. Importantly for my discussion in Chapters 5 and 6, many of these everyday topics correspond with the content of some traditional ESOL curricula, as do those concerned with institutions, rights and responsibilities (see e.g. the adult ESOL core curriculum, the *Skills for Life* materials and the lessons described in Baynham, Roberts *et al* 2007). The area of knowledge which has not traditionally been part of traditional ESOL curricula – although this is not to imply that ESOL teachers would never teach such content – is the information about political institutions and processes; as Hugh Starkey pointed out in 1999, politics has often been excluded from the 'cultural element' of language teaching. This aside, however, there were considerable crossovers between the ESOL citizenship programme and standard ESOL, a theme I will explore in depth in Chapters 5 and 6.

3.4 Culture in language teaching

Taken together the areas discussed in the previous section – including political knowledge – form a version of what could broadly be termed 'national culture', although by its nature in these two texts this is highly partial[30]. In order to illuminate the stances on Britain taken by my two case study teachers, I turned to the literature on cultural knowledge in language teaching which I discuss in this section. The term 'culture' has been understood differently historically and across disciplines and my intention here is not to engage in an exhaustive discussion about what Raymond Williams (1976/1983: 87) regarded as 'one of the two or three most complicated words in the English language'. Rather, I limit myself to perspectives which have been discussed in literature on culture in language teaching (for

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[30] Home Office officials in fact aimed for the LITUK handbook to be a kind of manual about the basics of 'life in the UK' (in personal communication one civil servant told me he 'just wanted to sum up what UK PLC is all about')

overviews see Atkinson 1999; Gray 2010; Kramsch 1995; Risager 2006; Roberts *et al* 2001). These can be summarised as: 1) the 'received view' (Atkinson 1999) i.e. the national symbols, history, customs, heritage and 'high culture' of a nation and 2) the sociological view i.e. habits, routines and structures of daily life as well as institutions such as the health service, the BBC, education, voting and so on. These correspond loosely to the categories I discussed in the previous section. To these, however, can be added two meanings of culture which are bound closely to language: the semantic meaning i.e. the conceptual systems embodied in languages and the pragmatic/sociolinguistic meaning i.e. the background knowledge, social skills, and paralinguistic skills that make successful communication possible. The latter two are an intrinsic part of language learning and therefore present in language classrooms whether teachers make them explicit or not (see 3.4.3). In the next three sections I discuss three areas of inquiry in the literature on language and culture teaching: 1) the avoidance of culture (3.4.1); 2) ways in which aspects of the 'target culture' and speakers of the 'target language' are represented in language curricula which *does* address culture explicitly, including explicit teaching about culture from an intercultural or British studies perspective (3.4.2) and 3) culture in the 'implicit' curriculum and language socialisation processes (3.4.3).

3.4.1 Avoiding culture

In a review of articles published in the 1990s in the journal *TESOL Quarterly* Dwight Atkinson (1999) found that one of the most prominent views amongst language teachers was that culture was 'a problematic concept that should perhaps be avoided' (p. 629). Avoidance of explicit cultural content might occur for different reasons. Some researchers (Ryan 1998, Luk 2012) have found that the EFL teachers they researched were reluctant to teach culture explicitly because they did not feel equipped to do so or because they did not wish to limit their teaching to US or British contexts with which they were not familiar. Young (2007) found that EFL teachers in the USA and UK were wary of teaching about their own national culture because of their countries' current foreign policies and their colonial pasts. Duff and Uchida (1997) found a similar embarrassment amongst North American teachers of English in Japan. In the 1980s, Elsa Auerbach and colleagues (Auerbach 1986, 1992, Auerbach and Burgess 1985, Auerbach and Wallerstein 2005) critiqued the ideologies informing the functional and prescriptive materials and topics of ESL which they suggest helped to socialise migrants to take their place as low level workers in the economy rather than equip them to resist this positioning. Whilst Auerbach (1992)

and others who adopt critical or participatory approaches to language teaching (e.g. Bryers *et al* 2013) would suggest that teachers work with students to address these issues directly in their classes, many ESL/ESOL teachers frequently opt to avoid 'difficult' topics (Cooke and Simpson 2008: 61, Hodge 2003, Young *et al* 2009) either because they feel ill-equipped or because they wish to protect students with traumatic backgrounds by maintaining the classroom as a safe space where topics which might cause distress are avoided (see Hodge 2003 for an example). Language educators in highly sensitive situations of conflict might also avoid dealing with culture; in their discussion about Turkish language classes for Greek Cypriots, for example, Constadina Charalambous and Ben Rampton (2014) show how teachers limited their teaching to the linguistic structures of Turkish to avoid intercultural issues which were deemed too threatening to students' sense of national identity and their opinions of the language of the 'enemy' (see also Chapter 8, 8.5.1).

3.4.2 Teaching culture explicitly

According to work by some researchers in the field, a lot of language instruction which does approach culture explicitly has tended to take the 'received view' i.e. that which refers to emblems, heritage, history, art and literature and everyday life. The received view is frequently found, for example, in 'background' studies (known as 'Landeskunde' in Germany and 'civilisation' in France) which are a common element of MFL curricula in schools. In language teaching for adults, the most hackneyed version of the received view of culture is that found in the 'tourist-consumer' approach which is restricted to alleviating problems of communication when visiting a foreign country (Byram 1988: 18). Michael Byram and Karen Risager (1999) found that teachers they interviewed were unaware of the other, more nuanced, ways culture has been conceptualised in disciplines such as anthropology, cultural studies and linguistic anthropology and some critics (Azimova and Johnston 2012; Bassnett 1997; Clarke and Clarke 1990; Gray 2001, 2010) argue that the traditional approach to culture in language learning falls easily into stereotyping, in which differences of race, ethnicity, language, region, gender, class and age are erased and the 'national culture(s)' of the language being learned is reduced to a bland generalization.

One large group of researchers, however, (e.g. Byram 1997, 2008, 2012; Dervin 2012; Jackson 2012; Kramsch 1993, 1995; Holliday 2011; Risager 2006; Sercu 2006) have made a case for culture to be addressed through an 'intercultural' approach. They propose that one of the aims in foreign language education should be to encourage the development of

cultural awareness and to foster 'intercultural competence', i.e. 'the ability to interact effectively with people from cultures that we recognise as being different from our own' (Guilherme 2000: 297). According to this approach students aim to become 'intercultural speakers' who are able to mediate between people of different origins and identities and be reflexive about their own culture as well as the one being 'learned' and the 'target culture' is represented as complex and diverse. With regard to national culture, rather than simply transmit information about institutions, heritage and daily life, intercultural approaches would focus on social processes and discourses and the tools needed to critically analyse these (Byram 2008, 2012; Kramsch 1993). Some of the scholars in the field of intercultural studies were also involved in the sub-field known as 'British Studies' (Bassnett 1997; Durant 1997; Montgomery 1999; Wadham-Smith 1995, 1999)[31]. This advocated teaching about British national culture directly and was premised on the belief that learning about a culture involves more than the reading of surface phenomena, and that the curriculum should draw on theoretical approaches such as those in cultural studies[32] which emphasise the constructed nature of cultural reality and the role of discourses in shaping the facts and institutions of any one society. From this perspective, teachers and students need to accept that cultural 'facts' are mediated through the point of view of a particular speaker or writer because, as Alan Durant (1997: 24) argues:

> The desire for a decisive and synoptic 'overview' of a culture, even where such an overview might provide a convenient classroom focus, is conceptually misguided to the extent that it disguises rather than invites commentary on the constructed and inevitably selective points of view presented.

3.4.3 The implicit curriculum and language socialisation

Despite the growth of academic work on interculturality, however, research (Young *et al* 2009, Young and Sachdev 2011) has shown that many teachers continue to feel ill-prepared to address culture explicitly in the classroom. However, although teachers may avoid the explicit treatment of 'culture', researchers have argued that pedagogic materials, practices and classroom talk are not themselves culturally neutral and that through these elements of culture are transmitted implicitly. For example, in purporting to avoid local cultures, textbooks produced for the global EFL market have not only been criticised for reducing

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[31] This refers to two separate fields: 1) the study of British society which is taught at university level usually outside of the UK on courses of sociology, anthropology, literature and so on, sometimes referred to as 'area studies' and 2) the study of culture as part of language teaching. I am concerned here only with the latter, although many of the issues are relevant to both.

[32] This refers to the British academic discipline particularly associated with Stuart Hall and the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies at the University of Birmingham.

their contexts to a 'blandscape' (Clarke and Clarke 1990: 39) of imaginary anodyne wealthy lifestyles but also for implicitly promoting particular ideologies about globalisation, work, social class, gender and particular institutions and structures (Gray 2002, 2010). Duff and Uchida (1997) found that although the North American teachers of English they researched in Japan wished to avoid promoting US culture to their students they seemed unaware that their teaching contained any cultural content at all and, as the authors describe it:

> … in each teacher's class, contradictions sometimes arose between what the teachers believed or proclaimed about their cultural practices and identities, on the one hand, and what actually transpired in class, on the other. For example, Danny, an avowed feminist, assumed a seemingly dominant role in the class, telling women what they should aspire to, while he took centre stage. Carol, committed to egalitarian relations, resisted the roles of friend and confidante to students and highlighted aspects of linguistic structure that were perhaps of greater interest to her than to them. (p. 472)

As I pointed out in 3.4, the semantic and pragmatic/sociolinguistic senses of culture suggest that culture is embodied in language itself and language is considered by many theorists (Bernstein 1996; Canagajarah 1993; Chouliaraki 1996; Iedema 1996) to play a central role in the secondary 'socialisation' which takes place in classrooms in which aspects of the dominant culture and social relations are reproduced. This implies that in any classroom certain cultural representations will be transmitted implicitly through teacher-student and student-student talk and, as the quote from Duff and Uchida above suggests, through teacher stance (see 3.5).

Foreign/second language learning is regarded by Byram (2008) as tertiary socialisation and language classrooms are seen by ethnographic researchers (Duff 2002; He 2003, 2014; Talmy 2008, 2009a, 2009b; Zuengler 2006 and see Chapter 4) to be particularly useful environments for the study of what is known as 'second language socialisation' (SLS) i.e. where students are exposed to 'interactional displays of the sociocultural environment' (Wentworth 1980: 68). Learners in language classrooms are being exposed to the forms and uses of a language at the same time they are being socialised into cultural norms *through* the language they are learning[33]: as Karen Ann Watson-Gegeo (1988) comments, when people learn a second language they are also learning 'social and cultural norms, procedures for

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[33] These processes were first described by Deborah Schieffelin and Elinor Ochs (1986a, 1986b), anthropologists who initiated the field of study known as 'language socialisation' (LS), i.e. which looked at the role played by language in the early socialisation of children in different cultures. Subsequent research has extended the scope of LS from early childhood to secondary socialisation in schools and ongoing socialisation throughout the lifespan in contexts such as work (Duff 2008, Roberts 2011, He 2011), including language classrooms, my focus here.

interpretation, and forms of reasoning' (p. 582). Ethnographers studying language socialisation therefore focus not on the learning and acquisition of skills 'but also on the context of that learning and on what else (values, attitudes, frameworks for interpretation) is learned and taught at the same time as language structure' (ibid.). ELT research carried out from this perspective has looked at how materials, pedagogy and interaction draw on and reproduce larger circulating discourses about e.g. race and ethnicity (Kubota and Lin 2009, Ibrahim 1999), gender (Sunderland et al 2001), sexual identity (Nelson 2010), and cultural diversity (Duff 2002). Pertinently for my study, Steve Talmy (2008, 2009a, 2009b, 2010) and Linda Harklau (2000, 2003) have reported on the positioning and 'Othering' of ESL students as 'essentialised' representatives of their countries of origin; how these processes were produced in one of my case study classrooms will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 7 (7.3).

The discussion so far has suggested that the teaching of 'culture' in its various meanings – received, sociological, institutional, semantic and pragmatic – has pitfalls and complications whether it is approached explicitly, as in intercultural approaches and British studies, or whether it is transmitted implicitly through pedagogy, teacher talk and interaction. ESOL citizenship classes in the UK presented both of these possibilities and were further complicated because they emerged against a backdrop of political contestation, as I showed in Chapters 1 and 2. The discussion has also alluded throughout to the role played by individual teachers in all of the areas of education I have mentioned, i.e. the US teachers of civics who simplified instruction and therefore the knowledge being transmitted; the teachers of EFL and ESL/ESOL who either avoided culture where possible or unwittingly reproduced it and the teachers of British Studies who attempted to tackle culture head on in a critical and analytical framework. How ESOL citizenship teachers positioned themselves with regards to the cultural knowledge in the *de facto* curriculum, to the political debates from which ESOL citizenship emerged and to their students is the main focus of my research, and it is to this I turn in the next, and final section of this chapter.

3.5 Teacher stance

The role of teachers in the transmission of culture, ideology and societal norms has been the focus of a large body of research. This, along with much qualitative social science research, is frequently concerned with the relationship between the 'micro' and the 'macro' or, as Frederick Erickson (1986) put it 'the specific ways in which local and non-local forms

of social organisation and culture relate to the activities of specific persons' (p.129); in educational research, this question is concerned with 'how the classroom, text, or conversation is related to broader social, cultural and political relations' (Pennycook 2001: 116).

The concept I have employed to address this question in my study – i.e. how the planning, talk and classroom interaction of the ESOL citizenship teachers related to the broader social cultural and political context – is 'stance', a concept used frequently in linguistics and sociolinguistics which I extend to include observable behaviour such as classroom materials, curricular choices and pedagogic tasks. As I will explain below, the concept of stance: a) allows the researcher to consider how an individual positions him/herself with regards to particular things, people, events and ideas; b) allows the researcher to explore how a speaker/writer positions others and c) is particularly suitable for researching environments in which speakers/writers are more or less obliged to adopt a position – or several positions – on political, contested topics. In the next three sections, I summarise the way stance has been employed in linguistic studies, followed by a brief discussion of how it has been employed in ethnographic research in education, the approach most similar to the one I have taken in my own study. In the course of this discussion I touch on two key concepts which are associated with or derived from academic work on stance which will reappear later in Chapters 5-8: 'positioning', i.e. of speakers/writers towards stance objects and their co-participants, and 'stance resources' i.e. the elements – usually linguistic (i.e. the grammatical, lexical, phonological and discoursal) but in my study also pedagogic – which speakers/writers employ to display their stances.

3.5.1 Dimensions of stance

Academic definitions of stance vary and finding agreement on the term is problematic[34] but despite this, academic definitions do tend to align with a version of the lay understanding of the term, i.e. the position taken by speakers/writers, or the 'point of view' that they adopt towards particular things, persons, events, behaviours, or ideas. Five key conceptual

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[34] Englebretson (2007), for example, states that the 'definitions and conceptions of stance are as broad and varied as the individual backgrounds and interests of the researchers themselves' (p.1). Within the body of work which uses 'stance' as an organising principle, there is considerable variety in a) the types of stance which researchers are interested in and b) the kinds of analysis they employ. For example, some linguistic research locates stance at the level of grammar or lexis (Biber and Finegan 1989; Thompson and Hunston 2000; Kärkkäinen 2007), while other work is concerned with the sociocultural dimensions of stance-taking (e.g. Ochs 1996), its production in interaction (e.g. Du Bois 2007), its role in the performance of sociolinguistic style (e.g. Kiesling 2004, Snell 2012) or the ideological work carried out by 'stance' in written texts (e.g. Jaworski and Thurlow 2009) or in whole institutions (e.g. Jaffe 2007, 2009b).

principles which encompass the main dimensions of stance in the academic literature are offered by Robert Englebretson (2007: 6) as follows:

1. Stance-taking can occur on one of three levels (which sometimes overlap): a) physical action (see e.g the work of Charles Goodwin (2007), b) a personal attitude, belief or evaluation and c) social morality i.e. when stance is attributed not to a person but to an institution, e.g. the Catholic church's stance on, say, gay marriage, the government's stance on public spending and so on.

2. Stance is public, and is perceivable, interpretable, and available for inspection and evaluation by others i.e. by interlocutors, listeners, readers, audiences or observers. As the conversation analyst John W. Du Bois (2007: 171) comments: 'stance is not something you have, not a property of interior psyche, but something you do, something you take'.

3. Stance is interactional: it is collaboratively constructed among participants and with respect to other stances; 'participants' can mean either those who are in face-to-face contact with each other, or audiences which are more distant, such as readers of a text or listeners to a political speech.

4. Stance is indexical, i.e. stance-taking evokes aspects of the broader socio-cultural framework or physical contexts in which it occurs. Although arguably all utterances are indexical of something outside their immediate context, the particular evaluative nature of stance-taking acts i.e. the expression of beliefs, opinion and values, suggests it is a useful frame for exploring fields and topics which are particularly 'political', contested or, to use Alexandra Jaffe's (2009b: 22) term, 'stance-saturated'.

5. Stance is consequential, i.e. taking a stance (and being attributed a stance, or positioned) leads to consequences for the persons or institutions involved. Although some of the linguistic literature on stance seems to concern itself with everyday features of language which appear innocuous, or even banal, many of the choices taken at the interactional level are shown to play a key role in the construction of identities and to the reproduction of ideologies such as e.g. racism and sexism (see e.g. Kiesling 2001, 2004). As I mentioned in 4) above, other studies are concerned with 'stance saturated' fields in which the ideological implications of particular stance-taking are more obvious, such as the production of elitist discourse in journalism (Jaworski and Thurlow 2009), authoritative discourses in medical encounters (Coupland and Coupland 2009), political sketch-writing

(Richardson and Corner 2011) or linguistic ideologies as they are reproduced in classrooms (Jaffe 2007, 2009c).

These principles are condensed in this definition of stance – which has been taken up by various researchers (Baynham 2011; Jaffe 2009a; Richardson and Corner 2011), and which I adopt in this thesis – proposed by du Bois (2007: 163):

> stance is a public act by a social actor, achieved dialogically through overt communicative means (language, gesture and other symbolic forms) through which actors simultaneously evaluate objects, position subjects (themselves and others), and align with other subjects with respect to any salient dimension of the sociocultural field.

3.5.2 Evaluation and positioning

A lot of research on stance locates it at the level of lexis and grammar and focuses in particular on 'evaluation'[35] i.e. 'the process whereby a stance-taker orients to an object of stance and characterises it as having some specific quality or value' (Du Bois 2007: 143). An early definition of stance by Biber and Finegan (1989: 93), for example, was 'the lexical and grammatical expression of attitudes, feelings, judgements or commitments concerning the propositional content of a message'[36]. Other analysts, however, argue that studying lexical and grammatical items alone is not enough and that 'the actual stance taken cannot be fully interpreted without reference to its larger dialogic and sequential context' (Du Bois 2007: 140). Du Bois argues that a stance-taker's words 'derive from, and further engage with, the words of those who have spoken before – whether immediately within the current exchange of stance utterances, or more remotely along the horizons of language and prior text as projected by the community of discourse' (ibid.). Du Bois therefore adds two more components which work in tandem with evaluation: 'positioning', which refers to how a speaker places her/himself with regard to the stance object, and 'alignment' which refers to 'the act of calibrating the relationship between two stances and by implication between two stance-takers' (p.144) i.e. the speaker takes note of the other speaker's stance, and necessarily defines his/her stance in relation to it.

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[35] Confusingly, stance, or at least the 'evaluative' element of stance, appears in some of the literature to be partially synonymous with other terms, or to be replacing terms which already describe the same thing. Hunston and Thompson (2000) in fact use the term 'evaluation' as synonymous with stance. Other terms correspond to different types of evaluation such as 'attitude', 'assessment', 'appraisal' and 'modality' (see Jaffe 2009b: 6).

[36] Linguistic research has explored, *inter alia*, adverbials (Biber and Finnegan 1989), modals (Thompson and Hunston 2000), evaluative adjectives and nouns (Hunston and Sinclair 2000), complement clauses and complement-taking predicates such as 'I think' or 'I guess' (see e.g. Karkkainen 2003, 2007).

Although Du Bois separates positioning and alignment for analytical purposes, for most other stance researchers – and in this thesis I follow their lead – these are part and parcel of the same process which they term simply 'positioning'; as Baynham (2011: 70) puts it, speakers (or writers) are 'typically simultaneously orienting to the topic under discussion and their co-participants in discourse'. The concept of 'positioning' has been employed in several fields, most notably in social psychology where it was theorised by Bronwyn Davies and Rom Harré (1990) and Harré and Luk van Langenhove (1999). For them, the notion of positioning was a more flexible alternative to 'role', e.g. mother/child or boss/employee, which they believed was too static and fixed *a priori*. Harré and colleagues posited that positioning is a joint endeavour performed in interaction which allows for subject positions to shift and change in the course of a conversation. This is not to say, however, that larger social categories such as mother/son, boss/employee – or in my study, teacher/student – play no part; for Harré and van Lagenhove (1999) the focus in positioning theory is on 'the way in which discursive practices constitute the speakers and hearers in certain ways and yet at the same time they are a resource though which speakers and hearers can recognise new positions' (p.52).

The work of Harré and colleagues has been influential in narrative analysis, in which stance and positioning play a central role (Bamberg 1997; Baynham 2010 and see Chapter 8) and in the sociolinguistic literature on stance. According to Alexandra Jaffe, all of the work contained in her edited collection on stance research (2009a) is in some way or another concerned with 'positionality' or:

> … how speakers and writers are necessarily engaged in positioning themselves vis-à-vis their words and texts (which are embedded in histories of linguistic and textual production), their interlocutors and audiences (both actual and virtual/projected/imagined), and with respect to a context they simultaneously respond to and construct linguistically. (2009b: 4)

Jaffe, then, along with other researchers, uses the term 'positioning' to refer to how speakers orient to both the stance object *and* to their interlocutors and audiences; Davies and Harré (1990) refer to this as 'reflexive positioning'. However, at the same time as a speaker positions him/herself with regard to the interlocutor/audience they position them in a particular way, i.e. they 'project, assign, propose, constrain, define or otherwise shape the subject positions of their interlocutors' (Jaffe 2009b: 8). For example, in Chapters 7 and 8 I show how one of the teachers, Diane, frequently tells stories in class; by doing this the

students are positioned as 'audience'. On other occasions she takes up an expert stance to give advice, thereby positioning her interlocutors as needing or being receptive to counsel. How an interactant is positioned, however, is not necessarily his/her preferred position; the story might be ignored, for example, or the advice resisted; as Coupland and Coupland (2009: 229) argue:

> there is an important distinction to be made between the act of endorsing, validating or sharing another person's known or witnessed stance and the act of projecting a stance onto someone else – specifying what the other person's stance is, was, will be or should be.

The 'act of projecting a stance onto someone else' is known in the stance literature as 'stance attribution'. The act of stance attribution may be inadvertent, taken for granted or deliberate but either way it is potentially problematic: as Coupland and Coupland (ibid.) point out, 'the relational politics of stance generally require a speaker to show respect for the other person's entitlement to construct their own stances, rather than have them constructed for them'. Stance attribution can lead to trouble in interaction when, for example, an addressee feels patronised or silenced, or wishes to resist a normative orientation. The capacity that one speaker has to position another interactionally is influenced by many factors, such as the respective status of the speakers and their social and institutional roles. As I show in Chapter 7, this has important implications for classroom analysis in which the interaction often follows a fairly routine structures such as the IRE[37] in which the distribution of turns may be far from equal and in which the possibilities for students to position themselves or to resist the stances attributed to them may be limited (Harklau 2000). Stance and positioning, then, are two key concepts in my analysis of Diane's classroom at Eastfields and although they are intimately related – in fact positioning is embedded into stance – for the purposes of clarity I have chosen to treat them separately: in Chapter 7, I show how students were positioned interactively in various ways and in Chapter 8 I show the various different stances Diane takes on Britain.

3.5.3 Ethnographic approaches to stance

Whilst the research I have discussed so far analyses stance mainly from a linguistic perspective, Jaffe (2007, 2009c) argues for a broader approach which integrates linguistic analysis with ethnography. Jaffe's research, which was concerned with the teaching of

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[37] Initiation-Response-Evaluation, also sometimes known as IRF (the F standing for 'feedback), a well-documented interactional sequence found frequently in classroom discourse. See Chapter 7 (7.2).

Corsican and French in bilingual Corsican schools, shows how particular uses of the two languages in the classroom constitutes the teacher's stance, i.e. how she positions herself with respect to the wider sociolinguistic and political context of Corsican language teaching, and how she transmits a particular linguistic ideology to pupils[38]. Jaffe argues that the teacher's practices appear to be influenced by several factors: a) the official policy of the school b) the sociolinguistic context in Corsica, c) pedagogic imperatives of inclusion and d) her own stance with regard to Corsican and French. Jaffe thus makes the case for an ethnographically grounded analysis of the teachers' stances and argues that in order to interpret any stance fully, the researcher needs to know as much as possible about the historical and social context and about the speakers' attitudes and practices across a variety of domains; in Chapter 4 (section 4.4.2) I discuss the contexts I included in my own study which were necessary to understand the stances my two case study teachers displayed towards the ESOL citizenship curriculum, as well as the stance resources – the theme of the next section – they employed to do so.

3.5.4 Stance resources

The term 'stance resource' refers to *how* a speaker or writer displays her/his stances. As my discussion so far has indicated, the literature reveals an extremely wide range of resources for stance-taking, such as: paralinguistic resources such as pitch or voice quality; lexico-grammatical choices; stylisation, i.e. the use of particular ways of speaking which express socially recognisable identities such as class, ethnicity and gender; and discourse choices which signal how a particular topic is being discussed, e.g. a pro- as opposed to an anti-immigration discourse. Whilst much of the research on stance has looked at how it is expressed linguistically, others have extended the pool of resources to other stance-taking acts such as e.g. buying a particular type of newspaper or shopping in a particular store – thereby saying something about yourself and your choices (Jaworski and Thurlow 2009) or, in the case of classrooms, the language chosen for classroom instruction, participation frameworks and pedagogic activities (Jaffe 2007, 2009c). The main stance resources observable in my own data are listed in Chapter 4 but two are worthy of mention in this chapter because of their ubiquity and because they cross-cut various different stances: a)

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[38] In the study, the teacher is seen to use Corsican as an 'instrument of learning' and French as an object of study to demonstrate that Corsican is a legitimate language of instruction on a par with French; to this end she 'projects an association between authoritative, legitimate, social positions and the minority language' (p. 56). Jaffe points out, though, that the bilingualism in the school does not actually represent the reality of Corsican society but an idealized image, i.e. Corsican children are not on the whole bilingual (they are mainly French dominant with a passive knowledge of Corsican) but in this school – and in this classroom in particular – are positioned (attributed a stance) as if they were expert users of the language.

classroom narratives which served several brokering functions i.e. simplifying, personalising and being serious about Britain and b) humour which also had various functions, one of which was to mitigate awkwardness when difficult topics arose. These will be discussed further in Chapters 7 and 8 where they form the basis for my discussion on positioning and stance but are introduced briefly in the next two sections.

3.5.4.i Classroom narratives

Narrative analysis is a large field and my study is not a study of narrative *per se* but rather of how narratives were employed as one resource amongst others for expressing teacher stance. Research on narratives told by teachers in classrooms (Rex *et al* 2002; Dyer and Keller-Cohen 2000; Sullivan 2000; Griswold 2010; Juzwik and Ives 2010) shows that, like other narratives, they are multi-functional in nature. One important function is the creation of 'rapport' (Tannen 1989) and a relaxed atmosphere, especially when accompanied by humour (Norrick 1993); researchers such as Rex *et al* (2002) and others (e.g. Sullivan 2000) have emphasised the role of stories to bond and create solidarity with students in 'rapport-building' (Nguyen 2007) or 'community building' (Boxer and Cortés-Conde 2000) work in class. Classroom narratives have also been shown by researchers to be instructional, i.e. employed to exemplify a teaching point or to simplify complex material (Griswold 2010). Stories of all types have been shown to have a strong socialising role and day to day stories are understood to be powerful socialising mechanisms and transmitters of culture (see e.g. Miller 1994; Ochs and Schieffelin 1984; Ochs and Caps 2001; Schieffelin and Ochs 1986a, 1986b). A further function of stories in classrooms, then, is that they serve to socialise students into appropriate classroom behaviour, as suggested in this comment from Rex *et al* (2002: 767):

> …when teachers tell stories, even when the stories are not explicitly or intentionally instructional, they tell them in a way that represents a view of what counts as classroom appropriate social and academic knowledge and performance.

However, in the case of ESOL citizenship, Diane's stories did not only represent social and academic knowledge and performance in class but also a view of what counts as appropriate knowledge and behaviour in the world *outside* the classroom; they also transmit a particular view of the UK to students. In Chapter 8, then, I consider a selection of personal narratives and 'small stories' (Georgakopolou 2007) which served various brokering functions in Diane's talk over and above the creation of solidarity and rapport: to

transmit cultural knowledge about local practices and beliefs; to socialise students into local ways of behaviour and to provide rhetorical support for particular points of view.

3.5.4.ii Humour and politeness

Cross-cutting all of Diane's stance resources was the frequent use of humour, which, like narrative, will be afforded a more in-depth treatment when it becomes relevant later in the thesis, in Chapters 7 and 8. Jennifer Coates (2007) points out that in linguistics, researchers traditionally tended to use a narrow definition of humour, focusing on speech acts such as jokes, puns, and irony, presumably because these are easier to identify. More recently, however, some linguists have started to look at humour more broadly i.e. in interaction or 'conversational joking' (Norrick 1994); this includes stories, anecdotes, banter, verbal play, teasing, mockery and so on. Researchers in this vein regard humour as interactionally produced, i.e. that it requires the collaboration of both speaker and listener (Holmes and Hay 1997). A further point regarding humour is that, like narrative, it is multi-functional; as well as 'amusing', humour serves other functions such as creating group solidarity, softening criticism, helping to present a speaker as a particular kind of person and so on. The humour which Diane tended to employ in her classroom talk was not characterised by joking, punning, slapstick or sarcasm but by a gentle, mildly teasing, slightly ironic, playful humour which was often directed at herself, on occasions at me and, sometimes, at the students, although never in an aggressive or face-threatening way.

In my discussion in Chapters 7 and 8 I will show that one of the main functions of self-mocking humour in Diane's talk was to mitigate for awkwardness and embarrassment when difficult topics – i.e. cultural and political questions often avoided by teachers – arose and which required a consideration of the students', and therefore Diane's own, 'face'. This term – coined by Erving Goffman (1967) and adopted as a central concept in politeness theory (Brown and Levinson 1978; Culpeper 1996; Leech 1983) – refers to 'the public self-image of a person' (Yule 1996: 60). Brown and Levinson (1978) proposed that people have two 'wants' related to face: the want to be approved of, included, liked and so on (their positive face) and the want to be unimpeded, i.e. not be imposed upon, made to feel awkward and so on (their negative face). Comments and behaviour which potentially threaten the self-image of one's addressees, i.e. which might embarrass them or make them feel uncomfortable (Flowerdew 2013: 106) are known as 'face threatening acts' (FTAs) and in interaction speakers adopt 'face-saving' strategies to mitigate these acts. A certain amount of this 'face work' or 'relational work' (Locher and Watts 2005) was therefore

required by Diane to manage the potential awkwardness arising for students when sensitive issues affecting them directly arose in class. A third, and related, tension – also requiring relational work – was the asymmetry between the teacher and the students in a class such as this; in her joint role as teacher and as representative of the UK, Diane (and I when I was involved in classroom discussion) was positioned differently to the students in terms of her social, institutional and national status, access to resources and cultural and political knowledge. As I will show in Chapters 7 and 8, humour was one of the strategies Diane employed to mitigate for the awkwardness arising from this and it cut across all her other stance resources.

3.6 Conclusion

In this chapter I have covered a broad range of literature, all of which to some degree or another I drew on to help me make sense of the data I gathered in my two case study ESOL citizenship classrooms. In section 3.1 I discussed literature from the sub-field most directly related to my study, i.e. that which documents research on citizenship testing and test-takers and the few studies which have been carried out on classes similar to ESOL citizenship classes, i.e. ESL civics in the USA. Although this literature does not focus on classrooms – with the exception of Loring (2013) and Griswold (2010, 2011) – it serves to situate my research in its political and ideological context, i.e. the contested terrain of immigration and testing for citizenship, perceived by some as discriminatory and divisive. These aspects of the citizenship programme will emerge later in my study in Chapter 6 when I consider the role of exams in the two classes, and in Chapter 7 when I discuss how the pedagogy in Diane's class sometimes reproduced an 'us and them' dynamic. I then moved on in section 3.3 and 3.4 to consider the teaching of 'culture' – including political processes and themes – in language education and considered the different ways teachers have tackled this, i.e. by avoiding it, sticking closely to canonical versions or addressing it critically head-on. This becomes particularly relevant in Chapters 5 and 6 when I examine how the teachers in my study addressed British culture in their planning i.e. on their schemes of work and lesson plans. I then moved on in sections 3.4.3 to discuss literature from language socialisation studies which shows that culture is transmitted not just through pedagogic topics and materials but through other, more implicit means such as teacher talk. In 3.5 I discussed in some detail two related concepts which are central to my classroom analyses in Chapters 7 and 8: positioning and stance. These two concepts were particularly helpful in my exploration of exactly how the two teachers did their brokering work

between the students and the ESOL citizenship curriculum, i.e. how they talked about the debates about immigration, community cohesion and national identity which led to the implementation of the programme. Exactly how I identified the various stances taken by the teachers will be discussed in the next chapter in which I discuss my methodology, i.e., *inter alia*, the nature of ethnography, linguistic ethnography and classroom ethnography, the methodological fields which helped to orient my study, how I generated my data and how I went about being accountable to the whole set.

Chapter 4: Methodology

4.1 Introduction

This chapter is a bridge between the preceding chapters, which described the contexts and concepts framing the research, and the empirical chapters which follow. In Chapters 1 and 2, I addressed two sub questions: 1) what is 'citizenship'? and 2) how did the UK ESOL citizenship programme emerge? In exploring these two questions I mapped out the main contexts and concepts which framed my fieldwork: the contested concept of 'citizenship' itself, the introduction by New Labour of the citizenship testing programme, and the political debates which circulated at the time, in particular those about the English language which brought ESOL centre stage. In Chapter 3 I described existing research on the teaching of citizenship to adults, and the treatment – explicit and implicit – of cultural knowledge in language education. I also introduced 'stance', the main concept I will employ to discuss the actions and behaviour of the teachers in their roles as brokers between the official curriculum and their students.

My aim in subsequent chapters is to address my over-arching research question, 'how did teachers approach the teaching of citizenship to ESOL students?' and four more sub questions:

1. How was citizenship inserted into ESOL in two different colleges of further education? [addressed in Chapter 5]
2. What were the characteristics of the two ESOL citizenship classes? [Chapter 6]
3. In what ways did the pedagogy in one class position students and what were the effects of these positionings? [Chapter 7]
4. What stances on Britain and British citizenship were evident in one teacher's pedagogic practices, classroom interaction and teacher talk? [Chapter 8]
5. What were the implications of this research for future ESOL citizenship teaching? [Chapter 9]

In this chapter I describe the methods I employed to generate the data which helped me to answer these questions but before I begin I will reiterate why, as I indicated in my introduction, the last two chapters are focused on one of the teachers, Diane, rather than both of them. The first reason for this was methodological; because of the data I was able

to generate in Janette's class, the nature of Janette's teaching meant that I was unable to take comprehensive field notes or recordings and so was unable to analyse the episodes in each lesson in any detail (see section 4.3.4). The second, and most important reason is that Janette's class, although badged as a citizenship class, turned out to resemble an ordinary ESOL class whilst Diane tackled national culture, citizenship and some of the debates related to it more directly. It was therefore more in keeping with my original interests – about how citizenship teaching might be taught in ESOL classes to adult migrants – for me to examine Diane's class in more depth than Janette's. This is not to suggest, however, that Janette's class was not an essential part of my research; as it turned out, the two case study classes represented the two main models adopted in the ESOL sector when citizenship was introduced and as such – as I describe in Chapters 5 and 6 – gave me the possibility to compare and contrast the two.

In this chapter, then, I first situate my study in the broad research traditions of ethnography, most particularly linguistic ethnography and classroom ethnography (Erickson 1984). I then briefly present my case study sites, teachers and students and the methods of data generation I employed: participant observation, field notes, audio recordings and interviews. This is followed by a description of the data I generated and how I coded them in an attempt to be accountable to the whole set. I discuss the pros and cons of this process and what the codes signalled about the meaning of 'citizenship' in these particular classes. Finally, I explain how I used the codes to guide my selection of extracts from the classroom recordings which I analyse in more detail in the empirical chapters 5 to 8.

4.2 Methodological approaches

4.2.1 Ethnographic research

This research was framed by the political agenda of citizenship but my study was a small scale ethnographically oriented study of two ESOL citizenship teachers and their classes. When I began my fieldwork I had not yet decided to focus specifically on the role, activities and attitudes of the teachers and their individual stances; in line with the concept of 'emergent design' (Punch 2009: 127) my interest in this emerged during the course of the fieldwork and the first stages of analysis. Given that ESOL citizenship was a new subject in the UK and as such as yet un-researched, my initial aim was a more general one, i.e. to observe what these classes were like, what the teachers chose to cover, how the students

reacted and how different these classes were from ordinary ESOL. The general methodology I adopted to do this was ethnography, an approach which is characterised by a focus on the meanings of particular cultural settings – such as neighbourhoods, communities or classrooms – and the uncovering of the implicit common-sense sociocultural knowledge, beliefs and practices of participants in those settings (Atkinson *et al* 2001; Duff and Uchida 1997; Harklau 2005; Roberts *et al* 2001). Although there are different notions as to what constitutes ethnography, there are several features common to most ethnographic studies i.e. sustained participant observation in the setting under study and an iterative, in-depth systematic process of data collection generated from various sources such as, typically, field notes, open-ended interviews and inductive analysis initiated during data collection (Harklau 2005: 188). Other features are a focus on the patterns and systematicity in situated practice, a focus on the whole ecology of a particular setting (i.e. different levels of socio-cultural organisation which function at the same time), openness to data (Rampton *et al* 2014) and the importance of the role played by interpretation during the writing-up process (Agar 1980).

Ethnography is sometimes criticised for focusing too much on the local at the expense of larger societal structures (Brandt and Clinton 2002). However, most ethnographers regard the potential of ethnographic research to show the relationships between local lived experiences and practices and macro-level institutional and societal structures as one of its strengths. Commenting on a debate about the 'outside' and 'inside' (i.e. mainstream/official and local) uses of literacy, for example, Brian Street (2005: xi) writes: 'we cannot know what uses people are making of outside literacies – and of language more generally – without seeing it in its immediate context' i.e. through ethnographic research. For Street, 'it is not a matter of posing the 'local' against the 'global', the 'micro' against the 'macro' but of understanding the relationships between them, as meanings are built into their encounter' (ibid). This argument points to the appropriateness of an ethnographic approach for my study, in which I explore both the official versions of citizenship, whether these came into the ESOL citizenship programme and, if they did, how they were brokered by the teacher at the local level of the classroom.

Judith Green and David Bloome (1997) distinguish between three approaches to ethnography: 1) doing 'an ethnography', i.e. a broad, in-depth and long-term study of a social or cultural group; 2) adopting an ethnographic perspective, i.e. a more focused

approach to particular aspects of everyday life and cultural practices of a social group; 3) using ethnographic tools, i.e. the use of methods and techniques associated with fieldwork. (p.193). A similar distinction was made by Dell Hymes (1996) between 'comprehensive ethnography' and a narrower focus that he called 'topic-oriented' ethnography, which corresponds to Green and Bloome's second category, 'adopting an ethnographic perspective'. During my field work I spent 16 months and 8 months respectively making weekly visits to my two case study sites, Eastfields and Northside (see 4.3.2), so my study was relatively long term. At Eastfields, however, the group itself changed each term so in total I researched three different classes at that site; the constant factor, therefore, was the teacher and my focus was not on one bounded group but on two teachers in two institutions involved in similar activities stemming from the same policy directive. Following Greene and Bloome's and Hymes's distinctions, then, my study can be characterised as a topic-oriented case study with an ethnographic perspective which employed several ethnographic tools in which I compared and contrasted the two teachers and their classes, as well as studied them on their own terms. I discuss case study methodology further in the next section.

4.2.2 Ethnographic case studies

Case study is one of the principal features of ethnographic approaches and although not all case studies are ethnographic or even qualitative, all ethnographic research involves case study (Brewer 2000). Case studies involve looking at one entity or 'unit' in detail to 'stimulate creative thinking and disturb general assumptions' (Roberts *et al* 2004: 17); a 'case' can be a person, programme, institution, organisation, community, a whole country, a policy, a process, an incident or an event (Punch 2009: 119). Ethnographic researchers do not seek to generalise from case studies but rather they offer detailed enough descriptions for readers of their research to compare it with other cases. Clyde Mitchell (1984) argues that case studies are 'telling' rather than 'typical', i.e. they consider a situation in its particular specificity in order to understand the theoretical relationship between components; this is identified by examining all aspects of the data until patterns begin to emerge. Frederick Erickson (1986: 130) proposes that the task of the analyst is:

> to uncover the different layers of universality and particularity that are confronted in the specific case at hand – what is broadly universal, what generalises to other similar situations, what is unique to the given instance. This can only be done… by attending to the details of the concrete case at hand.

Most researchers writing about case study methodology (Hood 2009; Miles and Huberman 1994; Stake 2005; Yin 1984) are concerned with the question of 'boundedness' i.e. how a researcher decides where a 'case' begins and ends. This is related to the question of 'context' and how many facets need to be taken into account to understand a case as fully as possible. In many settings, aspects of the case itself will not be comprehensible to the researcher without a fair amount of contextual knowledge which is located beyond the immediate setting; how much context is required depends on what the researcher is hoping to understand. In the 'extended' case study approach of Michael Burawoy (1998), for example, the aim is 'to locate everyday life in its extra-local and historical context' (p. 4); in his study of the Zambian copper industry, the author includes several sources of data beyond those he can generate through participant observation as a foreign worker in the office of one of the mines[39]. Burawoy points out that many ethnographic studies implicitly employ an 'extended' approach – i.e. they consider 'extra-local' layers of context (p.6) – but do not make these explicit in their design and written accounts.

Other studies which take a similarly broad view of context are those which employ 'transcontextual' analyses such as Charles Briggs (1997), Hugh Mehan (1996), Jan Blommaert (2005)[40] and the ethnographic stance research by Alexandra Jaffe (2007, 2009c) which I discussed in Chapter 3. In my study, in order to make sense of what took place in ESOL citizenship classrooms I took the following contexts into account: a) political and philosophical understandings of citizenship (Chapter 1); b) the government agenda, public debates and ideologies about citizenship, immigration, cohesion and English language that were circulating at the time the programme came into being (Chapter 2); c) the political and pedagogic context of ESOL citizenship classes and the teachers' stances on ESOL and ESOL citizenship, their personal theories about language teaching and citizenship, their pedagogic practices, the constraints and imperatives of their institutions and the ESOL profession (Chapter 5) and d) the stances observable in one of the teacher's talk and teacher-student interaction (Chapters 7 and 8). For the latter, an analysis of the role of talk

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[39] These include: interviews with various insiders in the company; interviews carried out by local Zambian researchers; Burawoy's growing knowledge of the contemporary political scene in Zambia; the history of the decolonization process in the country, and social and political theory about colonisation, race and class exploitation.

[40] Briggs (1997) analyses the 'confession' of a young indigenous woman in Venezuela found guilty of infanticide using a 'transcontextual' analysis which takes into account extra-local contexts to help him make sense of how she is categorised as a murderer. These contexts include: 1) chains of entextualisations i.e. how talk circulates between settings and feed into the representation of the woman as a murderer, 2) the broader historical trajectories of the discourse(s) spoken, 3) participants' cultural, linguistic and social resources, 4) how the institutions (laws, practices, roles, rules) constrain and shape the discourse, 5) how some voices become dominant and others are silenced. Mehan (1996) employs a similar method to examine the construction of a learning disabled student, and Blommaert (2005) shows the processes which lead to an asylum seeker being wrongly attributed a particular nationality.

in the teachers' pedagogic practices was necessary, and for this I drew on two further methodologies: linguistic ethnography, which I turn to next, and classroom ethnography which I discuss in section 4.2.4.

4.2.3 Linguistic ethnography

The area of study known as linguistic ethnography, as its name suggests, conjoins the fields of ethnography and linguistics. It is influenced by linguistic anthropology (Duranti 1997), ethnography of communication (Hymes 1996), interactional sociolinguistics (Gumperz 1982), micro-ethnography (Erickson 1986) and the sociology of language (Fishman 1972)[41]. According to Ben Rampton *et al* (2004: 8) 'ethnography can benefit from the analytical frameworks provided by linguistics, while linguistics can benefit from the processes of reflexive sensitivity required in ethnography', i.e. ethnography provides a focus on wider contexts, while linguistics offers the possibility of micro-analyses of language use which participant observation and fieldnotes cannot provide. The general orientation of linguistic ethnography is summarised by Rampton *et al* (2004: 2) as follows:

> Linguistic ethnography generally holds that language and social life are mutually shaping, and that close analysis of situated language use can provide both fundamental and distinctive insights into the mechanisms and dynamics of social and cultural production in everyday activity.

At the same time, the wider contexts provided by ethnography open up the linguistic analysis to interpretation beyond that which would be possible if the analysis remained at the micro level of language use. In my study, which was concerned with the local realisation of a national policy directive, I took into account the conditions which produced the policy itself, the specific local institutional conditions in which the teachers worked and the materials and topics which were explicitly chosen for classroom study (see 4.2.2 above). Also, and importantly, though, I drew on the classroom talk of one of the teachers i.e. her interactions with students and her more monologic turns. As Rampton *et al* (2014) suggest, 'biography, identifications, stance and nuance are extensively signalled in the linguistic and textual fine grain' (p.3) and closer study of Diane's talk gave me an essential insight into the subtle ways she brokered the citizenship programme for students, how she positioned them and how she dealt with some of the more potentially troublesome issues arising from

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[41] Rampton et al (2004) state that further influences on linguistic ethnography in the UK include: New Literacy Studies, CDA, Neo-Vygotskyan research on language and cognitive development and interpretative applied linguistics for language teaching

the topics under discussion. I describe my approach to classroom analysis in section 4.4., but meanwhile I turn briefly to classroom ethnography, an area of study in which language processes play a central part.

4.2.4 Classroom ethnography

Schools, colleges and universities are common sites for linguistic ethnographic research, although the focus is not always on teaching and learning *per se* in one particular classroom[42]. Given that my study was focused on two classrooms it was important for me to situate my research in the field of classroom ethnography (Erickson 1984, 1986; Green and Wallatt 1981, Jaffe 2007, 2009c; Watson-Gegeo 1997). Classroom ethnography approaches the classroom ecologically as a complex system in which language plays a central part; as Stanton Wortham (2008: 93) points out, 'educational researchers need to understand how language use both creates and presupposes social relations during educational activity'. Ethnographic classroom research tends to feature a combination of ethnographic description, micro-analysis of events and discursive analysis (Duff 2002: 293) and has been carried out both in classrooms in which the object of study (e.g. science or maths) is mediated through language (Baynham 1996; Green and Dixon 1994; Lemke 1989; Roberts *et al* 1992) and in language classrooms in which the object of study and the medium is the same (see Harklau 2005; Toohey 2008 for overviews). The classrooms in my study can be perceived as hybrids of these two, given that they were language classrooms with an object of study – citizenship – inserted into them; however, given the focus in Diane's class on citizenship rather than explicit language teaching, and given my own interests as a researcher, Chapters 7 and 8 are concerned mainly with the construction and brokering of citizenship as a classroom subject for people with varying levels of English competence.

Classroom ethnographies also vary in terms of their thematic focus, purposes and concerns. Some aim to uncover the processes of teaching and learning which are imperceptible to quantitative methods and testing (Cazden 2001); examples of this include: how patterns of language use affect what counts as subject knowledge (Green and Dixon 1994, Floriani 1994) and how classroom interactional patterns open up or close down learning opportunities (Cooke and Wallace 2004; Heras 1994). Some research, often carried

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[42] Rampton (2006) and Maybin (2006), for example, are studies of language use across different settings in the school environment, not just the classroom.

out by scholars interested in language socialisation (see Chapter 3, 3.4.3), focuses on the role played by classroom discourse in the production, reproduction – and sometimes reshaping and resisting – of societal structures and ideologies (Canagajarah 1993, Chouliaraki 1996; Duff 2002; He 2003; Iedema 1996; Talmy, 2008, 2009a, 2009b).

My own study contained aspects of both of these kinds of classroom ethnography, as I show in Chapters 6-8. I began my fieldwork regarding the two classrooms as instances of a case, and set out to explore what happened in them, how the teachers went about teaching citizenship and how the students reacted. By way of getting as complete a set of data as possible I also made audio recordings of each of the lessons I observed, but was unsure initially as to where I would focus as the field work progressed. During the field work, as I listened to each lesson, I began to be interested in a) the role played by teacher talk – especially stances taken up in interaction – in the brokering of the citizenship programme and the debates associated with it, particularly those which directly referred to ESOL students and b) how interactional patterns such as the Initiation-Response-Evaluation (IRE)[43] and classroom instructions contributed to the positioning of students in particular ways, often as representatives of 'home' (see Chapter 8). I describe this gradual narrowing process and how I analysed the classroom discourse data in section 4.4 below. Now, having mapped out the methodological traditions I am following in this study, I turn to describe my own fieldwork and the data I generated for further analysis.

4.3 My fieldwork and generation of data

One of the essential characteristics of ethnography is reflexivity, i.e. an awareness that the generation of ethnographic data and its interpretation is strongly conditioned and shaped by the subjectivity of the researcher (Foley 2002, Burawoy 1998). Ethnography is therefore characterized by two demands on researchers: one to observe and gather data, and the other to include themselves as objects of inquiry (Freebody 2003: 76). I thus begin this section with a consideration of my own role in this project which I have come to view as an essential element of the study. My reflections will not be confined to this section but will be threaded through the rest of the chapter and the subsequent empirical chapters, which is not to imply that I regard my involvement as negative or unnecessarily intrusive, but rather

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[43] The IRE exchange has been observed by researchers in classrooms of all kinds and consists of 1) an opening move by the teacher which is frequently a question but might also be a directive or an informative or a non-verbal signal; 2) a response by a student and 3) an evaluation or feedback by the teacher. It is discussed in Chapter 8.

that in the process of this study I have become aware to what extent the decisions I made about the design, data gathering and interpretation influenced the final piece of work. Most writing on the principles of ethnography agree that 'the ethnographer herself is one of the principal research instruments' (Rampton *et al* 2002: 374 and see Atkinson and Hammersley 1994); making explicit the research process and the role and standpoints of the researcher serves to offset the accusations of bias and invalidity sometimes levelled at ethnography (Heath and Street 2005) but also recognises the fact that 'the researcher's own cultural and interpretive capacities are crucial in making sense of the complex intricacies of situated everyday activity' (Rampton *et al* 2004: 3).

4.3.1 Original aims

As I mentioned in my introduction, when I started this research I had been both a practitioner and researcher in ESOL for some years and had been involved in some of the debates leading up to the insertion of citizenship into ESOL. My initial attraction to the topic was: it was new and as yet un-researched, so I would be the first to study it in depth; I had access to ESOL classes having recently worked as a researcher on a large ESOL project; it seemed a coherent extension of previous work I had done on the social and political elements of ESOL in the state-funded sector (Cooke and Simpson 2008). My aims for the research itself arose from a curiosity about what ESOL citizenship classes would look like, what teachers would make of the citizenship materials and handbook, and how students would react to them. I did begin the project, however, with certain opinions (many of which have changed, or at least been modified in the course of the research) and a critical stance towards the government's citizenship programme: put simply, I was opposed to the test and believed that the ESOL sector should have resisted more forcefully when it became one of the sites for the implementation of anti-immigrant legislation. If I am to be honest, one of my unstated desires at the start of my project was to critique the citizenship programme and to act as a conduit for the (inevitably, I predicted) disgruntled voices of the adult migrants who were subject to the disciplinary citizenship regime. My actual experience in the field led me, however, down a different path and gave me pause for thought about research, its limits and my own naivety as a researcher.

Firstly, despite my opposition to the politics of the citizenship programme itself and my inclination to critique, it was apparent from the start that the students were engaged in their lessons and having a good time; this was evident from the atmosphere in both the

classrooms, which was relaxed and full of humour and laughter, and from what many of them told me in focus groups and one to one interviews. I also found some of the classes – in particular some of those at Eastfields, for reasons I discuss later – to be more interesting and challenging than I expected, and even in those where the material seemed to me to be obscure and pointless (see e.g. Chapter 8, 8.2.1), the students were interested, if at times baffled. To be sure, some of the students *were* angry and upset about the citizenship test and the indignities of the naturalisation process, and I was able to include these voices in a paper in which I argued that the citizenship test discriminates against people with low education and literacy (Cooke 2009a). Others, however, seemed less indignant, some appeared to be positively in favour of the test, whilst all, almost to the last, were full of praise for their ESOL classes and teachers (see also Gidley et al 2012; Han *et al* 2010 and McGregor and Bailey 2010 for research which produced similar results). I accepted that doctoral research was not the correct forum for activism and limited my involvement in this to other domains.

There were two further factors which influenced the gradual sharpening of my aims and focus. The first was that when I embarked on in-depth interviews with students, the stories they told me were dramatic, distressing ones of violence, war, exile and hardship; to do justice to these would have meant a very different project design with a focus on migrant experience, as well as a high level of sensitivity and skill in interview-based qualitative research which I did not feel I possessed. More interestingly though, as my data gathering progressed, my attention was drawn increasingly to the two teachers in the study and to the ways in which they brokered between these students and the citizenship programme in class. I found myself identifying strongly with them as practitioners and empathising with the weight of the project they had been tasked with, and frequently asking myself the question 'what would *I* do or say in this particular situation, or at this particular moment?' My lens became more and more focused on the two teachers, then, not because I wished to disregard the experiences of students – on the contrary – but because as a practitioner myself I found myself intrigued by the complexities and demands faced by two teachers in a sector which had been – and still was in many ways – my own. I will write more about the way my thinking changed about citizenship and the teaching of citizenship in the concluding chapter (Chapter 9, 9.4.3) but now I will describe the field settings and participants themselves, going on to describe my research methods in more detail.

4.3.2 The field sites and participants

As I have indicated, the field work for this study took place at two sites, Northside and Eastfields, both large colleges of further education (FE) in parts of inner London with high numbers of ethnic and linguistic minorities. Both the colleges were, or had been in the recent past, designated as 'outstanding' by Ofsted and both had large ESOL departments with strong reputations. As I mentioned in section 3.1, the two courses corresponded to the two main ways that ESOL and citizenship was provided in the sector at the time of the research (see Taylor 2007: 55): at Eastfields the main focus was 'citizenship' and the class was intended for ESOL students needing to provide evidence to the Home Office or for people who might, at some point, do the LITUK electronic test. At Northside, 'citizenship' was embedded into a mainstream ESOL course and was intended both for people needing to satisfy Home Office requirements as well as those who were not applying for citizenship in the near future, or who were already UK citizens. The two case study sites therefore provided examples of the two main approaches to the implementation of the new requirement that citizenship be incorporated into ESOL provision and as such offered me the opportunity to compare and contrast the two.

The actual selection of my sites, however, was not quite as 'purposeful', i.e. chosen because they represented 'instances' (Freebody 2003: 78), as this description might suggest, and the fact that the sites exemplified the two principal approaches to citizenship in ESOL was more by accident than design. My selection process was actually rather more 'expedient' (ibid) i.e. the sites were chosen because the two teachers were willing and available and interested in the research. The first site, Eastfields, emerged when I was working at the college on another ESOL project and mentioned to a colleague that I was starting doctoral research on ESOL citizenship. I was put in contact with the teacher, Diane, who had recently set up an ESOL citizenship course, and my fieldwork began in autumn 2007. The second site, Northside, was recruited when I put out a request for volunteers on an email list used by practitioners in the ESOL sector and was contacted by Janette, with whom I was already acquainted as she had been a participant on a previous project I had worked on as a researcher. I began my fieldwork in Janette's class in autumn 2008 and observed one course for the duration of two semesters until Easter 2009. I now provide some ethnographic details about the two sites.

Eastfields

Eastfields College is situated across several sites in an inner city borough which has a large population of people from Bangladesh. The class took place at one of the sites which offered ESOL, adult basic skills and other adult courses, as well as teacher training. Eastfields has a long tradition of ESOL and the ESOL department has a reputation for being highly committed, innovative and strongly unionised. The teacher, Diane, was in her 50's and had worked at Eastfields for about 8 years at the time of the research. Her parents were English and Italian, and in class she quite often flagged her mixed heritage. Prior to being an ESOL teacher she had worked in a variety of jobs including Blue Badge tour guide, teacher of business studies and printer and teacher of manual trades to women; she had also lived for some years in Australia.

The ESOL citizenship courses at Eastfields lasted one term only and in all I gathered data in three of these courses. In all three the classes had a similar composition: a high proportion (over half in each round) from Bangladesh and the rest from elsewhere. The Bangladeshis were mainly from the Sylhet region of Bangladesh, and were Sylheti speakers, with the exception of two students in course 3 who were speakers of Bengali.

Course 1 (autumn 2007): there were 16 students on the register from: Bangladesh (9 out of 16), Morocco (1 woman), Nigeria (2 women), Pakistan (1 man), Dominican Republic (1 man), Kurdistan (former Iraq, 1 man) and Poland (1 woman). The gender mix was 8/8. Reasons for coming to the UK were mainly marriage or family reunion, apart from the Kurdish student who was an asylum seeker and the Polish woman who was going to take UK citizenship so it would be easier for her to emigrate to Canada.

Course 2 (summer 2008): there were 19 students on the register. 9 were from Bangladesh. The rest were from: Ghana (1 woman), Colombia (1 man), Morocco (1 woman), Somalia (1 man), Yemen (1 woman), Pakistan (1 man), Jamaica (2 men), China (1 woman), Vietnam (1 woman). The gender mix was 9 men/10 women. The students from Colombia and Somalia were refugees (the Ghanaian, Judith, was married to a refugee), the rest were spouses or joining family members.

Course 3 (autumn 2008): there were 15 students on the register. 9 were from Bangladesh (5 women, 4 men), the rest were from: Somalia (1 woman, 1 man), Eritrea (1 woman),

Jamaica (1 man), India (1 woman) and Congo (1 woman). The gender mix was 9 women/6 men. In this class again most were spouses or family joiners apart a female refugee from Eritrea and the Somali students, one of whom was an asylum seeker and one who was a young woman who had been in the UK since she was three but who had never acquired UK citizenship.

Northside College

The class was held at one of the Northside campuses situated in an ethnically diverse inner city area which, at the time of writing, was home to a large Algerian population who gathered around the local mosque and the tea houses and cafes in the neighbourhood. The campus is a focal point of the area, sharing its premises with the municipal library. The class met three times a week, on Tuesdays, Thursdays and Fridays between 1 – 3.30 pm. The teacher, Janette, was a white English woman in her late 50's who at the time of the research had been at Northside for six years. Prior to working as an English teacher she had worked in administration and secretarial jobs and trained as a teacher of French and English quite late in her career. She had worked in low-paid EFL jobs before coming to Northside and remained part-time and hourly-paid, spending the rest of her time as a carer for her husband and working as an artist. The ESOL citizenship class was the only class she currently had responsibility for.

The Northside class spanned an academic year which was divided into two semesters, and the students remained the same throughout. There were nineteen students from twelve different countries of origin: Guinea Bissau, Eritrea (4 students), Morocco, Iran, Bangladesh, Kosovo, Somalia (4 students), Iraq (Kurdish), Turkey, Benin, Afghanistan, Nigeria and Romania. Twelve of these students were refugees and asylum seekers and seven had been settled in other countries before coming to the UK. Apart from the students from Kosovo and Iraq all the students were women and most had young children which meant a) they were not in employment and b) they came to the class because the time suited them because they could attend class and still be in time to pick up their children – according to Janette this was one of the main reasons why people came on the course who didn't need it for citizenship purposes.

To summarise, then, my fieldwork took place in two sites between autumn 2007 and spring 2009; the data I generated is outlined in two tables in section 4.3.3. In the next two sections

I will describe my experience of field work and two sources of data, field notes and audio recordings.

4.3.3 Fieldwork

There is much that I could write about my own experience doing fieldwork in this project but for reasons of space I will limit it to a discussion of the effects on the research of being an insider in the ESOL sector and the way I was viewed and positioned by Diane and Janette. One of the key tenets of ethnography is the necessity to 'make the familiar strange' (Agar 1980) or, as Rampton *et al* (2014) put it 'regard for local rationalities in an interplay between strangeness and familiarity' (p.1). My knowledge and experience in ESOL meant I was coming to the research very much as an 'insider' and I had to work quite hard to achieve the necessary distance required to 'make strange' something which was so familiar to me; in fact, so familiar was I with ESOL practice that despite the fact that the content of some of the classes was more interesting than in mainstream ESOL, I spent quite a lot of the initial stage of the data-gathering phase feeling worried that there would be nothing interesting enough for analysis (cf. Maybin 2006). It was only when I began to listen closely to the classroom recordings and engaged in some discussion about them with colleagues at my university that I was able to begin to notice 'the strange', an experience which in fact lends support to the logic of the practice in Conversation Analysis of slowly analysing data which at first sight seems dull and trivial and allowing its 'startling and strange' world to emerge (Rampton *et al* 2002).

Secondly, and related to this point, I had to work very hard to remove the judgemental voice which I had developed over years as a practitioner and teacher educator which at first found me frequently thinking as I observed, 'why is she doing that? I wouldn't do it that way', and other thoughts along these lines. Researchers and commentators such as journalists and politicians can be harsh about teachers, as can teachers themselves, possibly as a result of being subject to inspection and accountability regimes and/or their initial training. Roxy Harris and Adam Lefstein (2011), for example, comment that when they shared classroom data with teachers, their first response was usually to be highly critical of their peers' practices. Frederick Erickson (1984) cautions that ethnographers need to be wary of this tendency:

> In my report I may choose to condemn it [i.e. an instance of classroom practice] or not condemn it, but in either case I am obligated to make it intelligible as seen from

within, and to portray the actors in the situation as humans – not as stick figures or monsters. Maybe not nice or good or wise people but human people. It seems to me that much of the ethnography of schooling in our own society has fallen short on this point. As ethnographers (and as journalistic describers of schools) we give in to our rage too self-indulgently and present schools, teachers, and students as essentially and irredeemably inhuman; at best guided by an impenetrable ignorance, or at worst motivated by zealous malevolence. (p.9)

With this stern warning in mind then, and with a strong desire to learn to describe rather than judge, I tried to approach the two classrooms not as a 'teacher educator' or ESOL 'specialist' but as an ethnographer, open to what I found in the field.

Avoiding the label of 'expert', though, was not always straightforward, in part because of how I was positioned at times by the teachers. As I have made clear, I was acquainted with both Diane and Janette before I began my field work and both of them invited me into their classrooms because they felt that it would in some way be useful to them to be able to discuss with me the things which worked and didn't work in their new endeavour, i.e. the insertion of citizenship into their existing practice. They were therefore, to a certain extent, inviting me to explore ESOL citizenship *with* them rather than have me in the class to observe them going about their 'business as usual'. As I commented in my introduction, my knowledge of citizenship was probably about the same level as theirs when the project began; however, they both knew that I was an experienced ESOL practitioner and researcher and they often consulted me when they were unsure about something and even introduced me to their students as 'an expert' on citizenship (which I attempted to refute). It was also impossible in both of the classes to sit at the back unnoticed taking notes and being a quiet observer. From the start I was invited to sit with the students at their tables, I was asked to help with pair and small group work, to help students with literacy problems, to take small groups for 'conversation club' and exam practice and on several occasions to cover for one of the teachers when she was absent due to sickness. This meant that on the one hand I made myself useful and welcome in class and developed a good rapport with students, who seemed to regard me as an extra teacher, but on the other hand I struggled at times to maintain a distance from events and to keep up with my field notes. It also meant that my voice is frequently audible in the classroom recordings; this made it even more important to be reflexive about my role in the research, as I literally became part of the data I was analysing.

It is evident from the recordings, especially from the class at Eastfields, that my role in the classroom and the way I was positioned by Diane varied: at times I am clearly the intended audience for her humorous asides or comments not intended for students, and at others I am used as an exemplar to students of a 'typical Brit' – thus exemplifying the point I made earlier (4.2.1) about integrating the inside/local and the outside/larger context. I note this here in passing but will examine my role further in the empirical chapters 7 and 8 which are based closely on analysis of several episodes from the recordings of classrooms. I move on now, however, to describe the main data generating methods in my classroom research: field notes and audio recordings.

4.3.4 Data summary, field notes and audio recordings

To begin this section I offer a summary in table form of the data I gathered at Eastfields and Northside. These tables show the number of observations I made and the amount of recorded data I gathered across the two sites. In addition I collected paperwork associated with planning, such as schemes of work, lesson plans and classroom materials such as texts and worksheets. I also carried out interviews with students and teachers which I discuss in section 4.3.5.

Phase of research	Number of observations	Hours in field	Number of classes recorded	Hours of classroom recordings
Course 1 18-10-07 – 22-11-07	3	14.5	None	None
Course 2 08-05-08 – 26-06-08	7	38.5	6	Approx. 30 hours
Course 3 11-09-08 – 06-11-08	7 (+ visit to Westminster)	28	7	Approx. 24 hours
Total	**17**	**81**	**13**	**Approx. 54 hours**

Figure 1 Eastfields summary of field work and data gathered

Phase of research	Number of observations	Hours in field	Number of classes recorded	Hours of classroom recordings
Semester 1 26-09-08 – 14-11-08	6	13 h 15 minutes	2	Approx. 5 hours
Semester 2 27-02-09 – 18-06-09	6	12 h 45 minutes	5	Approx. 12 hours
Total	**12**	**26**	**7**	**Approx. 17 hours**

Figure 2 Northside summary of field work and data gathered

The total numbers of hours of classroom recordings across the two sites, therefore, is approximately 71. In the course of the field work I also made a total of 103 typed pages of field notes, 74 at Eastfields and 29 at Northside, meaning that, as in most ethnography,

they were a central source of data. The approach I adopted was to take 'comprehensive' notes (Richards 2003: 136), i.e. to write down as much as possible by hand during an observation without looking consciously for anything in particular (Wolcott 1994: 161). For this I did not follow a pre-designed schedule or system but used blank sheets with the headings: Time, Grouping (i.e. whole class, pairs, small groups etc.), Observed Learning Activities/Learning Events and Notes and Comments. The field notes themselves went through various iterations and served several purposes. Soon after each observation I typed up the field notes at the same time as I listened to the classroom recordings; this allowed me to add details I had missed and to add my own reflections and analytic memos about the research as it progressed, thus providing me with a fairly complete record of each lesson as well as a record of how my thinking developed throughout the field work. An example of the field notes for the lesson on 05-06-08 is available at Appendix A[44]. I later used the field notes to firstly code the whole set of recorded data and then to identify which parts of the data I wished to transcribe and look at in more detail (see section 4.4). I thus revisited my field notes on numerous occasions, and made additions to them as I went along. The field notes can therefore be viewed as a living record of the classroom events and of my analysis as it unfolded and an expression of my 'deepening local knowledge, emerging sensitivities and evolving substantive concerns and theoretical insights' (Emerson *et al* 2001: 355)

Audio recordings were the other essential data gathering method I employed in my field work and, as I suggest above, these served to supplement and refine my field notes, and as an essential source of data when I came to analyse closely some of the episodes I discuss in Chapters 7 and 8. The lessons were recorded using a high quality digital recorder which I usually placed in a central place in the classroom; when the students were engaged in small group work it would be placed near one of the groups. Neither the teachers nor students seemed to be bothered or fazed by the recorder and most of the time we all forgot it was there. The recordings made possible by this method were of a good enough quality to hear all the individual voices in a whole class interaction and with the aid of my memory and field notes I was usually able to tell which person was which in recordings of group interactions. For the purposes of hearing the teacher and students speaking in whole class, then, my method of recording was adequate and provided me with a lot of data I was able to work with when I started my analysis later on.

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[44] In order to protect the anonymity of the teacher and students all the Appendices have been heavily anonymised and modified

There were some drawbacks to using a single audio recorder as opposed to video or multiple recordings of individuals using lapel mics, though, particularly in the classes at Northside. The teacher, Janette, tended to teach most of the time in a style which involved the students working individually or in small groups on worksheets and activities such as reading and writing. By way of example, in an analytic memo from my field notes after several observations at Northside, I wrote the following:

> Janette rarely addresses the whole class even when giving instructions; she tends to speak in a very low voice and has to repeat herself many times, often telling each student or pair individually what she wants them to do. More often than not everyone is engaged in a separate activity, some which may have begun the week before or have spanned several weeks, people arrive at different times during the lesson and for me, as an observer, it is often very difficult to identify what is going on. (Field notes, Northside, 10-10-08)

In Janette's class, therefore, both note-taking and making sense of recorded lessons was very challenging and in fact was one of the reasons – although not by any means the most decisive – I chose to focus my fine-grained analysis on Diane's talk rather than Janette's. Despite this drawback to my methods of recording, however, I did end up with a fairly comprehensive data set from both classes which I set about trying to be accountable to in my analysis. Before I move on to discuss how I did this, I will briefly discuss my use of interviews in this project.

4.3.5 Interviews

During the course of my fieldwork I had many informal conversations about the ESOL citizenship classes with both the teachers and students, e.g. during breaks, before and after lessons, during 'conversation club' at Northside and the occasions I went out on visits with the Eastfields class. This kind of informal 'interviewing' is regarded as an essential dimension in ethnographic research (Richards 2003: 51). By way of supplementing this, though, and in order to clarify particular aspects of the field sites I was uncertain about, I carried out semi-structured one to one interviews with the two teachers, a focus group interview and two one to one interviews with students in each group (see Appendices C, D and E for interview schedules and topic guides). As I discussed in 4.3.1, I decided early on in the research that my main focus was not going to be on the experiences of students, so the knowledge and insights I gained from my interviews with them are not central to this

thesis, although I do quote from them occasionally to illustrate a particular point. The teacher interviews play a more important role, particularly in Chapter 5, in which I draw on them in my exploration of how the citizenship programme was inserted into ESOL in their institutions and how citizenship came to be constructed in their lessons. Without the insights I gained from the interviews, my analysis of these aspects of the ESOL citizenship programme would have remained partial and somewhat 'etic', i.e. my observations would be categorised only according to my own analytic frameworks. For this reason, interviewing is regarded by many ethnographers as a fundamental method which is used alongside observation to provide a more 'emic'[45], or 'insider' perspective on local meanings (Watson-Gegeo 1988).

Interviewing is one of the main, if not *the* main, methods of data generation in the social sciences (Silverman 2000) and as such there is a large literature on it which I will not try to summarise in this chapter. However, given that I do draw on my two teacher interviews quite extensively in Chapter 5, it is necessary to give a brief summary of how I carried out the interviews and the methodological issues I bore in mind when I analysed and interpreted them. The literature on how to conduct qualitative research interviews tends to divide them into various types along a continuum from structured to unstructured (or 'in-depth', the term preferred by some ethnographers see e.g. Spradley 1979), structured interviews being those which ask informants the same standardised questions in the same order, and unstructured being open-ended conversations with few or no pre-planned questions (Punch 2009: 145, Freebody 2003: 133). My interviews fell somewhere in the middle of this continuum, i.e. they were semi-structured interviews which loosely followed a topic guide (see Appendix E) but which were open enough to be conversation-like (Denzin and Lincoln 1994) and to allow for deviations should these arise. The interviews took place half way through the field work in both sites, and were focused on two main areas of interest: a) the practical aspects of the courses, how they had been set up, how the lessons were planned, how the teachers addressed the needs of the particular students in their groups and so on, and b) the teachers' own views on citizenship and the insertion of citizenship into ESOL.

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[45] 'Emic' refers to culturally based perspectives, interpretations, and categories used by members of the group under study to conceptualize and encode knowledge and to guide their own behaviour. Emic terms, concepts, and categories are therefore functionally relevant to the behaviour of the people studied by the ethnographer. An analysis built on emic concepts incorporates the participants' perspectives and interpretations of behaviour, events, and situations and does so in the descriptive language they themselves use (Watson-Gegeo 1988: 580)

Some of the content in the interviews therefore consisted of facts and information which helped me understand more clearly how the courses had come about and why the teachers approached them in the way they did. This kind of interview data can be viewed as a 'resource' (Hammersley 2003, Seale 1998) i.e. taken on face value as a source of information and analysed as such. This was a valuable addition to the picture I had gained of the two classes and the institutions in which they were embedded. The other data produced in the teacher interviews had to be viewed more discursively, however, as they were derived from questions about the nature of citizenship, the politics of the government's programme and the problems facing teachers in addressing some of this in class. I was in effect expecting the teachers to both 'self-analyse' (Hammersley 2003: 124) and to talk in an informed way about a complex political/philosophical topic. It was necessary to bear in mind the warnings in most contemporary literature (e.g. Atkinson and Coffey 2002, Silverman 2000) that what people say in research interviews cannot be taken at face value as a window into 'how things are' and that the view that interviews capture people's 'genuine voices' is somewhat romantic (Gubrium and Holstein 2002: 11). Instead, the interview needs to be viewed as a situated, co-constructed event in which both interviewer and interviewee present themselves in particular ways and take particular interactionally produced stances. These particular ways are contingent on the conditions of the interview itself, i.e. how the participants view the event, the relationship between them and how questions are framed: questions in particular 'shape the grounds or the footings on which the participants can and should speak' (Baker 1997: 131). Martyn Hammersley (2003) characterises this view of interviews as follows:

> The argument is that what people say in interviews is closely attuned to the local context, and is driven by a preoccupation with self-presentation and/or with persuasion of others, rather than being concerned primarily with presenting facts about the world or about the informant him or herself. So, the interview is a social occasion and what is said there is socially constructed and reflects the particularities of the context. (p. 120)

The interview thus produces 'situated understandings grounded in specific interactional episodes' (Denzin and Lincoln 1994: 353) and 'reality' is constructed by both parties as they strive to accomplish the interview together. In my analysis of the teacher interviews, therefore, I refrained from viewing the teachers' words about citizenship and ESOL as a window into their unchanging, fixed opinions and took them instead as one version produced in a specific interaction which would not necessarily be the same in another

context. I bore in mind that they were presenting an account of themselves to someone who, despite a certain degree of friendly familiarity with them, was also a researcher who had been observing them for some time in their professional activities and was now asking them to account for some of their behaviour and some of their opinions.

When it came to the analysis of the teacher interviews I followed a basic two-stage process as advocated by Lyn Richards (2005). The first stage, 'topic coding' – also known in the literature as 'descriptive coding' (Miles and Huberman 1994) – involved identifying themes in the interview and giving them a simple label; these codes then helped to form the sections in Chapter 5. These were: the teachers' roles in their department; how the courses were set up; how the teachers planned their courses; their views on citizenship; their views on students and their views on language learning. The second stage, known by Richards (ibid.) as 'analytic coding' or by Miles and Huberman (ibid) as 'pattern coding' required looking at the interviews as a 'topic', in Clive Seale's (1998) terms, and involved taking a closer look not just at what the teachers said, but *how*, i.e. what were the emotions and feelings attached to what they said? What seemed important to them and what did they ignore or play down? What metaphors did they employ to discuss citizenship and learning and their students? What stories did they tell? How did what the teachers say about citizenship relate to the academic literature? This phase required an element of interpretation and a higher degree of inference than the first phase, and formed the basis of my discussion in Chapter 5. One of the interesting points which emerged from my analysis of the teacher interviews is that despite taking care to avoid interpreting what the teachers said as a 'window' into their actions outside of the interview, there did seem to be a certain degree of congruence between what they said and their classroom practices and stances (cf. Roberts *et al* 1992b), a theme which I will return to in more depth in Chapters 5-8. Meanwhile, in the final section of this chapter I turn my attention to how I analysed and was accountable to the central element of my data, that generated in the classrooms themselves.

4.4 Handling and analysing classroom data

In his methodological guidelines for ethnographic research, Hugh Mehan (1979: 21) recommended that analysis should be carried out on every item of data gathered. Commenting on Mehan's proposal, Watson-Gegeo (1988: 585) writes:

> One of the greatest weaknesses in many published studies is their reliance on a few anecdotes used to support the researcher's theoretical point of view or conclusions, but chosen by criteria usually not clarified for the reader. When illustrative examples are presented in an ethnographic report, they should be the result of a systematic selection of representative examples, in which both variation and central tendency or typicality in the data are reflected. Anything less caricatures rather than characterizes what the ethnographer has observed and recorded

Similarly, in a 1984 paper 'What makes school ethnography ethnography?' Frederick Erickson recommended that ethnographers ask the following 'test questions' of their work: How did you arrive at your overall point of view? What did you leave out and what did you leave in? What was your rationale for selection? From the universe of behaviour available to you, how much did you monitor? Why did you monitor behaviour in some situations and not in others? What grounds do you have for determining meaning from the actors' points of view? (p.7). In the next two sections I describe the steps I took to address these questions and how I attempted to be accountable to all of the data I had gathered.

4.4.1 Episodes

Being accountable to my classroom data involved listening and reading through all the recordings and field notes, coming up with a useable coding system and only later drilling down into the data to transcribe and analyse parts of lessons; for a large data set such as mine this was a fairly time-consuming stage. The first step I took as I went along was to group the materials I had for each lesson – field notes, lesson plans, materials and digital recordings – into separate computer and hard-copy folders. I then went through these and compiled an overview of the contents of all the lessons at both sites (see Appendix B) which made it easier for me to know broadly where certain bits of data were, where particular topics were dealt with and so on. I then went through all the lessons again and divided each one into broad happenings, phases or stages. Researchers have used different concepts and terms to characterise these: those working in the tradition of the ethnography of communication employ the terms 'activity types' or 'tasks' (Duff 2002); other researchers (e.g. Bloome *et al* 2005; Castanheira *et al* 2007; Green and Wallat 1981) use the term 'event'. The concept which I use in this study is adopted from Lemke (1989) (see also Baynham 1996 and Baynham *et al* 2007) who uses the notion 'episode'. An episode can be defined as:

> a bounded sequence, identifiable by both formal and semantic criteria. Formally it is typically initiated and closed by the teacher using easily identifiable sequences of opening and closing moves. Semantically it corresponds to… the activity structure

of the lesson (phases of teacher presentation, small group work, individual work) (Baynham 1996: 190).

Lemke points out there are different kinds of episodes; one distinction he makes, for example, is between 'on-task' episodes – i.e. which focus on the official business of the lesson, such as completing worksheets – and 'off-task' episodes, i.e. in which the focus is on topics not connected to the thematic development of the lesson, such as the teacher, or a student, talking about her weekend. Whilst this was evident in my data, I did not use it as the main distinction between episode types because frequently the nature of the episode was hybrid and complex; for example, the teacher at Eastfields, Diane, often went on and off task, in Lemke's terms, several times in any one short stretch, or inserted extended personal anecdotes into feedback sessions on a completed worksheet or other activity, whilst at Northside Janette often had different students engaged in different activities. Instead, I identified several common episode types in my data which corresponded to a different 'participation framework' (Goffman 1981) i.e. the arrangements for talk or the configurations of participants around an utterance. Each participant framework has a different potential for opening up or closing down interaction for particular participants (the control of this in classrooms being often, but not always, in the hands of the teacher), and each affords different opportunities for interacting with the academic or social content of the lesson. The most typical of these were: teacher giving instructions; pair/group activities; 'plenaries' after group tasks; student presentations; whole class discussions (planned and unplanned) and 'talk around tasks' (whole class discussions arising whilst doing classroom activities such as e.g. checking a worksheet). The 'talk around task' was one of the episode types I analysed in more depth as it was particularly salient in Diane's class at Eastfields and as such formed the basis for my discussion in Chapters 7 and 8. The first stage of analysis, then, consisted of a process which culminated in each lesson divided into episodes. Once I had done this, the next step was to code each one so I had a readily accessible record of what happened in each lesson and a system which I could use to identify parts of lessons when it came to doing more detailed discourse analysis; an example of what this looked like in the 05-06-08 lesson is available at Appendix F.

4.4.2 Coding

In a lecture on ethnography given in 2006, Michael Agar had this to say about coding:

> 'Coding' is a name for reducing a lot of complicated material into a smaller set of categories. Ethnographies always involve a lot of complicated material, like transcripts of conversational interviews and field notes. How do you code?

> Ethnographers develop codes interactively with the material itself before they address any theory. In fact, their codes change with time. Stable codes from outside, like from a prior theory, with none from inside, are a sure sign of an unacceptable ethnography. (Agar 2006: para. 30)

To a large extent my own procedure resembled the one described by Agar; the codes were developed as I worked through the material dividing it into episodes, and changed several times during this process. Before I describe the changes they went through, though, I show in figure 3 the version of the four codes I finally employed:

Code	Description
C	**Citizenship** Activities in which the students are being explicitly oriented to 'citizenship'. This includes: a) topics which appear in the official handbook and materials b) topics which are related to/extend from those in a) c) topics which appear as 'citizenship' on the scheme of work. [e.g. 'work', 'your child's school' 'health'] d) topics referred to as citizenship by Janette or Diane
L	**Language work**: Activities in which students are being oriented explicitly to 'language'. This includes: a) focus on linguistic form: grammar, vocabulary. b) focus on 'skills' development e.g. reading, writing, speaking, listening c) focus on discourse development e.g. turn-taking, communication strategies, presentations, argumentation.
E	**Exam related**. Activities in which students are being oriented explicitly towards their exam. This includes: a) exam training b) classroom activities oriented to the exam e.g. presentations, writing in class
CM	**Classroom management** Activities in which students are being oriented to work related to college bureaucracy and procedures (e.g. individual learning plans, progression) and classroom activities such as 'getting to know you'/ice-breakers.
Other	**Uncoded:** Instructions, chat between activities.

Figure 3 The ESOL citizenship codes

There are several things I need to note here about these codes. Firstly, as Agar points out, by its nature a 'code' reduces complex materials to a smaller set of categories. The four codes I ended up with were originally considerably more numerous because I started by attempting to reflect more accurately the complexity of each episode. For example, I tried at first to code participant frameworks, e.g. formations such as whole group/students in pairs, different types of citizenship and implicit as well as explicit language work, as well as how codes overlapped within episodes. In the case of overlap, I tried to use more than one code if an episode seemed to require more than one, for example, in cases where the students were doing exam practice but doing this by talking about a citizenship-type theme, or doing language work in which the topic was a citizenship one, or doing a citizenship topic but in an exam-like way (see Chapter 6). At the point of coding, however, this proved

difficult and confusing, especially given that 'implicit language work' co-occurred in any episode with any of the other codes.

I finally decided to opt for a simpler method of coding: guided by the question: 'what are the students orienting to or being oriented to and what is this activity aimed at helping them to do?' one code was allocated to each episode. In this way I was able to use the 'inside' categories provided by the data rather than 'outside' categories provided by the literature on citizenship. This will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 6, but using 'inside' categories meant that lots of episodes were coded as 'citizenship' which would be unlikely to seem very 'citizenship-like' to a theorist of citizenship. For example, in one of the Northside lessons (04-11-08) students watched a video on the Notting Hill carnival and focused on the adjectives employed in the video to describe it. After some deliberation, this was coded as 'citizenship' rather than 'language work' because a) festivals are part of the cultural knowledge which appears as 'citizenship' knowledge in the official materials and b) because the adjectives are being focused on to help students talk about festivals and therefore an aspect of 'citizenship', at least according to the inside logic of the class. In another lesson at Northside, students completed a worksheet entitled 'Why Vote?' which I coded as 'language' rather than 'citizenship' as the students were being oriented to the problem of punctuation, not to political participation.

The disparity and variety of content coded as 'citizenship' in this stage of the analysis pointed to one of the features I had noticed about citizenship itself and which I was by then reading frequently in the literature I cite in Chapter 1: citizenship is 'polyvalent' (Joppke 2010: 1) and 'chameleon-like' (Wahl-Jorgensen 2006: 198) and, as Janette said in her interview (see Chapter 5, 5.2.1), lots of different topics and concepts can be caught in the citizenship 'net'. Thus, the coding process highlighted early on a key issue for my analysis, i.e. the relationship between traditional ESOL and ESOL citizenship classes: how different were they? Where were the overlaps? What counted as ESOL and what as citizenship? What kinds of knowledge were regarded as citizenship knowledge?

In summary, the coding process pointed to the complexity of 'citizenship' itself and was at times complicated and confusing; in the end I settled for codes which afforded less nuance but which did allow me to obtain a picture of the two classes as a whole and enabled me to quantify how much time was allotted to each broad activity. This also afforded an insight

into the pull of other concerns on the ESOL citizenship syllabus, a theme I develop in Chapters 5 and 6. Also, despite the difficulty of coding citizenship, the process gave me pointers as to where I wished to focus more closely in my analysis, i.e. the topics which were considered 'citizenship' in these classes, some of which were associated with the official citizenship programme and some which were more similar to traditional ESOL concerns. In the final two sections I discuss briefly how I went about choosing and analysing the focal extracts which are the subject of Chapters 7 and 8.

4.4.3 Identifying episodes for analysis

The first step in choosing the episodes for closer analysis was to read through and listen again to all of those which had been coded as 'citizenship' in the Eastfields data. The main criterion for choosing episodes were that they were frequently occurring and therefore typical of the data as a whole. It was notable that almost all of the discussions which took place in Diane's class and in which her stances became particularly salient happened during a frequently occurring episode type which I labelled 'talk around task' (cf. 'talk around texts' in Cooke and Wallace 2004 and in Sunderland *et al* 2001). These consisted of sequences in which Diane and the students discussed topics related to a task such as a worksheet or a quiz they had either just done in groups or were doing together in the whole group. I therefore decided to look mainly at this episode type and chose three of them to work on closely; these form the basis of Chapters 7 and 8. These episodes all occurred in a broadly similar format three times across my data, i.e. they were repeated in the three courses I observed, so I was able say with some confidence that they contributed – at least partially – to the local teacher-led 'citizenship curriculum' at Eastfields.

Having 'episode' as my unit of analysis meant I was working with quite long stretches of classroom data; in some cases the episode lasted up to 30 minutes. The rationale for this decision was partly based in my desire to be accountable to all of my data and the fact that micro actions are 'embedded in classroom activities which are in turn part of larger curriculum units' (Cazden 2001: 81) and partly because my main interest – teacher stance – was located across stretches of classroom activity; as Jaffe (2009c: 123) comments, 'teacher stances can be interpreted in discrete moments of interaction but must also be traced across longer time trajectories in order to capture patterns of stance-taking'. For each episode I produced a transcript, listened to the recording multiple times and engaged in an 'analytic brainstorm' (Lefstein and Snell 2014: 187) in which I went through the transcript

line by line to get a picture of what was happening, what the participants were doing, what wordings they had selected, what they seemed to mean, what stances were observable and how they were being displayed. For each episode I wrote a fairly lengthy summary in which I started to write about some of the emerging themes which later became Chapters 7 and 8. I then checked across the rest of the data for occasions in which the same theme occurred and made further transcriptions of these extracts (a summary of these is available as Appendix G). I thus ended up with an overview of how the main topics were dealt with across the classroom data as a whole and I was able to build a picture of several frequently occurring features – stance resources – which Diane drew on to express her stances and to position her students.

4.4.4 Identifying extracts for closer analysis

Adam Jaworski and Crispin Thurlow (2009: 216) comment that whilst stance-taking acts might individually be 'fleeting, performatively accreting moments of stance-taking… they appear to function collectively and cumulatively'. So, like the examples in Jaffe (2007, 2009c) and others in the stance literature (e.g. Johnstone 2007), as well as those analysed by Davies and Harré (1990) in their work on positioning (see Chapter 3, 3.5), it is not just one stance-taking or positioning act which is significant but the way in which these cluster, cumulate and build together to create an identifiable stable-seeming stance – which in turn indexes ideologies, social hierarchies, values and morals in the larger social world. A further feature of stance which needs to be borne in mind during analysis is its relational nature; taking one stance means there are others a speaker is not taking and knowing the range of possibilities of how a person could talk about a topic helps us to interpret the choice s/he does make. As Coupland and Coupland (2007) put it: 'the meaning of adopting a particular stance in a particular context is filled out contrastively in reference to other culturally familiar stances that could have been but were not adopted' (p.228).

Positioning and stance-taking were therefore achieved by drawing on a range of resources and produced accumulatively across longish episodes in my classroom data. Analytically, it was not possible to point to a one to one relationship between the stance resources and the stances themselves; each resource had more than one function and was used to express more than one stance. Similarly, sometimes more than one resource was deployed at the same time in the same episode. My discussion in Chapters 7 and 8, therefore, shows how Diane's stances were expressed by several resources and how these worked together to

provide a cumulative picture of how stances were displayed and how students were positioned.

The stance/positioning resources I identified in my classroom data and which I analyse in Chapters 7 and 8 were: 1) participation frameworks, in particular the IRE which served to position students sometimes as 'not-knowers' and sometimes as experts on their countries of origin; 2) 'comparative pedagogy', a set of activities which encouraged students to compare the UK with their home countries; 3) activities such as role plays and quizzes which served to distance the teaching from the experiences of students as citizens of the UK; 4) the use of pronouns – a 'key positioning device' (Bamberg 1997: 358) – to show solidarity, alignment, disalignment or distance; 5) the exercising of teacherly authority to deflect attention from or close down certain topics; 6) humour and 7) personalisation, which was realised through fleeting intrusions of Diane's private persona into the classroom and 8) the telling of stories, both canonical and personal (for the latter two see Chapter 3, 3.5.4); as I show in Chapter 8, narratives were one of the most commonly used stance resources in my data. Having described the process I went through to identify the stances displayed in my data, in the next, penultimate, section I briefly describe the issues I bore in mind when creating transcripts of some of my audio-recorded data.

4.4.5 Transcription

My field work generated two sub sets of data which required transcription, the teacher interviews and the classroom recordings. My transcriptions became a 'workspace' (Lefstein and Snell 2014: 187) where I recorded notes and memos and which I returned to again and again during my analysis and were therefore of central importance in the process. However, a transcription is not the data itself (Kvale 1996: 182) but rather a representation of it and as such decisions have to be made about what to include – and, essentially, how – in order to maintain a balance between 'accuracy, readability and political issues of representation' (Roberts 1997: 168). These decisions are about whether to transcribe features of talk such as false starts, repetition, hesitation and so on as well as, importantly, how to represent non-standard speech. This was particularly pertinent in my data in which there were many speakers using learner varieties of English. On some occasions, these learners were quite difficult to understand and therefore some of my transcripts are marked by more symbols representing intelligibility than I would have desired. With regards to how I have represented their spoken English, I decided where possible to maintain the grammatical

features of their learner variety, except in a few cases where this would cause confusion for the reader, in which I have modified the transcription accordingly. For both the teachers and students, however, I have avoided any attempt to represent non-standard phonological features of their talk, i.e. their accents, mainly because this was not relevant to my analysis but also because this can feed into negative judgements of stigmatised ways of speaking (Roberts 1997). In order to preserve some of the students' identities, however, I have supplied information about their countries of origin, thereby offering some clue as to their particular learner variety.

The teacher interviews and classroom transcripts were approached in slightly different ways but in each case I was guided by the level of detail I felt was necessary for my purposes in my analysis. In the case of the teacher interviews I was concerned not so much with the linguistic features of the teacher's speech but with the messages they conveyed about their professional lives; the transcripts were therefore basic ones in which I aimed to accurately capture the words spoken by the interviewees along with some basic prosodic features such as voice pitch and paralinguistic cues such as laughter. My concern with the classroom data was also principally with the transmission of meaning, i.e. through the words, phrases and longer stretches such as narratives uttered by the teacher and students, but it was also necessary to show a) features of interaction involving multiple participants such as overlaps, latches and people speaking at once and b) some prosodic features which indicated the key of the talk, such as humour, seriousness and so on. In accordance with usual practice I do not use punctuation marks to represent questions and the ends of utterances so where these are not obvious from the syntax I represent them with symbols to represent rising and falling intonation. In terms of layout, the classroom transcripts are presented in rows with a break to reflect the prosodic features of the utterance. The symbols used in my classroom extracts are provided in a key shown in figure 4. This is adapted from that used Adam Lefstein and Julia Snell (2014) who analysed classroom extracts of a similar length to the ones in my study and at a similar level of detail.

Classroom data: transcription key	
(xxxxx)	Indistinguishable speech
(text)	Transcription uncertainty
(.)	Brief pause
(2)	Longer pause (number indicates length to one whole second)
(( ))	Description of non-verbal activity or transcriber's comment

[	Overlapping talk
[	
=	Latched talk i.e. when there is no gap between one speaker's utterance and the next
@text@	Laughing
<u>text</u>	Emphasised relative to surrounding words
te:xt	Stretched sound
te-	Word cut off
>text<	Speech delivered more rapidly than surrounding speech
<text>	Speech delivered more slowly than surrounding speech
°text°	Speech spoken in a low voice
↓	Falling tone
↑	Rising tone
↑↓	Rising then falling tone
↓↑	Falling then rising tone
(adapted from Lefstein and Snell 2014: xiii)	

Figure 4 Transcription key

4.5 Conclusion

I started this chapter by outlining the research fields which provided the orientation for my study: linguistic ethnography and classroom ethnography. As Lefstein and Snell (2013: 185) comment, linguistic ethnography is not a method in the sense of a set of techniques that need to be followed but rather an 'analytic disposition' and a 'general orientation to thinking about data'. In my study this orientation meant considering various layers of context, being reflexive and being accountable to all of the data I generated. After giving some details about the teachers, the students and the field sites I then moved on to dedicate the rest of the chapter to how I handled my data and how I attempted to analyse it. To do this I passed through four stages: the first involved listening several times to all the classroom recordings and interviews to garner a sense of the overall nature of the two classrooms and emerging themes. The second, which might be described as a 'meso' level phase, involved applying codes to broad categories across every lesson. The third phase, which applied only to Diane's class at Eastfields, involved employing the codes to identify citizenship-related episodes from which I chose three typical ones which contained features which occurred frequently throughout the rest of the classroom data. These were transcribed and worked on in close detail. During this phase I identified a set of resources which Diane drew on to position students and to display her stances; examples of these were then selected and analysed and provided the main body and argument of Chapters 7 and 8. By way of a summary, then, and by way of ending this chapter and moving on to the

empirical chapters, figure 5 provides an overview of my research questions, the chapters in which they are addressed and the data I drew on to do so.

Research question	Chapter	Data and analysis
How was citizenship inserted into ESOL in two different colleges of further education?	5	Field notes Teacher interviews
What were the characteristics of the two ESOL citizenship classes?	6	Coded classroom data derived from field notes and classroom recordings
In what ways did pedagogy position students and what were the effects of these positionings?	7	Extracts from episode analyses showing: - The IRE sequence - Comparative pedagogy - Classroom tasks and activities - Personalising pedagogy - Distancing
What stances on Britain and British citizenship were evident in one of the teacher's pedagogic practices and classroom talk?	8	Extracts from episode analyses showing: -Classroom narratives -Personalisation -The exercise of teacherly authority to sidestep interactional trouble

Figure 5 Outline of research questions and data analysed

In the next chapter, the first of my empirical chapters, my focus is on the institutional and professional contexts which formed the backdrop to my study. I will suggest that stance, although a concept which allows for individual agency and choice, has to be interpreted 'in light of the relative degree to which particular contexts shape or constrain individual action or expression' (Jaffe 2009b: 12). This is particularly the case in classroom research because, as Jaffe (2009c: 122) points out, 'teachers, like all other occupants of heavily specified social roles and positions take up personal stances with respect to the normative expectations associated with those roles'. The stances taken by the teachers in my study have to be viewed against this backdrop; many of the choices they make and the positions they take up are shaped and constrained by institutional factors and the need to juggle many demands from within and without the classroom itself; these factors are the subject of Chapter 5.

Chapter 5: Planning for ESOL citizenship

5.1 Introduction

In Chapters 1 and 2 I mapped the various meanings of citizenship and showed how the concept was taken up by the New Labour government after 1997. I suggested that the chameleon-like, polyvalent (Joppke 2010) nature of citizenship meant it could be employed as a solution to perceived problems in several different areas of policy, i.e. welfare reform, community cohesion and immigration. In some of the legislation and public debates at the time, the question of English language competence and knowledge of 'life in the UK' amongst migrants became central: it was argued that new citizens needed a certain level of English in order to participate fully in British society and to gain access to their full set of rights but also that a lack of English was one of the causes of a breakdown in community cohesion in some parts of the UK, and that English was one of the markers of a common British culture (Cameron 2013). These arguments underpinned the introduction of citizenship into ESOL courses and from 2005, citizenship was expected to be incorporated into all publicly funded ESOL provision, if not in every course, then at least in every department.

As I discussed in Chapter 3 (3.3.2), as a result of this policy ESOL teachers became teachers of citizenship and British culture with little preparation or training beyond that offered by NIACE to familiarise teachers with the official materials. There was, however, considerable leeway as to how providers of ESOL could tackle the citizenship requirement and this chapter explores how the policy was incorporated into two ESOL departments, Northside and Eastfields, addressing the research sub-question 'how was citizenship inserted into ESOL in two different colleges of further education?' There was also some flexibility within institutions as to how individual teachers inserted citizenship into their classroom practice and the rest of the thesis is concerned with how two teachers did this and what their resulting ESOL citizenship classes were like. In Chapter 6 I move inside the two classrooms and discuss the characteristics of each one, with a particular focus on classroom constructions of citizenship, and in Chapters 7 and 8 I take a closer look at the classroom talk and practice of one of the teachers, Diane. Before that though, in an attempt to 'take context seriously' when discussing policy (Braun et al 2011b), I describe the settings in which the teachers worked, paying particular attention to the college environments as experienced by the two teachers, their material and professional

conditions and what they took into account when planning for the teaching of citizenship. In their study of forty ESOL classes in London and the north of England, Mike Baynham, Celia Roberts and colleagues (2007: 39) pointed out that approaches to planning amongst the teachers they studied were 'strongly influenced by policy requirements'; part of this chapter will be concerned with how this played out for Janette and Diane. However, Baynham and Roberts *et al* also found that there were other equally important influences on planning i.e. 'stance and professional life history, as well as materials and theories of learning' (ibid.) – what Stephen Ball and colleagues call 'professional contexts' (2012: 21, Braun *et al* 2011b) – and in this chapter I pay attention to these elements as well.

5.1.2 Notes on data and methodology

Before I begin, it is necessary to add a note about the sources of data I drew on for this chapter and how I used them in my analysis. Having been employed as an ESOL teacher at Eastfields and having carried out research at both colleges, I did have some prior knowledge of the two sites; this chapter is based on this existing knowledge supplemented by the ethnographic field notes I made during my visits and my teacher interviews. As such I can provide only a partial picture of a small section of two highly complex institutions and the individual perspectives of two people (mine and the teacher) on those institutions. That said, my data provide quite a vivid picture of how the colleges were experienced by the two teachers and give an insight into their 'professional vision' (Goodwin 1994) i.e. their distinctive ways of 'seeing' their profession and their stances towards the college and policy contexts in which they worked. Baynham and Roberts *et al* (2007: 40) report that interviews with ESOL teachers for their study afforded valuable insights into how their professional vision was formed and what it seemed to consist of:

> The development of professional vision seems to involve developing insights that go beyond 'the classroom scene' into the college system and wider context in which ESOL teaching and learning is embedded… Based on funds of knowledge and judgement, derived from their professional and life histories, the experienced professional can take up a position, a reasoned stance on any particular issue in the classroom or the surrounding environment, resulting in informed action.

As I discussed in Chapters 3 and 4, in this thesis I am using the notion of 'stance' to look both at talk and interaction as it unfolds moment by moment in the classroom (Chapter 7 and 8) and in a broader sense as it is used by Baynham and Roberts *et al* to describe how teachers position themselves with regards to the different facets of their work:

> We use the term 'stance' to refer to how teachers position themselves in relation to the policy context and institutional structures within which they work, as well as in relation to their students, their teaching, and the ESOL profession itself. The teachers in our study position themselves in a range of ways in relation to different aspects of the policy environment. They also take up varying stances in relation to learners, teaching and learning and their sense of control in their working lives. (ibid: 37)

In this chapter, following Baynham and Roberts *et al*, I will be drawing quite extensively on the teacher interviews to gain insights into their professional vision and stance on various aspects of their roles, institutions and planning for ESOL citizenship. This is not to say, however, that I am taking what Janette and Diane reported in their interviews as providing *a priori* explanations as to why their classes were as they were. As I discussed in Chapter 4, my approach to interview data is to take them as 'situated understandings grounded in specific interactional episodes' (Denzin and Lincoln 1994: 353). It was necessary, therefore, to bear in mind that what the two teachers said in their interviews with me was interactionally produced, would not necessarily be replicated exactly in another context and cannot be said to provide a window into 'how things always are'. That said, I am of the opinion that the interview data gave me insights into a) elements of ESOL citizenship planning and teaching I would not otherwise have known about; b) the attitudes and feelings of the teachers towards their local conditions and c) their stances towards their students and their professional roles as teachers of ESOL which are more than just fleeting and evanescent (Johnstone 2009); I will suggest later (Chapters 6 – 8) that there were certain congruencies between the reflections made by Diane and Janette in their interviews and what happened in their classrooms.

The chapter is organised as follows: in section 5.2, I take each site in turn and offer brief descriptions of: a) the teachers' roles in their respective ESOL departments; b) how the ESOL citizenship courses were initially set up; c) how the schemes of work i.e. the 'manifest' (Erickson 1986) or 'intended' curricula (Cazden 2001) were produced and how the teachers planned for their courses. This is followed with a discussion about the material and professional conditions which shaped how the two teachers approached the insertion of citizenship into ESOL (5.2.3). In section 5.3 I explore elements of their professional contexts i.e. how they represent their values, commitments and experience (Ball *et al* 2012: 21), discussing in particular how the teachers discussed the relationship between ESOL and citizenship and how they talked about their perspectives on the needs and life experiences of the students in their classes.

5.2 Planning for the insertion of citizenship into ESOL in the two colleges

5.2.1 Northside

At the time of my research Janette had been a tutor in the ESOL department at one of the Northside campuses for six years. She worked part time and the class I observed was the only one she taught that year. As I described in the previous chapter (4.3.2) ESOL citizenship courses generally took two main forms (Taylor 2007: 55): citizenship was either incorporated into ESOL, which remained the main focus, or ESOL citizenship was offered as a separate course aimed at people who intended to apply for naturalisation. Northside adopted a version of the former approach, producing an institutional scheme of work which could be used by any teacher in the department and which would be appropriate for all ESOL students whether they were intending to apply for citizenship or not. This followed the established practice at Northside of producing institutional schemes of work which 'embedded' other subject areas into ESOL[46]; in the past there had been schemes produced for courses such as 'ESOL and care work', 'ESOL and retail' and so on. Staff were expected to contribute to the design of these courses and Janette was a member of the team which developed the ESOL citizenship scheme of work which was in use during the research.

Of course, a pre-written scheme cannot give much of a view as to what goes on once the course is underway and in Chapter 6 I describe what actually took place in the classes I observed. In this chapter, however, I supply the institutional scheme, describe how it was produced and how it incorporated citizenship into ESOL. Teachers were expected to use the institutional scheme but were allowed to adapt it if necessary; Janette's adaptation of the scheme of work for semester one is reproduced in figure 6 below:

Topic	Speaking and listening (main emphasis)	Reading and writing	Vocab/grammar
Week 1 Introductions Induction	Assessments: Talking about college and course	Reading assessments	
Week 2 Assessments Learning Centre induction	Assessments continued: coming to the UK: my learning experience Listening for new information: Learning Centre Lr/E3.1b Listening assessments	Writing assessments: my plans for the future	prepositions past simple
Week 3 Health I	Dialogues about ailments Talking about children's health *Citizenship mats Section 8.1*	A quiz about children's health *Citizenship mats 8.1*	Medical words Specialist health If....

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[46] See Roberts (2005) for more on the practice of 'embedding'

	Giving advice Sd/E3.1e *Citizen Skills CD* The NHS: listen for gist and new info Lr/E31b, 3a *Window on Britain video*		should
Week 4 Health 2	Emergency calls: ask for instructions, statements of fact Sc/E3.3c, 4a *Living in Britain Section B,* *Unit 3* Healthy Living: talk about research	Absence letters to school discourse markers Wt/E3.3a *Citizenship mats 8.1* Late night pharmacy, NHS direct website *Living in Britain Section B Unit 3* Articles on Healthy Living	Specialist vocab Imperative
Week 5 Community	Identify council services Phoning councils Listening to helplines Lr/E3.2a,b,c Sc/E3.3a,b *Living in Britain Section C*	Letter of complaint Wt/E3.1a,Ws/E3.1a, Ww/E3.2a Joining a library: forms Rw/E3.2a *Living in Britain Section C*	Polite requests Specialised vocab
Week 6 "Folder week" ILGs Reading books Presentations	Present reading book Talk about your ILGs	Read easy readers for pleasure Summarise/review books	Vocab revision
Week 7 Food and cultures	Comparing cultures and recipes in pairs: instructions Sc/E3.4e Listening to a recipe *Gordon Ramsey book and CD*	Write own recipe with sequence markers Wt/E3.3a Research recipe from another country *Learning centre*	Instructions quantities
HALF TERM			
Week 8 Festivals and religions I	Carnival: listening for gist Lr/E3.1b *IBI Multimedia or Connect ILT videos* Local festivals/fairs: report on these to class	Research a festival (not your own) in pairs Write up in pairs – structure in paras Wt/E3.2a *Learning Centre (religions 2.00), internet* *Local press for events*	Revision present simple modals
Week 9 Festivals II	Present research on festivals Listen to presentations Ask questions for information	A bit of British history: immigration to Britain: reading for gist and detail Rt/E3.5b.8a *Life in the UK (adapted)*	
Week 10 Diversity	Behaviour and relationships *Get on in the community CD* Coming to live here: listening and discussion Lr/E3.7a *What's it Like" Unit 2* Sex stereotypes *Talent website*	Quiz on diversity *Life in the UK (adapted)* Missing home: reading poetry about people's experience *What's it Like? Unit 2* Writing about missing home	Present perfect Since/ago Used to
Week 11 Folder week 2 Formative assessments	Speaking and listening assessments Watching exam video Present ILGs	Present and discuss ILGs Progress with reading books	
Week 12 Democracy	Comparing systems *Own worksheet+ Skills for Life L1* What makes a good citizen? *Skills for Life L1*	Contacting your MP: reading and writing a letter Rt/E3.4a, 8a, Wt/E3.2a Citizenship Mats Unit 2 Basic Skills for Life "Community and Country" (various worksheets)	Language for formal letter
Week 13 Exam practice	Exam practice in pairs – selection of topics		Forming questions and negatives

	eg housing, travel, leisure		
Week 14 Environment	Presentations in exam format on energy saving in the home Visit from energy conservation team: listen for relevant information *College intranet and handouts*	Reading about global warming : specialist key words Rw/E3.1a Basic Skills for Life "Global Citizen" (various worksheets)	Specialist vocab Modals for advice
WINTER BREAK			
Week 15 Exam practice	Practice in pairs – selection of topics Listen and respond to partner		Broadening your vocabulary
Week 16 Destinations Courses	Talking about future plans, courses and work Sd/E3.1c *Skills for life E3*	Using a prospectus College website Volunteer website www.use-it	Plan/want/hope to Would like to Modals Future with going to/will
Week 17 Exam practice	Selection of topics		

Figure 6 Northside scheme of work, autumn 2008

The scheme of work provided Janette (and the other teachers at Northside) with her lesson plans and in her words the scheme functioned as a kind of 'ground plan'. The main organising principle of the scheme is 'topic', as shown in the left hand column; this is intended to provide cohesion across a week or sometimes two weeks of lessons. A cursory look at the scheme suggests that the various kinds of knowledge represented in the ESOL citizenship programme texts – the political, the institutional and the everyday (see Chapter 3, 3.3.3) – are all included in this scheme. Janette reported that they designed the scheme by first going through the official NIACE citizenship materials (referred to as 'citizenship mats') and then other pre-published resources from which they chose citizenship-type topics: these included EFL materials (e.g. the *Connect ILT* video), the ESOL core curriculum materials, the *Life in the UK* handbook, pedagogic citizenship materials written for courses in adult education (e.g. the *Citizen Skills* CD) and material from adult basic education (e.g. *Basic Skills for Life*). This variety is indicative of *bricolage* or 'principled eclecticism', an approach to materials frequently found in ESOL in which, in the absence of a set course book, teachers engage in 'adapting, pick-and-mixing, cutting and pasting and creating their own resources' (Baynham et al 2007: 39); Ball et al (2011a: 615) also found that teachers implementing new policies from scratch frequently adopted this practice. The *Life in the UK* handbook (Home Office 2004, 2007) and NIACE materials (NIACE/LLU+ 2005) also encourage teachers to make their own choices by selecting from the 'compendium' of knowledge in the handbook (p. x) and in the materials a 'menu' which can be used to 'pick and mix' (p. vi). As I discuss later, the considerable leeway afforded to teachers meant that what happened inside the classroom was strongly dependent on their

individual choices and stances; for this reason there is likely to have been a wide variation of local ESOL citizenship syllabuses in use across the UK.

Planning for exams in this course was also of central importance, a feature which Northside shared in common with Eastfields (5.2.2). The second and third columns on the scheme focus on the 'skills' i.e. speaking, listening, reading and writing which correspond to the two Cambridge ESOL exams students had to take after semester 1 and semester 2. I discuss the issue of exams in some depth in Chapter 6 (6.4.1 and 6.6.1) but in terms of planning for the course, Janette in fact reported that the exam took precedence over other considerations in the design of the scheme:

```
1     M:     So in your planning which seems to drive that more is it the
2            exam outcome or the citizenship kind of input that you had
3            to design?
4     J:     I think probably the exam because citizenship
5            I hardly had to alter my scheme of work at all
6            to incorporate the citizenship
7            because ESOL is so much about that erm
8            and you know you can cast your net really wide
9            because you can include things like health education
10           even shopping and money
             [Interview extract 1, Janette]
```

Vocabulary and grammar are meant to be embedded within contexts created by the weekly topic and the scheme is cross-referenced to the adult ESOL core curriculum; this was regarded as good practice in the sector at the time and is signalled by codes such as Sd/E3.1e[47]. Of note in extract 1 for my discussion in section 5.3 are the comments Janette makes in line 5 in which she reports that the citizenship scheme of work was very similar to her existing ESOL scheme, so much so that she hardly had to alter it at all – but before I discuss this point more fully, I describe the planning process at Eastfields.

5.2.2 Eastfields

Diane had been a teacher at Eastfields for 8 years at the beginning of my fieldwork and was a full time member of staff at one of the campuses which provided adult basic education, ESOL and teacher training. In contrast to Northside, Diane's course, which was one of three that she was teaching in the course of the year, was an ESOL citizenship course specially designed for ESOL students needing to provide evidence of progress to the Home Office or for people who might at some point do the LITUK electronic test; the publicity for the course featured a picture of Big Ben with the wording superimposed on it:

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[47] Sd/E3.1e decoded as S= speaking; d=discussion skills; E3=Entry level 3; 1e is the entry in the sub-section of the curriculum document (DfES 2001)

'are you planning to become a UK citizen or apply for indefinite leave to remain? This new course will help you'. Although Diane reported that other teachers at Eastfields were addressing the need to incorporate citizenship into their general ESOL teaching, hers was the only course of its type at the college. The class had, in fact, been set up at Diane's instigation when she noticed an increase in the amount of students in her classes who were taking – and often failing, sometimes many times over – the citizenship test, especially since the law had extended the test to those wishing to reside in the UK (i.e. to obtain 'indefinite leave to remain').[48] In interview extract 2 Diane describes this initiative as follows:

```
1    D:    so I thought mm maybe this would work,
2          so I just you know I just went to my boss and suggested it
3          and one of the things they're very good at at the college
4          is that they're very open to ideas
5          you know they will run with an idea
6          if you say look let's try this out, so anyway we did
           [Interview extract 2, Diane]
```

Diane was responsible for designing the course from scratch and at the time could find no similar courses to emulate or draw on. She therefore based the scheme of work on the chapters of the official handbook (see Chapter 3, 3.3.1) with the aim of catering for two types of student: those who might wish to take the test itself and those who would provide proof of progress in English by passing the speaking and listening exam at the end of the course. Diane reported that, as at Northside, the first port of call in her planning was the official NIACE materials which were statutory on courses of this type. The scheme of work for the 2nd round of the research (Spring 2008) read as follows:

- o   1 May: Induction. Regions of Britain
- o   8th May: Immigration, population and asylum
- o   15th May: Women, family and children
- o   22nd May: Customs and traditions
     Half term
- o   5th June: You and decision making
- o   17th June: extra class: day trip to visit places important to British culture and history
- o   19th June: How Parliament works/mock exam
- o   26th June: You and the law/mock exam
- o   3rd July: Mock exam
- o   10th July: Skills for Life Speaking and Listening exam

Like Northside, 'topic' was the central organising principle of the Eastfields scheme of work, although as can be seen from this list, the scheme lacked the detail of the Northside

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[48] In 2007 the requirements for naturalisation were extended to ILR and particularly affected those wishing to join spouses in the UK. These people had only two years from arrival to apply, and for the first year they were not eligible for access to public funds to pay for ESOL classes. This was the source of considerable fear and anger amongst the students I interviewed at Eastfields in the first phase of my research.

scheme with regards to materials, skills, grammar and vocabulary. The schemes also differed in their range of topics: at Eastfields Diane's course was planned to a large extent within the framework provided by the LITUK handbook and the NIACE materials, whilst at Northside it included topics usually found in standard ESOL schemes of work such as health and food; this will be discussed further in section 5.3 below.

The central role of exams was also a key factor for Diane (see Chapter 6) and she reported that getting students through the exam in a twelve week course was one of her main objectives. In the following extract from her interview, I have just asked her how she planned for her course:

```
1      D:    I looked at them [the NIACE materials]
2            and I started and you know a lot of it was
3            oh you know what do I feel like doing
4            what do I enjoy doing
5            You know the idea of mock elections are a nice idea
6            festivals are always a nice thing to talk about
7            and also a little bit in my mind were some of the topics
8            that might turn up in the exam which is why
9      M:    you mean in the Cambridge exam?
10     D:    yeah which is why things like you know
11           festivals and places of interest
12           erm differences between your country and this country
13           they're very common exam topics
14           so it was quite good to do lessons that would incorporate them
15     M:    right and have you been having to think about the exam
16           the Cambridge exam right from the start planning this?
17     D:    yes yes
18     M:    and how has that balanced out
19     D:    erm one way is through time
20           the first half of the course tends to concentrate on culture
21           and the second half of the course tends to concentrate
22           on the exam particularly the last four weeks
23           but also too I think OK
24           there's nothing I can do about people's grammar
25           or you know sort of all that sort of stuff
26           I'm not even going to worry about it
27           erm what I'm going to try and do is to make sure that they
28           have some idea of how to ask and answer questions
29           how to do a talk how to keep a discussion going
30           and that they understand the structure of the exam
31           and think that's probably about as much as I can do in such a
32           short time
             [Interview extract 3, Diane]
```

The exam, then, was a factor in all of Diane's decisions about planning and sequencing; topics from the official materials were favoured if they lent themselves to exam-type activities ('festivals and differences between your country') and the second part of the course focused quite heavily on exam preparation, i.e. 'how to do a talk, how to keep a discussion going, the structure of the exam'. If citizenship itself is a polyvalent and malleable concept, this illustrates how the pedagogy for citizenship was permeable and

other priorities leaked in and took over, a theme I discuss in depth in Chapter 6 when I look more closely at the lessons themselves.

5.2.3 Discussion

My discussion of the contexts in which Diane and Janette planned their ESOL citizenship courses explores two main issues: the problem of teachers' workloads and demands on their time and their institutional statuses and roles.

5.2.3.i Workloads and demands on time and attention

Like other areas of public education, teachers in FE are often asked to implement policies in what has been called a 'policy soup' i.e. a myriad of other policies which 'overlap, inter-relate and contradict' (Braun et al 2011a: 581); FE is in fact regarded by some analysts as a 'prototype of one of the most market tested sectors of public provision' (Gleeson *et al* 2005: 446) and in both colleges the teachers were subject to professional and external imperatives beyond their citizenship courses. Firstly, as I have described, both were under pressure to get their students through external ESOL assessments which tested not citizenship knowledge *per se* but competence in speaking and listening or reading and writing. In the further education sector as a whole external assessment is (and continues to be) a major concern as funding from year to year is calculated partly on achievement rates (Gleeson et al 2005: 449). In ESOL citizenship classes this pressure was doubled: applicants for naturalisation and ILR following the ESOL route needed to produce evidence of progress from one level to the next, and this would by necessity be in the form of a certificate showing success in the formal assessment attached to their course. Exams therefore cast a long shadow over the course planning and lessons in both Northside and Eastfields and contributed to the feeling expressed by some students in their interviews with me that gaining 'citizenship' was for them a disciplinary procedure concerned with public performance and ritual, a point I take up again in Chapter 6 (6.6.1). For the teachers it meant exams were at the forefront of their planning and teaching, as the interview extracts in the previous section suggest.

Related to the question of exams was the question of the students' previous educational experiences, their background knowledge as perceived by Janette and Diane and in particular their literacy levels; a number of students on every course I researched for this project had very low levels of literacy which impacted on how the courses were planned;

again, citizenship pedagogy was shaped by student needs which were not considered by the designers of the original ESOL citizenship policy[49]. In interview extract 4 Diane, who had had no special training in the teaching of basic literacy, is talking about the first course she ran during which she first became aware of this problem and how this affected her planning on subsequent courses:

```
1     D:      I hadn't really clocked that what you need to do if you're
2             going to have a very mixed class is run a class that will work
3             orally without having to do any reading or writing
4             so I came to the conclusion that the way to deal with the
5             differentiation in such a short time you know without time
6             one day a week and all the rest of it
7             was that it could only really work if you could deliver it
8             orally erm so there was too many activities that involved
9             reading and writing and therefore not all students could do it
10            and it was very difficult to support them
              [Interview extract 4, Diane]
```

Getting students through their exams was a source of anxiety for both teachers – Janette because she knew that some of them needed to progress to higher levels for training and work and Diane because they needed to be able to process their applications for citizenship[50].

As well as having to attend to the imperative of the exam and the challenges presented by mixed levels, both Janette and Diane had other pulls on their time and attention. Both had an Ofsted inspection during the research period for which they had to prepare detailed lesson plans and course files, and, like teachers in the FE sector as a whole, both were required to produce high volumes of paperwork for audit purposes[51]. At Northside, for example, the teachers were expected to help students to complete weekly 'group learning goals' and individual learning plans (ILPs), to participate in college-wide events such as 'sustainability week' (week 14 on the scheme) and in the year my fieldwork took place teachers were being audited under a new requirement concerned with preparing students for the job market; Janette therefore had an extra column on her scheme labelled 'work' which she was supposed to plan for alongside exam preparation and citizenship. At Eastfields, Diane was involved in an ongoing, time-consuming discussion between teachers and their management about allocation of funding at the time when full fee remission was

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[49] The Eastfields class in fact threw up an issue which might have been unforeseen by the Home Office when two Jamaican students with very low literacy persuaded Diane to enrol them into the class. Because of their low literacy they were unable to take the electronic citizenship test and the alternative, that of ESOL citizenship classes, was not available to them as speakers of English creoles. A similar situation obtained with students from Nigeria and Ghana, nationalities which are historically more likely to be represented in adult basic education classes than ESOL classes.
[50] One of Diane's strategies to address this problem was to enter students for exams at a level she knew they could pass.
[51] In FE these requirements can be extreme; see Cooke and Simpson (2008: 38)

introduced into the national ESOL sector in 2007. The demands made on both teachers in terms of the 'economies' of time and attention, then – two commodities which, according to theorists in business (e.g. Davenport and Beck 2001) and digital culture (e.g. Lanham 2006), are in ever dwindling supply – is the backdrop against which my discussion about the insertion of citizenship into ESOL needs to be understood.

5.2.3.ii Employment status

Another point which needs to be kept in mind in my discussion about Janette and Diane's stances towards their differing institutional roles concerns a dimension of what Ball *et al* (2012: 21) call the 'material context', i.e. the question of their differing employment statuses. Janette worked part time and said that she did not especially wish to work more hours as she had a caring responsibility for her husband and was also interested in trying to develop her practice as a painter. However, she describes her status as 'very very marginal' within the college and explains that her position as an hourly paid lecturer means that she did not get paid to attend staff meetings; because of this she misses out on certain aspects of institutional life. She reports that she agreed to take on designing the ESOL citizenship scheme of work rather than another scheme because 'she would have to do a bit less work' and because she already taught a lot of the citizenship topics as part of her general ESOL courses. In this extract she explains how the ESOL citizenship course was set up at Northside:

```
1    M:    So erm could you tell me how the course came into being?
2    J:    (.) well I can't actually remember what the administrative erm
3          aim behind it was
4          but we were basically told that we were going to there was
5          going to be a class that was ESOL and citizenship
6          and some directive from somewhere
7          that we had to have NIACE or something I don't know who
8          so there had to be citizenship content
9          or there has to be citizenship content if students want to use
10         their studies as ammunition to get their citizenship
          [Interview extract 5, Janette]
```

Despite Janette's membership of the team which wrote the citizenship scheme of work and the prominence of the debate in the ESOL sector at the time, in this extract her epistemic stance (Ochs 1996) towards the programme expressed in the phrases 'NIACE or something' and 'some directive from somewhere' are vague and uncertain. Similarly, the modality of 'we were told there was going to be a class' suggests a stance of distance (Colley et al 2007: 183) or alienation from institutional processes; indeed, Janette expressed to me informally on several occasions that she thought there were too many top-down

directives at Northside and that the management did not consult teachers about college decisions, a theme which is reiterated on several other occasions in her interview.

In contrast with Janette's position on the periphery at Northside, Diane was a 'core' (Gleeson 2005: 450) full time salaried lecturer with a permanent post who throughout her interview displayed her knowledge about college and governmental processes. In this extract I have asked her how the ESOL citizenship course came into being:

```
1     M:    could you tell me how it came into being how it kind of came
2           about (.) that course
3     D:    erm (.) when the government changed the rules on citizenship
4           er alright before that erm if somebody wanted to become a
5           citizen they could get a letter from a teacher saying they had
6           reached I think it was entry 3
7     M:    =was it?
8     D:    and that was acceptable and we would do this for a number of
9           students and then when the government changed the rules and
10          made them much stricter (.) I started getting people saying
11          oh you know I need some help to pass this test and I can't get
12          through this test
13    M:    people in your ordinary ESOL classes?
14    D:    yes yes and people would contact me through the college
            [Interview extract 6, Diane]
```

Diane responds to my question in lines 1 and 2 by orienting not to the college context but to the external policy context with an explanation about government policy past and present, taking an epistemic stance of certainty towards the facts about the legislation. In contrast to Janette's 'we were told there was going to be a class', Diane places herself at the centre of the process ('people would contact me through the college') suggesting a degree of what Ball *et al* (2011a: 615) call 'policy ownership'; indeed, the college level is missed out altogether from her account. As I reported in 5.2.2 the ESOL citizenship course was entirely her initiative and she reports that students come directly to her for guidance and other teachers come to her for clarification about what citizenship is. Throughout her interview Diane presents herself as an active, influential – indeed pivotal – member of staff who has the ear of middle management, who knows about patterns of student behaviour and who is not afraid to speak out to senior management. The differences I am pointing to here between Janette, whose stance towards her college environment is one of vagueness, distance and possibly alienation, and Diane, who presents herself as a key player, can of course be interpreted in various ways – personality type, for example, is a complicating factor, as is the nature of the interview as a communicative event and how the two women approach it and position themselves in relation to me. I would argue, however, that any discussion of their individual stances needs to be considered against the backdrop of both

the way the colleges are organised, the way their institutions tackled the citizenship requirement and especially the facts of their employment statuses.

Braun *et al* (2011b: 588) point out that any account of how policy is implemented in education 'will need to consider a set of objective conditions in relation to a set of subjective 'interpretational dynamics'. In the chapter so far I have described the 'objective conditions', i.e. the material contexts in which Janette and Diane worked and the external imperatives which conditioned their planning for their ESOL citizenship schemes of work and I have illuminated this discussion with interview data which reveals their feelings and attitudes towards these conditions. In the next section I pay closer attention to how Janette and Diane spoke in their interviews about a) the relationship between citizenship and ESOL (5.3.1); b) English language learning (5.3.2); and c) student knowledge about the UK (5.3.3). By doing this I hope to add to the picture I have drawn so far of the contexts in which their ESOL citizenship teaching took place.

5.3 Teachers on citizenship, ESOL and students

5.3.1 Citizenship and ESOL

One of the key differences between Diane and Janette was their stances on the relationship between citizenship and ESOL: as I will show, Diane regarded them as quite separate fields whilst Janette, in line with research by Peutrell (2014) on ESOL teachers in Nottingham, regarded them as one and the same thing. In extract 1 (5.2.1 above) Janette reported that when writing the citizenship scheme of work she hardly had to change her existing ESOL scheme. Elsewhere she reiterates this, saying she was 'doing those things anyway' and that citizenship is what she would 'normally teach, plus'. In extract 7 Janette rejects the suggestion in my question (line 1) that ESOL and citizenship are two separate things:

```
1     M:    what do you think the balance is between ESOL and the
2           citizenship in this course?
3     J:    (.) well ESOL is citizenship this is the thing
4           because ESOL (.) I was having an argument about this with
5           somebody yesterday who said
6           you teach English as a Foreign Language and I said no
7           he said oh same thing
8           I got quite shirty because
9           and I thought about it afterwards
10          that really ESOL is about becoming citizens in another country
            [Interview extract 7, Janette]
```

Janette's utterance 'well ESOL *is* citizenship' is unhedged and emphatic, suggesting a high degree of certainty, especially when compared to much of her other talk which is hesitant

and full of pauses and 'you know' hedges. This point is further underlined by her 'exemplum narrative' – i.e. a story told to illustrate a point (Baynham 2010: 67) – and dramatized by her fleeting 'shift into performance' (ibid.) in which she reports the words of a colleague who has annoyed Janette by confusing ESOL with EFL. EFL is understood here by both of us as a more frivolous, less socially committed sector which she wishes to distance herself from, a stance commonly taken by practitioners in the UK adult ESOL field (Rosenberg and Hallgarten 1985:138). Janette repeats her point in line 10 ('ESOL is about becoming citizens in another country') thus constructing citizenship and ESOL as very similar or even synonymous. This notion is developed further when Janette describes the need to address the students' real-world experiences seriously in class. She says that with a couple of exceptions the current class is 'really quite homogeneous' because they are all mothers of young children:

```
1      J:     I see them as a kind of constituency of itself
2             and I treat the work the sort of citizenship thing adapted to
3             that group because it doesn't mean joining a trade union
4             it doesn't mean going to meetings er
5             it probably won't mean work for quite a long time
6             for quite a lot of them it means something very specific
7             having kids in the local environment
8      M:     interesting
9      J:     and that is a form of citizenship isn't it
10            bringing up your kids
              [Interview extract 8, Janette]
```

In this extract Janette references the political, participatory meaning of citizenship ('joining a trade union, going to meetings') but because she believes her students do not fit this category rejects it as irrelevant to them. Instead she offers an alternative understanding of citizenship as a kind of student-centred, functional 'situated citizenship' which varies from group to group according to their characteristics and experiences and which includes practices and processes which are not strictly 'political', such as parenting.

In contrast to Janette, Diane marks out ESOL citizenship as distinct from ordinary ESOL in two ways. Firstly, in our discussion about her approach to planning for her course she reports that one of her focuses will be on British national culture as opposed to the multiculturalism[52] which she says is taught in ESOL classes:

```
1      D:     I'm you know I'm a native British born English person
2             even though I do have you know ((laughs))
3             another heritage I thought well actually
```

---

[52] It is unclear what Diane means by multiculturalism here but I take it to mean that much of ESOL is concerned with discussing the origins and identity of students' home cultures.

```
4           what I can probably give the students is a flavour
5           of what it's like to be British
6           and in the end I thought I'm not actually going to go
7           the multicultural route which if they go to ESOL classes
8           they'll get that there
9    M:     interesting
10   D:     I'm going to do something that's a little
11          bit different because I actually think people quite enjoy
12          that
13   M:     mm
14   D:     and I thought OK I want to try and (.) give them an idea
15          of (1) you know why we have the flag of St George
16          or you know why people Scottish people paint their faces blue
17          at football matches or (.) you know
18          things that people might find odd about British society
19          what where it's coming from
            [Interview extract 9, Diane]
```

In lines 15-19 Diane invokes the 'received' notion of national culture (Atkinson 1999) as heritage, customs and emblems which is entirely absent from Janette's account. The second way Diane's stance on citizenship differs is her claim that 'citizenship is very political' and that the main element of citizenship is 'participation'. In the next extract I have asked her to elaborate on this by asking the question 'participate in what?'

```
1    D:     citizenship is more than just being passive I think
2           it's actually (1) trying to take a hold of what's going on
3           so it isn't just sort of like drifting through
4           and maybe you know going to the odd ESOL class
5           or going you know sending your child to school
6           it's actually working voting having a say
7           complaining speaking the language
8           actually I do think you can't feel part of a country unless
9           you can at least I don't mean you know a very high level
10          or anything but at least some of it
11   M:     mm
12   D:     it it it's yeah it's feeling that you can have your say
13          you can have some effect
14          you can complain about something
15          you can you know if you had to go to hospital
16          you're not just passive
17          if you don't like the system you can say I should've been
18          seen last week this shouldn't have happened I've been waiting
19          too long
20          it's like a sort of assertiveness being in the country
            [Interview extract 10, Diane]
```

In this extract Diane offers a counter position to Janette's notion of 'situated citizenship' (extract 8) in which she proposes that bringing up kids is a form of citizenship; Diane in fact sets this up as an example of what citizenship is *not* (line 5) and as a contrast to a highly active, agentive citizenship which is embodied in her slightly breathless string of verbs, 'working voting having a say complaining speaking the language' (lines 6-7). Diane makes a strong link in lines 12-14 between 'participation' and speaking English, again with a string of verbs – 'feeling you can have your say you can have some effect you can complain'. This

argument – that without English it is hard to participate and feel a sense of belonging – is repeated several times in Diane's interview and as such aligns with one of the official rationales given for the introduction of the citizenship programme into ESOL. In fact, Janette's functional, passive view of citizenship in which no demands are made of people other than what they are already doing and Diane's participatory view – in which people are exhorted to learn English and be active and involved – directly mirror two of the main ways citizenship is generally conceptualised, as I showed in Chapters 1 and 2. I continue exploring this point, along with the teachers' perspectives on English language learning and students' lives in the next four sections.

5.3.2 ESOL students, English language learning and citizenship
One of the central themes in this thesis is the various different ways that students – migrants to the UK wishing to become British citizens – are positioned by the ESOL citizenship programme, in their ESOL classes and in contemporary debates about immigration, cohesion and the economy. In this section I offer a frame for my later discussion by exploring how Janette and Diane talked about their students in their interviews.

In this chapter so far I have emphasised certain differences between Janette and Diane, in their statuses, sense of individual agency and stances on ESOL citizenship. This is not to say, however, that their interviews did not suggest similarities, particularly in the parts in which they discuss English language learning and their students. One similarity is that both display high degrees of sympathy and solidarity with their students; here, Janette and Diane comply with the strong belief in FE that it is essential for tutors to understand the biography of disadvantaged students so as to understand how to best support them (Gleeson et al 2005: 452). As I mentioned in 5.2.3 both worried about getting their students through exams and both worried about how to help their students improve their literacy levels. Janette also reported that she was concerned with developing their oral competence and anxious that they seemed 'fossilised' and unable to speak more accurately and therefore would not be able to progress; this is discussed in more depth in Chapter 6 (6.4.2 and 6.6.2).

In their interviews both teachers talked about their perceptions of their students' levels of English and the role it and other languages play in their daily lives. Both expressed the view

that many of them do not speak a lot of English, either because they don't need to because they live in large communities which meet most of their needs, or because they are unemployed or caring for small children and therefore do not have access to networks of English speakers. This is a common theme amongst ESOL teachers (see Cooke and Simpson 2008: Ch. 2; Cooke 2006) and both are sympathetic to their students' lack of opportunities to practise and study; Diane, for example, talks at some length about obstacles to studying faced by some of her students because of their small apartments, cramped living conditions, responsibilities and lack of resources. A recurring theme throughout Diane's interview, however, is 'the determined student' (cf. Harklau 2000: 46) i.e. the student who learns English against all the odds; Diane tells three anecdotes about such students, including one about a woman crying at enrolment because she couldn't afford the fees and another highly dramatic story of a student who came to do her exam despite having a sick child at home who later died. These exemplum narratives of determined, heroic students contribute to a general stance on adult education which is evident throughout Diane's interview; for example, she is pleased that one of the 'positive knock-ons' of the citizenship programme to be that a number of students have gone on to other courses at Eastfields having come to college initially because they needed to for their naturalisation process.

5.3.3 Student knowledge

The final theme arising from the teacher interviews which is pertinent to my discussion about the contexts of ESOL citizenship and how the teachers approached it is Diane and Janette's perceptions of their students' existing levels of general knowledge and knowledge about British society. Janette comments that her students' knowledge about British politics is 'patchy' and reports that she finds it difficult to gauge their levels of general knowledge about the UK. She also says that she has only a partial idea about what they know about the issues affecting them such as childcare and schooling i.e. themes related to the 'situated citizenship' I discussed in 5.3.1; in a class about childhood illnesses, for example, she finds they know some things but not others, e.g. about the MMR vaccine. Janette does report, however, that her students say they are 'very interested in learning more about England' and that they want to know more about 'culture and history'. Janette describes her past experiences of teaching about this aspect of culture, however, as somewhat unsuccessful. Before the telling of the narrative in extract 11, Janette explains that when she had first started teaching, at the behest of the students she had tried to do a lesson on Shakespeare's

Macbeth but – this is told laughingly – that at the end of the course the students had evaluated the Macbeth activity as the one they had least liked. She thus frames the anecdote as a humorous, slightly self-denigrating one (Yu 2013), but one which might serve as one of the reasons why the Northside scheme of work does not include the 'received' version of national culture:

```
1      D:      they said [emphatic] 'we want British culture'
2      M:      ]interesting
3      J:      ]and I said 'what do you know about British culture?'
4              and they said 'Shakespeare!'
5              OK and so I said OK we'll do a Shakespeare play
6              there was a little graphic novel a comic strip Macbeth
7              I thought this'll be OK but it was too difficult
8              so I have so then I did something on British history
9              the kind of popular uprisings in history which I thought might
10             be interesting like erm the civil war
11             and I think it was Guy Fawkes so we did Guy Fawkes
12             and we did something about industrialisation in the 19th
13             century and Chartism and so on
14             and I just showed pictures of that
15             and asked them what they thought was happening
16     M:      ]interesting
17     J:      ]and again I think they found that very hard
               [Interview extract 11, Janette]
```

In contrast, as I discussed in 5.3.1, Diane reports that one of her aims for her ESOL citizenship course is to teach about 'British culture' in the received sense of the term, and in her interview she does not mention the same difficulties as Janette in finding out about students' existing levels of knowledge (but see the discussion in Chapters 7 (7.2) and 8 (8.2). For Diane, the knowledge students have about the UK is directly related to their levels of integration, i.e. if they are working or if they mix with British people; she tells a story to illustrate this about a Bangladeshi student who was particularly knowledgeable because she had a sister-in-law who was a local white Londoner who converted to Islam and became a member of her family.

Unlike Janette, Diane presents herself in her interview as a person with strong political views and talks at some length of the need to be cautious about 'imposing' these onto her students, particularly on topics such as religion; Diane reports that her students are generally very religious and as an non-believer she tends to avoid the topic, a point which will become relevant to my discussion in Chapter 8 (8.2.1) about the classroom telling of a religious story. Another theme which is also important in subsequent discussions is one which Diane reiterates several times, i.e. the need she feels to present a balanced view

about British society, ensuring that her own values and politics are not the only version transmitted to her students:

```
1      D:      I think on a course like citizenship your own values and
2              attitudes are bound to come through
3              and yes I'm conscious of trying to balance that between saying
4              OK yes you know it is going to be my own values and attitudes
5              to a certain extent but at the same time
6              I also have a responsibility to say to people
7              this is not what all British people feel some people feel this
8              other thing or the government policy is X
9              but I feel Y but some people will feel Z'
               [Interview extract 12, Diane]
```

I will discuss the approach to 'brokering Britain' which Diane references here, i.e. trying to give both sides of the story, in much more depth in Chapters 7 and 8 when I focus in particular on several of her lessons. Meanwhile I offer a brief discussion about some of the themes arising from section 5.3.

5.3.4 Discussion

In the previous three sections I have shown that Janette and Diane's interviews revealed two different models of citizenship – the functional/situated model and the political, participatory model, as well as several different takes on the meaning of 'cultural knowledge' i.e. a 'high culture version (Shakespeare), a 'general knowledge and history' version (Guy Fawkes, the Chartists) and an 'everyday knowledge' version (childhood health). In this discussion section I summarise these and explore one more question arising from the teacher interviews: their stances on the politics and ideology underpinning the ESOL citizenship programme itself.

My first point of discussion is the differing positions taken up by Diane and Janette with regards to the meaning of citizenship and its relationship with ESOL. Janette suggests that citizenship is very similar to or synonymous with ESOL, a construction which is a highly common sense one for several reasons: firstly, one of the motives for the citizenship programme was to further the integration of migrants through learning English and improving their knowledge of life in the UK, which is where it overlapped with one of the existing broad aims of ESOL (Rosenberg 2007, Sutter 2009). Secondly, as I showed in Chapter 3, the LITUK handbook and the NIACE materials themselves merge different types of cultural knowledge – political, institutional and everyday – which have many overlaps with traditional ESOL concerns and topics. Thirdly, ESOL and citizenship being

one and the same thing was a discourse circulating at the time amongst other ESOL professionals (Peutrell 2014); one of the designers of the NIACE materials, for example, commented that 'ESOL teachers have always taught citizenship in some form, have always had a key role in introducing their learners to the new social and cultural worlds they are entering' (Sutter 2009: 76). Janette's construction of ESOL and citizenship as the same thing is a fairly standard one, then, and is a possible explanation for why she seems uncertain how to answer my rather insistent questions about 'citizenship' as opposed to ESOL in the rest of the interview[53].

Diane on the other hand argues that citizenship is political and that it means civic and political participation; in this, Diane coincides with the findings of interview studies carried out with teachers of citizenship in ESL in Canada (Fleming 2015) and secondary education in Australia (DeJaeghere 2008) and the UK (Osler 2011). Diane, however, also considers citizenship for adult migrants to involve learning about national customs, emblems, heritage and history and with this stance she reinforces the strong relationship between citizenship and national identity which, although played down by the authors of *The New and the Old*, became a prominent feature of the ESOL citizenship programme. The nature of citizenship itself, contested by theorists and regarded as a polyvalent (Joppke 2010), chameleon-like (Wahl-Jorgensen 2006) concept means of course that more than one position is not only feasible but highly likely; as I discussed in Chapters 1 and 2, citizenship is malleable and lends itself to many interpretations and uses (Shafir 1998, Dahrendorf 1994). Diane's understanding of citizenship as civic and political participation is in fact one of the oldest interpretations of 'citizenship' and considered by some theorists (e.g. Crick 2009) as the proper definition, whilst her inclusion of the received version of national culture reflects ongoing debates in the literature about the role of national identity and belonging in the concept of citizenship (Brubaker 1992, Joppke 2010). Janette's 'situated citizenship', on the other hand, chimes with arguments in the theoretical literature which claim that the traditional definition is too narrow because it ignores the experiences of people – often women – who are perhaps not engaged in political participation strictly

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[53] In the interview I ask three questions in which I imply citizenship is something other than ESOL before the one which elicits her 'citizenship is ESOL' reply: 1) so in your planning which seems to drive that more, is it the exam outcome or the citizenship outcome? 2) so what was it about the course which did seem to be about citizenship? 3) do you feel those materials were kind of in line with what your ideas about citizenship are or might be or might have been at the time? As I discussed in Chapter 4, at the time of my fieldwork my own thinking about citizenship was far from established and I believe now that in the teacher interviews I was myself exploring the question of whether ESOL and citizenship are synonymous – hence my insistence on this line of questioning and the unintended result of making Janette seem that she does not have an informed opinion. This offers an alternative interpretation of Janette's stance in the 'ESOL is citizenship' extract as one of irritation with me.

understood but who are involved in essential societal work as parents and caregivers (Lister 1998, Pothie and Devlin 2006). Given the nature of citizenship itself and given the various uses to which it was put by New Labour after 2002 – as a solution to problems such as voter apathy, welfare reform, community cohesion and the integration of migrants (Clarke 2005) – the fact that two teachers can seem to diverge considerably yet still be teachers of citizenship should come as little surprise.

The second point of discussion is about language levels and progress as discussed by Janette and Diane. Despite their different positions on citizenship, the two teachers converge in their belief that learning English is important for their students' integration, i.e. for gaining employment, avoiding marginalisation and being taken seriously, and it is here that both teachers align with one of the main rationales given for the introduction of the citizenship programme (Home Office 2002: 32). As I showed in 5.3.2, both show sympathy for and solidarity with their students, but also on occasion slight frustration; Janette comments that she understands why people don't feel ready to work because of their English levels, but that at some point 'they have to begin to think about it' whilst Diane explains that recently she has stopped taking people with a very low level of English (i.e. Entry level 1) onto her course because too many of them were unable to get through their assessments in the short duration of the ESOL citizenship course. This was a major practical problem for Diane who found herself having to teach beginners in a class along with people with a much higher level, but she also presents it as a moral issue as this extract suggests:

```
1       D       I know I'm a bit you know cynical about government policy
2               and I'm therefore quite happy to subvert it
3               I do actually think (2) if you're going to be a citizen
4               it's not a bad thing to speak at least basic English
5               and if you can't get through the Entry 1
6               you probably do need to do a bit more studying
7               because actually these people who didn't pass
8               didn't want to carry on studying for various reasons
9               Ahmed because he was working and didn't have the time
10              erm the other woman who didn't pass because she had two young
11              children she said she didn't have the time
12              well part of me sort of thinks
13              well actually if you want to be a citizen
14              maybe maybe you need to find that time to improve your English
                [Interview extract 13, Diane]
```

Diane thus creates a contrast between the determined students who learn against all the odds (section 5.3.2) and those who strive less energetically to find the time. In extract 13 she draws on one of the discourses circulating at the time linking a certain level of language

competence with citizenship rights, indeed this was one of the principal arguments which was put forward by proponents of the citizenship programme (see Chapter 2, 2.3.2). She mitigates her alignment with official discourses, however, by fronting it with her comment that she is happy to subvert government policy on other occasions[54].

This mitigating move of Diane's brings me to my final point in this summary of section 5.3, which is about how the teachers talked in their interviews about the political and ideological discourses circulating at the time the ESOL citizenship programme was introduced. Both Diane and Janette express the opinion that the programme – in particular the LITUK test – had a political origin, Janette that it came about as a result of right wing pressure groups and Diane that it was motivated by fears in the New Labour administration that they would lose votes to parties on the far right. Whilst in her interview Janette does not display any particular concern about this, throughout Diane's interview there is evidence that she is struggling to some extent with the 'ideological dilemmas' (Billig *et al* 1988) this presents in her teaching of ESOL citizenship. The comment in extract 13 (lines 1-2) which fronts those about students not finding the time to learn is one of several that Diane makes when she reflects on the fact that some ESOL practices and problems overlap with government discourses on language and citizenship. In this extract, echoing some of the points made by theorists discussing the emergence of the citizenship programme (see Chapter 2), she comments that the citizenship programme had more than one political motivation:

```
1     D      I think the government's got two agendas really
2            I mean they talk about empowerment
3            and I'm sure you know to a certain extent
4            they're they're genuine
5            but I think the other agenda they've got
6            is getting re-elected
7            and I think they feel that erm
8            particularly the current government
9            I think feels that it needs to appeal
10           to the white working class vote
11           who might otherwise support the National Front
12           or parties like that or UKIP
13    M:     right OK so it's a kind of (.) symbolic thing to them
14    D:     yeh I'm sure there are ministers
15           and you know policy advisers and so on
16           who genuinely do believe that it will empower
17           and you know it will empower people
18           but I think there is also this other agenda
             [Interview extract 14, Diane]
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[54] Here Diane is referring to informal conversations we have had in which she told me she deliberately put students in for exams at a level they would be sure to pass, thereby ensuring they would get the requisite to apply for naturalisation.

The duality and ambiguity expressed here in the phrase 'two agendas' and the description of different types of minister and policy advisers, some who believe in empowerment and some who are worried about getting re-elected reflects the Janus-faced nature of citizenship itself, and occurs several times in Diane's interview. In this extract, for example, she is talking about how she has changed her mind about multiculturalism[55] since the 1980s when she worked in public sector jobs in which it was the norm:

```
1:      D       I've actually slightly changed my views on that
2               and it's very difficult
3               because when the government says those things
4               I think they're saying them from a racist point of view
5               and I hope that I'm not saying it from a racist point of view
6               but I've actually come to the conclusion
7               that to a certain extent people do need to assimilate
8               otherwise they are always going to be excluded from power
9       M:      ] Mm
10      D:      ] so that was part of my thinking as well
11              with the citizenship courses
12              that in a very tiny little way
13              that if people understand a bit about British culture (2)
14              that it is a little bit easier
15              to not to be a complete outsider
                [Interview extract 15, Diane]
```

Diane here indicates a 'dilemmatic thought' (Billig *et al* 1988: 109) – i.e. a two-sided ideology – with her anxiety about the fact that although their intentions differ (the government is racist, Diane is empowering) the discourses of 'assimilation' she now favours are the same as those drawn on by the government. Elsewhere she jokes about aligning with the government and 'becoming more right wing', telling a long hyperbolic anecdote in which she describes with self-mocking humour (Yu 2013) how she found herself in agreement with the contents of a book written by Jeremy Clarkson, a British TV presenter notorious for populist right-wing views and negative attitudes to women and ethnic minorities. I report Diane's stances vis-à-vis her own politics here not because I wish to draw attention to her viewpoints *per se*, but because I believe these sections of her interview indicate a) a degree of reflexivity about her own contradictions; b) the tensions and ideological dilemmas inherent in some of the key debates underpinning the citizenship programme, i.e. about diversity, cohesion, integration which had to be navigated in her classes and c) her high level of engagement with the discourses and debates circulating at the time, all of which are relevant to my discussions later, particularly in Chapters 7 and 8.

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[55] Here 'multiculturalism' is described by Diane as 'a plural system' in which 'if you come from another country you keep your own culture'

5.5 Conclusion

In their work on the processes of policy enactment, Ball and colleagues (Ball et al 2012; Braun et al 2011a, 2011b, Ball et al 2011a, 2011b) stress the importance of taking local conditions and the parts played by teachers into account when analysing how educational policy gets 'done' in educational settings. According to Ball et al (2011b)

> the policy process is iterative and additive, made up of interpretations and translations which are inflected by existing values and interests, personal and institutional, by context and by necessity (p. 635)

Policies are 'differently interpreted and differently worked' (ibid.) into current practices and the role of the teacher is of central importance, although as Ball *et al* point out, this is not always taken into account in the theoretical literature on educational policy. In this chapter, by way of exploring the external, material and professional contexts of Janette and Diane I have discussed: the different models of ESOL citizenship adopted by the two colleges; the imperatives impinging on the teachers' time and on their schemes of work; the status of each teacher in their workplace; the differing positions of the two teachers on the meanings of citizenship and its relationship to ESOL; the stances taken by the teachers towards their students, their levels of English and knowledge of British culture and finally the positions they take up vis-à-vis the political debates underpinning the ESOL citizenship programme. I have suggested that in the case of ESOL citizenship the role of the individual institutions and teachers was particularly significant, given that the policy itself was fairly minimal, consisting only of a set of materials and a directive that these be used for 20 hours of each ESOL course. Although Northside and Eastfields went about the insertion of citizenship into ESOL in different ways (section 5.2), both teachers were allowed a fairly free rein in their classes as to what they taught and how; this meant, then, that their individual stances, attitudes and feelings were potentially as much, if not more of an influence on how the citizenship programme was enacted than the policy documents, the LITUK handbook and the NIACE materials. As Joan DeJaeghere (2008: 372) points out, though, 'educators' rhetoric about citizenship may not be the same as their practice in classrooms and schools' and in the next chapter I take my lens into the two classrooms and describe what actually happened in ESOL citizenship lessons. In so doing I will consider to what extent the issues raised in this chapter were salient in the classrooms themselves and to what extent features such as exam practice, language instruction and particular pedagogies influenced the construction of ESOL citizenship.

Chapter 6: ESOL citizenship in the classroom

6.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter I described the institutional conditions under which Janette and Diane planned for their ESOL citizenship classes and discussed their reflections on their institutions and their understandings of citizenship and its relationship with ESOL. In this discussion I drew on research which points to the central role played by teachers in the local implementation of national policy and argued that this was particularly so in the case of ESOL citizenship, given that the policy itself was fairly skeletal and teachers were given quite a lot of freedom as to what they did in class. Ball *et al* (2011b: 620) argue that policy is 'recoded' by teachers in relation to 'specific contexts, recipients and subject cultures and the logics of practice of the classroom', and in this chapter I turn my focus onto the two classrooms to address the question: what were the characteristics of the two ESOL citizenship classes? In exploring this I also discuss several other questions raised in earlier chapters: the question raised in Chapter 5 about how the teachers balanced their other professional and institutional responsibilities with the teaching of citizenship; the question raised in Chapter 3 about which of the topics contained in the LITUK handbook and the NIACE materials were addressed in the two classrooms and how cultural knowledge was tackled by the teachers; and the questions raised in Chapters 1 and 2 about which aspects – if any – of the citizenship debates seemed important in the classrooms.

To answer these questions I draw again on my ethnographic field notes and interviews but also on the codes which I applied to the classroom recordings and field notes in an attempt to be accountable to all of my data (see 4.4.2). Firstly, by way of orientation, in section 6.2 I give a brief general description of my experience of the physical settings, the atmosphere and the classroom activities, as well as the most commonly occurring participation frameworks; these provided the basis for defining episodes in my classroom data (see Chapter 4, 4.4.1), are relevant to my discussion about the organisation of the teaching in both classes and play a role in my discussion about student positioning in Chapter 7. I then provide a reminder of the codes I employed in my analysis and show what each course looked like overall once it had been coded (6.3). Next I unpick the three main codes – exams, language and citizenship – and contrast and compare what these consisted of in the two classrooms (6.4 and 6.5). This is followed by a discussion (6.6) in which I summarise the nature of the two classes and, drawing together this chapter with the previous one,

come to some conclusions about how citizenship teaching was realised in the two classes/institutions, what 'citizenship' meant, what was important and what was left to one side.

6.2 The two courses

6.2.1 Northside

The classroom where most of the classes took place was quite small and became cramped when all the students turned up but was light and airy and generally well equipped with an interactive whiteboard and computer. From the windows was a view of the local mosque. On the walls there was a map of the world, photographs of scenery, pictures of a trip to the London Transport museum, *no mobile phones* signs, and student-produced posters entitled 'a good teacher', 'a good student' and 'class rules'. The tables were placed in a horseshoe arrangement and the teacher's desk was in front of the whiteboard. On my visits I generally sat next to one of the students as there was no room for a separate space for me elsewhere.

The lessons I observed at Northside were very busy and workshop-like. Janette rarely taught from the front of the class or orchestrated whole class 'lockstep' activities, i.e. in which students all participated in the same activity. Activities and topics tended to span across more than one lesson and students were often already in the middle of a piece of writing or an exercise which they got on with as soon as they arrived. Students were therefore usually doing something either on their own or in pairs, there was always another worksheet for them to move onto and Janette spent a lot of time paying attention to students individually, mainly correcting their worksheets or written work or attending to their extra-curricular or pastoral needs. This extract from my field notes is taken from the first fifteen to twenty minutes of a class and gives a flavour of the kind of busyness typical of Janette's lessons:

> Janette goes around looking at the students' recipes they have produced for homework. She is full of praise 'look at that' 'fantastic' that's really grand' 'these are brilliant'. V., who I am sitting next to, gets out some turmeric, then some sage. Then nutmeg appears and there is a sudden tumult of smells, spices being passed round, the name for all these things in various languages, what sage is in English, what it is good for, do they use it in Somalia and so on. I have a conversation with V. and H. about food, what they cook every day, what kind of food they like, what their kids eat. As we have this conversation, other students are looking at dictionaries, two are on the computer searching for a recipe, B. is at the board, Janette teaches someone

the difference between 'live' and 'leave', S., a Bangladeshi woman I have not met before asks for a letter for the Home Office for her citizenship.
[Northside field notes, 24-10-08]

This extract illustrates the rather convivial – in fact at times exuberant and joyful – atmosphere of the class. The students appeared to be friendly and supportive of one another and spent a great deal of time chatting, sometimes in English or Arabic as a *lingua franca*, sometimes in other languages, doing exercises together, explaining things to each other, conversing about their lives and so on. The extract also illustrates the most typical participant framework in the Northside lessons, i.e. students usually worked alone or in pairs and Janette rarely addressed the whole class even when giving instructions. She tended to speak in a very low voice, having to repeat herself many times and often telling each student or pair individually what she wanted them to do. There were few whole class discussions initiated by the teacher or the students, most of the interaction happening between students or when Janette addressed students one to one. The fact that Janette rarely addressed the whole class also meant that for me as an observer it was quite difficult to take field notes and my classroom recordings are difficult to follow. The students, however, seemed comfortable with the classroom organisation and seemed to know what was happening most of the time; as Hugh Mehan (1979: 11) put it they were 'well attuned to demands that shift with different classroom arrangements'. It is also worthy of note that the students spoke highly of their ESOL lessons and reported in interviews with me that they were motivated by the one to one help they received from Janette. From the point of view of my research, however, the most notable feature of Janette's classes – which I discuss throughout this chapter – was the fact that in terms of subject matter and focus they were indistinguishable from many ordinary ESOL classes (see e.g. Baynham, Roberts et al 2007 and Roberts *et al* 2004).

6.2.2 Eastfields
The classroom at Eastfields for all three courses I observed was large and airy with views of one of the London business districts. There was a notice-board where Diane had posted information for students, such as how to get cheap bus travel for people on income support. On one wall there was a reminder of the citizenship oriented nature of the class in the form of a poster of statements finishing the phrase 'Being British means…' which was produced by students at the beginning of each course. One example was:

- ➢ Power for the Queen
- ➢ Suffering the bad England football team
- ➢ Good life
- ➢ Tolerance multicultural
- ➢ Very good. New government. Lawful.
- ➢ Opportunity to make a good living. Like a millionaire back home.
- ➢ People respect you in other countries.

The classroom was generally well equipped with an interactive whiteboard, computer, internet access and an ordinary whiteboard. The tables were organised in four or five 'islands' which could seat around six to eight people, and there was a large space at the back of the long rectangular room which was used for 'milling' activities or extended group work. Given the extra space in Diane's class I was able to position myself at a separate desk at the back but more often than not ended up sitting at one of the tables with students; as I described in Chapter 4 this was because I was frequently called upon to participate in classroom activities or help a student with literacy difficulties. The atmosphere of the lessons was busy and friendly, with lots of laughter and joking, often in Sylheti, the language spoken by many of the students, although this was sometimes discouraged by Diane. Students rarely worked alone and were encouraged at all times to work in pairs and groups and help each other, and like those at Northside the students I interviewed were unanimous in their praise for their ESOL classes.

Diane tended to teach from the front of the room addressing the whole group and her lessons were clearly signposted and quite tightly staged; at the beginning of each lesson she would write a kind of agenda on the whiteboard which remained in sight for the rest of the day. Unlike Janette, who avoided the front of the class and who I was often unable to see or hear clearly, Diane's classes were almost always orchestrated from the front and relatively easy for me to follow when taking field notes. One of the most salient features of Diane's lessons was the triadic sequence known as the Initiation-Response-Evaluation (IRE) (Sinclair and Coulthard 1975; Coulthard 1977: Ch 5; Mehan 1979, Cazden 2001: 30) or Initiation-Response-Feedback (IRF) (Wells 1993, Rymes 2009: 113), examples of which occur throughout my discussion in Chapters 7 and 8. The most commonly occurring participation frameworks in the Eastfields lessons were: teacher talking to whole class; students working in pairs; students working in small groups; students giving formal presentations to the whole class and group discussions (planned and spontaneous). A recurring feature was group work followed by a kind of whole group 'plenary' and what I

have termed 'talk around task' episodes (see Chapter 4, 4.4.3) in which Diane would correct, say, a worksheet with the whole group and talk around the topics arising from it. Many of the features of Diane's lessons in terms of the environment and participation frameworks were not by any means unique of course; in fact the research on ESOL reported in Baynham and Roberts et al (2007) would suggest that in terms of organisation Diane's classes were somewhat typical and one of the main questions I explore in Chapter 7 is about the effects of some ESOL pedagogy on the teaching of citizenship as opposed to language. As I show in the rest of this chapter, however, where her classes differed was in the choice of citizenship topics and lack of attention to explicit language instruction. Before I discuss this though, I move on to review the codes I applied to the classroom episodes in each class, followed by a discussion about the three principal ones, exams, language work and citizenship.

6.3 The classroom codes

The coding process and its challenges and limitations are described in some detail in Chapter 4 (4.4.); by way of a reminder this involved identifying various types of 'episodes' (Lemke 1989) in a particular lesson. These were usually an activity characterised by a particular focus (e.g. completing a worksheet, brainstorming a topic in a group) and by a particular participant framework (e.g. pairs, teacher addressing whole class), the boundaries of which were signalled verbally (e.g. by the utterance of 'OK') or paralinguistically (e.g. by a hand clap). Once these were identified they were allocated one of the codes shown in figure 7. For the sake of accuracy only the lessons I had audio recorded were coded, and the ones for which I had only field notes were not, although I do draw on these for my discussions where relevant; for this reason there is no coding for course 1 at Eastfields. Each episode was coded according to the question: 'what are the students orienting to or being oriented to and what is this activity aimed at helping them to do?' In this way I was able to use the 'inside' categories provided by the data rather than 'outside' categories provided by the literature on citizenship and had a useful overview which I was able to use as a guide when identifying where specific episodes were in the large data set and deciding where to drill down for closer examination in Chapters 7 and 8. Before I begin my discussion about the codes, for ease of reference I reproduce them overleaf:

Code	Description
C	**Citizenship** Activities in which the students are being explicitly oriented to 'citizenship'. This includes: a) topics which appear in the official handbook and materials b) topics which are related to/extend from those in a) c) topics which appear as 'citizenship' on the scheme of work. [e.g. 'work', 'your child's school' 'health'] d) topics referred to as citizenship by Janette or Diane
L	**Language work**: Activities in which students are being oriented explicitly to 'language'. This includes: a) focus on linguistic form: grammar, vocabulary. b) focus on 'skills' development e.g. reading, writing, speaking, listening c) focus on discourse development e.g. turn-taking, communication strategies, presentations, argumentation.
E	**Exam related**. Activities in which students are being oriented explicitly towards their exam. This includes: a) exam training b) classroom activities oriented to the exam e.g. presentations, writing in class
CM	**Classroom management** Activities which students are being oriented to work related to college bureaucracy and procedures (e.g. individual learning plans, progression) and classroom activities such as 'getting to know you'/ice-breakers.
Other	**Uncoded:** Instructions, chat between activities.

Figure 7 Classroom codes

Having coded each lesson (see Appendix F for an example) I was able to get an overview of the amount of time spent on the four broad activities in the two courses, as shown in figure 8:
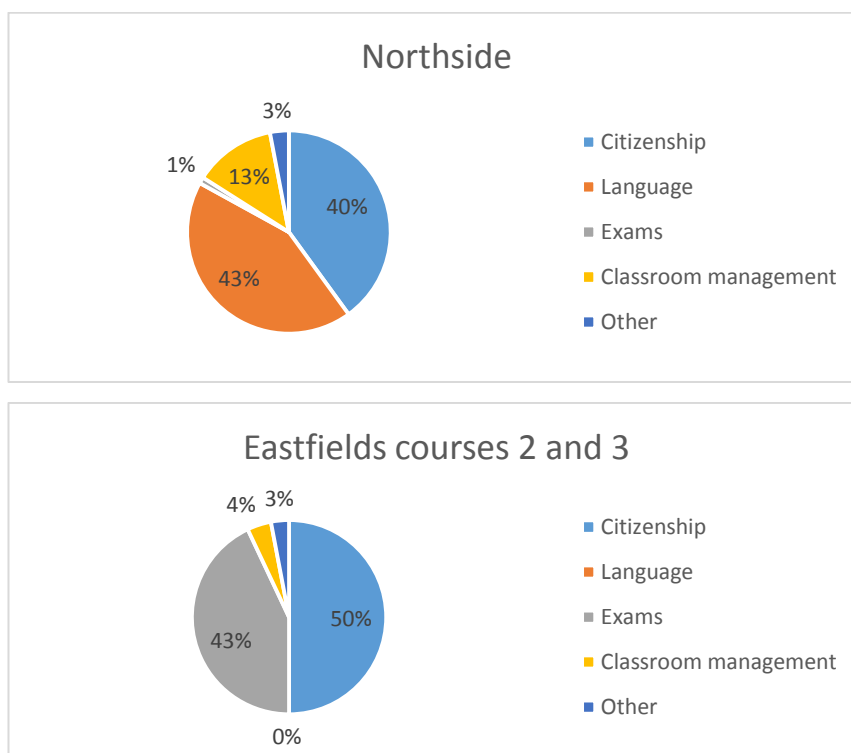
Figure 8 Codes applied to the ESOL citizenship courses as a whole

The charts in figure 9 below show the Eastfields courses disaggregated: the discrepancy between the two can be explained by the fact that in course 2 the field work continued until the end of the course when more exam work got done whereas in course 3 I stopped carrying out fieldwork 3 weeks before the end of term because of health reasons.
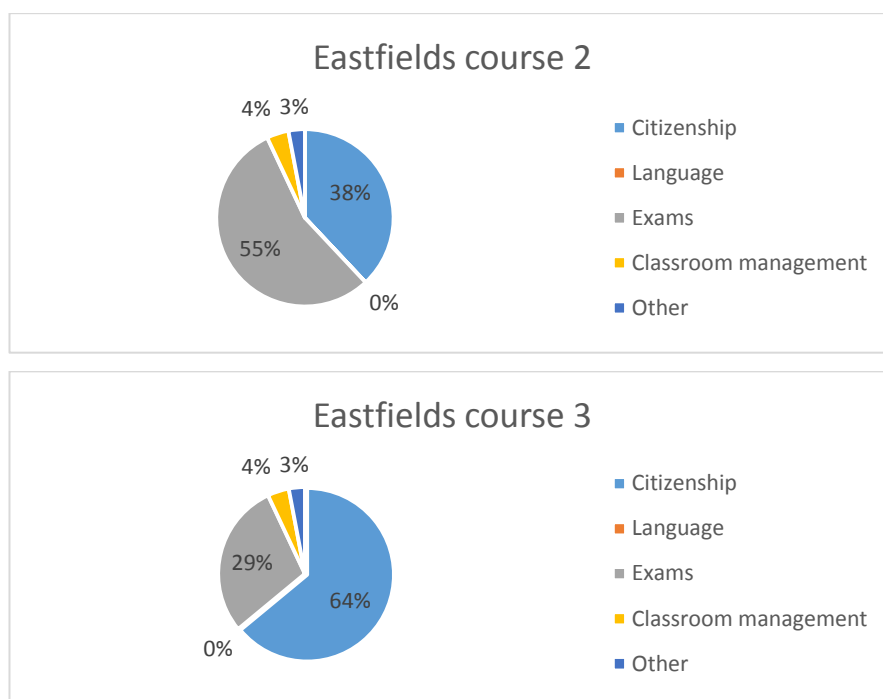
Figure 9 Disaggregated coding of Eastfields courses 2 and 3

This quantitative overview provided me with a basic but clear comparison of how time was spent on each course which I would not have been able to see just by reading through field notes, and raised several questions which I address in the rest of the chapter. The first concerns the discrepancy between the two sites in terms of exam focused activities; almost half the work at Eastfields (43%) was explicitly exam focused, in contrast with Northside where the explicit focus on exam preparation was very low, despite the fact that it was one of the main considerations in the designing of the scheme of work (see 5.2.1); this discrepancy, and other issues arising from the orientation to exams will be discussed in section 6.4.1. The second question concerns the contrast between the amount of time spent on language work: at Northside it made up almost half of classroom activity whilst at Eastfields there was no language work[56]; I discuss this in section 6.4.2. The third, and most important question in terms of this thesis, concerns citizenship and what it meant in these classes. In both courses around half or just under half the work was coded as 'citizenship'

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[56] As I discussed in Chapter 4 I initially attempted to code both explicit and implicit language teaching, (i.e. language socialisation). This became unfeasibly complex for my purposes and therefore the code was limited to explicit instruction, thus explaining the zero coding for this at Eastfields.

but of course this figure does not show *how* it was approached and to what extent the classes differed. This question will be answered by a closer qualitative look at the citizenship episodes in each class in section 6.5 and by further exploration in Chapters 7 and 8.

6.4 The exam and language codes

6.4.1 The exam code

Northside

The coded data suggests that Janette dedicated almost no time to exam practice, i.e. in which the teacher orients the students towards the exam itself. However, this does not properly reflect the influence of the exam on Janette's course. One of the reasons for this is that quite a lot of exam focused activity remained un-coded in my analysis. For example, students spent several sessions at the beginning of both semesters doing 'diagnostic' tests to establish their levels and to help the teacher decide which exam to enter the students for; I was not encouraged to attend these sessions by the teacher. If students missed the session in which they did the diagnostics, they were removed from the class on subsequent occasions to complete them. Janette also tended to organise for students to practise for their exams outside of class times in tutorial time or when the others were doing group work, so this could not be captured either – on several occasions, for example, I was asked to help students practise for their speaking and listening re-sits after the end of the class. The main reason, however, for the seeming low amount of attention paid to exam preparation is that in fact much of the exam work at Northside was not *explicit*, but was rather woven into the fabric of each class, thereby permeating almost every activity. As I described in Chapter 5 (5.2.1), one of the over-arching organising principles of the scheme of work for both semesters was the exam to be taken in each case: in semester 1, speaking and listening and in semester 2 reading and writing, and the students were made aware that they were focusing on these skills because they had to do an exam. The orientation in class was towards language development then, rather than explicit exam training as such and in fact much of what was coded as explicit language work, which constituted 43% of the work at Northside (see 6.4.2) was also implicit exam preparation.

Eastfields

As I reported in Chapter 5 (5.5.2) Diane needed to juggle her wish to focus on citizenship topics with having to get students through their exam at the end of a short course and at

Eastfields 43% of all the recorded data is coded as exam related, i.e. in which Diane was explicitly orienting students to their exam. In fact, if I had recorded every lesson in which exam work was the only or primary activity the Eastfields codes would have shown a higher percentage of exam work. Exam preparation in Diane's class was organised in two ways: a) exam training i.e. discrete, focused practice based on past papers, exam strategies, videos, mock tests and so on in which the topics were mainly derived from or imitated Cambridge ESOL training materials and b) activities done in class in an 'exam way' in which the topics were given by Diane; the 'exam related' code encompasses both types of activity. The topics and activities of both are shown in figures 10 and 11[57]:

Activities	Topics
Watching Cambridge ESOL training video Exercises to practise question formation Discussion re asking and answering questions, seeming interested Listening practice Mock exams	The weather What you like about the UK Parties Helping children do well at school Using the local library Holidays What makes a good neighbour/friend/student/parent

Figure 10 Exam training activities and topics

Topic	How approached
Famous buildings in London	1 minute talk based on student compositions
Home country compared with the UK	5 minute presentation
Having children in the UK compared with home	Student brainstorm + plenary (pre listening schema activation) Listening practice
Role of women in the UK compared with home	5 minute presentation

Figure 11 Topics and activities done in an exam type way

In a section known as the 'long turn', candidates in the Cambridge ESOL Speaking and Listening exam have to speak for a few minutes on a topic they are given by the examiner. Often this involves comparing two things such as, say, two neighbourhoods or two English classes. In Diane's class this translated to a recurring activity in which students gave presentations comparing an aspect of home with an aspect of the UK (see figure 11), a pattern I discuss further in Chapter 7. Diane's feedback and evaluation in exam training activities tended to focus not on the content of the talk but on the success or otherwise of the style and comprehensibility. An example from my field notes describing this is as follows:

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[57] The tables include activities from lessons in course 1 which were not recorded

> *The topic is 'the differences between the UK and my country' and D's focus is on their introductions, endings and signposting. She gives them ideas of how to begin (I want to talk about… I want to compare…). D says they need to practise so they get more confidence and experience, and that the examiners are not really looking for grammatical mistakes. D's recap of the most important things to remember in the exam include: listen, don't talk when others are speaking, introduce the topic and round it off, good Qs, eye contact, keep talking.*
> **[Field notes, Eastfields, 25-09-08]**

Many of the activities done in an exam type manner were links in chains of activities which spanned lessons. For example, in one lesson (08-05-08), the topic was 'differences between my country and the UK with regards to women and children' which was coded as citizenship because students were being oriented to the topic, a citizenship theme. The students were then asked to prepare a presentation on the topic to be given in the following lesson (15-05-08) in which they were judged on their exam performance – this was coded as 'exam related'. In this way, at Eastfields citizenship was closely intertwined and blurred with exams and testing.

Given that the data which I coded was that for which I had recordings, the first Eastfields course is not reflected in my analysis of the codes. However, the field notes and analytic memos for that course suggest that less time was dedicated to exam training and more to citizenship than in later courses; in fact, there were some interesting citizenship topics – the EU and the Commonwealth, for example (see figure 13 below) – in course one which were jettisoned in courses two and three. According to Diane, this was because she became concerned about the pass rate amongst the students and felt she needed to do more explicit exam training. In the discussion section (6.6) below I discuss some of the effects and consequences of the prominent role played by exams in my two case study sites and what this may have meant for citizenship – not least the fact that people taking the ESOL route to naturalisation did so by passing a speaking and listening exam and those taking the LITUK test did so by displaying their knowledge of the content of the LITUK handbook – but meanwhile I turn to the episodes in my data coded as 'language work'.

6.4.2 The language code

Northside

In her interview Janette spoke at some length about the needs of her students with regards to language development, and this was borne out by the high proportion (43%) of explicit language work in her lessons. In fact, this percentage was probably higher given that much

of the attention during episodes coded as citizenship was directed principally towards linguistic features such as vocabulary and grammar (see 6.5.1); in this way, at Northside citizenship was closely intertwined and blurred with basic language work and accuracy-focused tasks. Most of Janette's conscious reflections in her interview were about the students' lack of accuracy which she identified as the main obstacle to their progress and achievement in exams, particularly in writing which students needed in order to progress onto vocational courses. She was concerned with L1 transfer, with 'fossilisation' i.e. the fact that some students' errors seemed to have become permanent features, and with the possibility they may be learning bad habits from each other. Much of the language work I observed in this class was therefore designed to practise grammar, vocabulary, punctuation and spelling, often through worksheets which students completed individually or in pairs as I described in 6.2.1. Another prominent feature of Janette's class was the amount of writing the students produced throughout the second semester. In the coded lessons students were involved with writing three specific text types: letters of complaint to a landlord, recipes and a description of a festival; these activities all spanned three or four lessons each and involved researching the topic, following models, self and peer correction and writing up for display. As I described in 6.2.1, quite a lot of Janette's time was spent chasing up this work, completing it in class and correcting it one to one in class time. Out of the seven recorded lessons I coded from the Northside data, three were almost entirely dedicated to work on grammar and vocabulary: on 14-11-08 the class consisted of correcting a writing task and grammar worksheets on the past simple/past continuous; on 05-03-09 on three worksheets practising vocabulary connected to 'work'; on 13-03-09 to a worksheet on the present perfect tense, correction of writing and a dictation.

Janette's views about the importance of accuracy and 'basic language' chimed with the views of students themselves about what they needed to improve. In the focus group for example, one student commented 'Janette corrects our mistakes so we learn' whilst Janette's views on accuracy and student progress were echoed in a one to one interview I carried out with an Iraqi student, Rafiq. Summarising the interview I wrote:

> Analysing his language problems, R. says that he has problems with the verb 'to be', that he says 'my country Iraq' instead of 'is Iraq', and that he forgets the 'little words' such as prepositions. He says he speaks quickly when he is nervous and then the examiners ask 'where is the 'to', where is the 'the'' and so on. It is striking how this chimes with Janette's own views on what the students need to improve.

On several occasions the topic of 'grammar' came up as a discussion point in class during which students reiterated their need for more instruction and practice and even how much they enjoyed grammar worksheets. Janette's attention to their written work was highly appreciated by the students; this comment is representative of various I heard in interviews and casual conversations with students:

> [Janette] tells us everything, gets us to read, write. With more writing you can learn more… she pushes us with reading and writing, she speaks clear, we understand her, she pushes us to write, she's interested in getting us higher up'.
> **[Student focus group, Northside]**

Eastfields

At Eastfields, the language code reflects fairly accurately the absence of explicit language instruction in Diane's lessons. As I reported in Chapter 5 (5.3.2) Diane felt that in a twelve week course she had no time to 'sort out people's grammar' and that her main focus was getting students through the exam in a short time; in this sense, Diane's class was quite distinct from a traditional language class. Most of the attention to language in Diane's classes was in the form of on the spot pronunciation or explanations about vocabulary arising from work on citizenship topics, some of which was relatively obscure (see Chapter 7, 7.2). Of course, the fact that Diane did not have the time in a 12 week course to fit in explicit language teaching did not mean that students did not have exposure to a lot of language in the form of written and spoken texts, classroom interaction and exam training; for example, it could be argued that students were learning forms of 'literate talk' (Wallace 2002) whilst giving their presentations in preparation for the long turn in the Cambridge ESOL exam. The implicit language socialisation which occurs in this class (see Chapter 3, 3.4.3) is one of the main focuses of Chapters 7 and 8. Meanwhile, in the next section I offer an overview of what 'citizenship' looked like in the two classes.

6.5 The citizenship code

In my discussion on national culture in language teaching in Chapter 3 (3.3.3) and the schemes of work in Chapter 5 (5.2) I suggested that the cultural facts and figures contained in the two texts which made up the *de facto* citizenship curriculum (i.e. the LITUK handbook and the NIACE materials) could be broadly divided into three types: 1) political knowledge i.e. about UK parliamentary institutions and processes, 2) institutional knowledge i.e. about systems and services such as the NHS, education, social security, the law, the police, immigration and so on and 3) knowledge about daily life and customs,

including national and religious festivals, emblems, history, demography and leisure; all of these were evident to a certain extent in my data, as I show in the following sections. I also suggested in Chapter 3 that these types of knowledge partially corresponded to the various models of citizenship espoused in the UK citizenship programme which I outlined in Chapters 1 and 2. These complex processes, namely the political, legal, social and national models were distilled or 'frozen' (Suvarierol 2012) in the handbook into items of knowledge to be learned, and some of them later found their way into teaching materials and lesson plans in ESOL citizenship lessons. In the next two sections I describe the topics and activities which were coded as citizenship at Northside and Eastfields.

6.5.1 Citizenship at Northside

At Northside, 'citizenship' accounted for 40% of the lessons I coded (i.e. those I observed and recorded). Figure 12, however, shows all the topics and activities which counted as citizenship, including those which I observed but did not record:

Topic	Activities
Festivals	Watching a DVD on Notting Hill Carnival Worksheet on vocabulary to describe festivals Reading about Diwali Writing about a festival based on Diwali model
Civil liberties/history/democracy/voting	Oral report on visit to *Civil Liberties* exhibition at British Library Deciding on views on democracy (interactive activity on BL website associated with exhibition) Reading about Suffragettes
Health	Presentations on health advice based on students' research on leaflets giving advice on health matters Listening to two people giving advice about health problems Role play giving advice on health problems
Work	Vocabulary in job adverts Reading exercise (adverts in a newspaper) Role play: phoning about jobs Watching an EFL DVD about work in Britain
Using a library	Worksheet on vocabulary related to libraries Worksheet based on map of library
Food	Vocabulary worksheets (lexical sets of vegetable and fruit) Research a recipe from another country Write a recipe

Figure 12 Overview of citizenship topics and activities at Northside

It is notable that in the lessons I observed, the NIACE materials were not used, despite the requirement that they should make up 20 hours of classroom teaching, although of course they may have been during the lessons I did not observe. However, four of the topics do feature in the *Life in the UK* handbook or the NIACE materials, i.e. festivals, voting and the Suffragettes, health and work (see 3.3.3). Topics which are not included in the official

materials but which featured on the Northside citizenship scheme of work as citizenship topics (see Chapter 5) were 'using a library' and 'food'. By way of confirmation of Janette's statement in her interview that 'ESOL is citizenship' (5.3.1), with the exception of one class on civil liberties and voting, all of the topics at Northside concerned either knowledge about institutions (work, libraries) or knowledge about daily life and customs (food, Notting Hill Carnival) with a bias towards the latter, and as such the course closely resembled a general ESOL course (cf. the adult ESOL core curriculum, the *Skills for Life* ESOL materials or the descriptions of lessons in Baynham, Roberts *et al* 2007).

The similarities with a general ESOL course are highlighted further when a closer look is taken at how the citizenship topics were approached and by comparing the scheme of work at Northside with what took place in Janette's lessons. Although Janette followed the scheme in terms of topic, her lessons for each week were principally focused on the development of grammar, vocabulary or one of the skills, rather than on citizenship knowledge *per se*. By way of example, I will take week seven of the scheme of work which focused on 'food and cultures'. The entry for that week read as follows:

Topic	Speaking and listening	Reading and writing	Vocab/grammar
Week 7 Food and cultures	Comparing cultures and recipes in pairs: instructions Sc/E3.4e Listening to a recipe *Gordon Ramsey book and CD*	Write own recipe with sequence markers Wt/E3.3a Research recipe from another country *Learning centre*	Instructions Quantities

The scheme of work itself does not give much of a hint as to why 'food' might be construed as a citizenship topic, although it could perhaps be argued that the aim was to expose students to a particular aspect of British culture i.e. the popularity of celebrity chefs in the media, or to foster multicultural citizenship in which students learn about food and cooking in some cultures different to their own. However, the scheme of work was not a statutory document but a guide to possible lessons and materials. Janette's lessons in week 7 actually consisted of vocabulary learning exercises based on worksheets in which students matched pictures of fruit and vegetables with labels and verbs with nouns (grill+meat, boil+rice and so on) which spanned two lessons. The third lesson was spent correcting recipes which the students wrote for homework. Therefore, the lessons in week 7, although related thematically to the topic on the scheme, focused mainly on vocabulary and accurate

writing and bore a far greater resemblance to an ordinary language lesson than one which would be recognised as citizenship by anyone outside the ESOL community. This in fact illustrates a key point about the ESOL citizenship programme as a whole, i.e. that the definitions of citizenship and the debates around it were loose and contradictory enough to permit the logic that a) ESOL is synonymous with citizenship and, following this logic, that b) a worksheet on verbs used with food can be construed as 'citizenship'.

6.5.2 Citizenship at Eastfields

At Eastfields citizenship accounted for 50% of the lessons I recorded and coded. Having been present for three courses during my data collection period, all of which followed the same scheme of work, I observed Diane teach the same lessons several times and became familiar with how certain topics were approached. Figure 13 below shows all the topics covered across the three courses I observed, recorded and unrecorded, and the frequency with which they occurred:

Topic	Activities	Occurrence
Citizenship and Britishness (introductory lesson)	Student brainstorm + plenary Quiz: 'Living in the UK: how much do you know?' Whole class discussion Poster making	All 3 courses.
Regions of Britain, geography, history	Labelling map of UK Identifying London buildings Listen to and reconstruct story of Guy Fawkes	All 3 courses
Local government	Vocabulary Elicitation about what students know about local government Matching problems to council departments (e.g. housing, schools) Identifying your council ward on map Role play: going to an MP with a problem Reading manifestos Writing manifestos Mock elections	All 3 courses
Voting, the government/Parliament	Vocabulary Quiz: facts and figures Role play: asking an MP for help with a problem	All 3 courses
Young people and women (including problems raising children in the UK, the ageing population)	Quiz: facts and figures Student brainstorm + plenary: comparing UK and home countries Whole class discussion	Courses 2 and 3
The UK today: population, flags, capitals, immigration, the economy, minorities, communities	Quiz: facts and figures Student brainstorm + plenary: differences UK and home Labelling map with countries of origin Whole class discussion	Courses 2 and 3
Festivals	Brainstorm + plenary: comparing festivals in students countries	Courses 2 and 3

	Student presentations about festivals Listening activity: British people talking about festivals including religious festivals Matching pictures to names of festivals Students describe festivals Revision worksheet: match pictures to names	
Cross cultural behaviour	Brainstorm + whole class plenary	Courses 2 and 3
The law	Worksheet: multiple choice questions on right/wrong Worksheet: rules vs. laws Internet quiz Legal dilemma exercise	Course 1 only
The EU	Quiz: facts and figures	Course 1 only
The Commonwealth	Quiz: facts and figures Atlas work.	Course 1 only

Figure 13 Overview of citizenship topics and activities at Eastfields

As I reported in Chapter 5, Diane employed a 'bricolage' approach and her classes were characterised by materials from various sources including the NIACE materials which she used in most of her citizenship focused lessons; with the exception of 'London buildings' the topics and sub-topics all feature in the handbook and NIACE materials. As figure 13 suggests, many of the topics were addressed through a 'facts and figures' approach to information in which students were required to do quizzes, label maps and identify people places and things; thus the complex models of citizenship discussed in Chapters 1 and 2 which were boiled down into facts and figures in the handbook and materials were reduced yet further. Another prominent feature of Diane's classes were frequent whole class conversations about citizenship related topics such as housing, the ageing population, the economic aspects of immigration and problems raising children in the UK, the focus of some of my discussion in Chapters 7 and 8. Finally, although not coded as such, as I described in 6.2.2 some citizenship type themes arose in exam related work which gave a kind of 'citizenship flavour' to exam practice. In terms of the cultural facts and figures students were being exposed to, all three areas – the political, the institutional and the everyday – were represented in the Eastfields data; this forms the basis for my analysis and discussion in Chapters 7 and 8. Now, having given a descriptive outline of the main focuses of the two courses at Northside and Eastfields and having pointed to several differences between them, as well as similarities, I move in the next section to a more detailed discussion of the implications of some of the points I have raised.

6.6 Discussion

6.6.1 Exams and citizenship

My discussion about the part played by exams in my two case study sites concerns two main issues: a) the problem of 'teaching to the test' (Shohamy 2006: 104) and b) the social and political meanings of the exam and its relationship with citizenship testing in general. It is clear from what teachers said in their interviews about planning (5.2) and from the amount of time spent on exam preparation that exams loomed large at both sites. At Eastfields the exam took up more and more time as the course progressed, was woven into other aspects of teaching and influenced how Diane chose class topics, how she planned for the whole course and some of her pedagogic approaches. At Northside all of the explicit language work was intended as preparation for the exam and as such also permeated the other classroom activities. Part of the reason for this was that achievement in exams was required by the institutions who relied on a high pass rate for funding, i.e. part of the institutional conditions which determine practice which I discussed in Chapter 5. The other reason is that for the students at Eastfields the Cambridge ESOL exam became the *de facto* citizenship test – reducing citizenship to a display of oral communicative competence (see 6.4.1) – and as such was an extremely 'high stakes' (Shohamy 2009: 50) test indeed, although this was probably not intended by the exam board itself[58]. At Northside the exam was not such a high stakes one, as only a few students were intending to use the certificate they gained from the course to apply for naturalisation or residence. However, the exam was extremely important for other reasons, i.e. work and further study; Rafiq (see 3.6.3), for example, needed to obtain ESOL Entry level 3 to get onto a community interpreting course and had failed the exam several times, causing him and Janette considerable distress.

The high stakes nature of the exam for both students and the two colleges meant that a considerable amount of 'teaching to the test' was probably inevitable. Interestingly, this was reported as a major finding in two other studies on the role of teachers in adult citizenship classes: Olga Griswold (2011), for example, argues that a teacher preparing students to pass the oral interview for the US citizenship test trained her students to produce superficial utterances grammatically correctly rather than help them develop deeper linguistic and discursive competence. Ariel Loring (2013), reporting on three ESL civics classes in adult community schools in California, comes to similar conclusions: the attempts of the

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[58] See Savile (2006) for a discussion about the role of Cambridge ESOL in testing for citizenship

teachers to help students pass the citizenship test in her study came at the expense of engaging in deeper learning and led to a tendency to focus on the written texts needed for the test rather than on the development of oral competence. In my data it is possible that the amount of attention paid to the language needed for the exam did contribute to the side-lining of topics and material which may have been more relevant to the development of citizenship and I explore this possibility in the subsequent two sections. I would argue, however, that the symbolic effect of paying so much attention to exam preparation was equally important. This brings me to the second point I would like to make about the exam code i.e. about the nature of what was being tested in ESOL citizenship classes and what this meant for understandings of citizenship[59].

One of the most notable aspects of the exam taken by students following the ESOL route to citizenship is that they were being tested on very different competences from those who took the electronic test: on the other hand, applicants taking the LITUK test are required to demonstrate their knowledge of the LITUK handbook and a certain level of competence in English literacy and computer keyboard skills. On the other hand, applicants following the ESOL route were required to provide evidence that the level of their spoken English had improved by passing a test designed to assess oral competence; for people taking this route, language competence thus served as the 'gate-keeper' (Erickson and Shultz 1982, Blackledge 2009: 86) of citizenship. This raises two questions about both the LITUK test and the Cambridge exam: the first is about the validity of both tests (see Messick 1989 and McNamara 2000 for full discussions) and the second is about their social and political meanings. With regards to validity, one of the critiques of the LITUK test is that by testing applicants only on their knowledge of society and not on their communicative competence (McNamara 2009b) it contradicts the official rationale for the test which was to encourage migrants to learn to communicate in English so they would be better able to integrate. On the other hand, the reverse is true of the exam taken by the students at Eastfields and Northside which tests students on the ability to communicate in English only in a very narrow range of situations. Unless 'citizenship' is operationalized as communicative competence of this extremely limited kind, then, the

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[59] I would like to add here that given the very high stakes of the tests it would be difficult to advocate – even if it were my place to do so – that the teachers should have spent less time on exam preparation; in fact, the low rate of achievement at Northside might well have been improved by *more* explicit exam training rather than the implicit approach favoured by Janette.

Cambridge ESOL exam is only tangentially relevant and therefore cannot be said to be a valid test in these terms.

Whilst the LITUK test and the Cambridge ESOL exam had several important differences I would argue that the social and political functions were similar in both cases. As I discussed in Chapter 3 (3.3), citizenship tests such as the LITUK test have been the subject of much critique and are viewed by some theorists (e.g. McNamara 2005; Milani 2008, 2009; Shohamy 2009; and see Chapter 3, 3.2) as 'rites of institution' in Pierre Bourdieu's terms (Bourdieu 1991: 117), i.e., rituals which serve the purpose of creating and strengthening boundaries between people i.e. between those who have to take the test and those who do not. According to Bourdieu, rites of institution create 'a lasting difference between those to whom the rite pertains and those to whom it does not pertain' (ibid.). Similarly, Michel Foucault (1977: 184-185) regarded the examination as a technology of surveillance and as a public display of the subjection of particular individuals:

> The examination… is… a surveillance that makes it possible to qualify, to classify and to punish. It establishes over individuals a visibility through which one differentiates and judges them. That is why… the examination is highly ritualized. In it are combined the ceremony of power and the form of the experiment, the deployment of force and the establishment of truth.

Research has shown that of course not all takers of the LITUK test experience it in this way. Competent speakers of English regard it as a slightly absurd bureaucratic hurdle (Patel 2010), whilst others, such as 'W' in the ethnographic research carried out by Kamran Khan (2013) in Birmingham, take a pragmatic approach, helping out their peers by translating the material into Arabic and so on. However, for many of the students in my study who had failed the test several times, it was a source of considerable anxiety and fear (see Cooke 2009a).

The Cambridge ESOL exam which students took as an alternative to the LITUK test was in some ways also not too dissimilar from Foucault's depiction of the examination. Firstly, having to take citizenship classes created a 'visibility', as Foucault put it, between those who needed them (low level speakers of English, people with low literacy, people with poor computer skills) and those who did not (computer literate, higher level speakers of English and 'native' speakers from Anglophone countries); furthermore, in the case of the ESOL classes route to citizenship, the means by which this was carried out was through a public

performance in the form of an oral exam which itself was highly ritualised and, like the LITUK test itself, the source of much anxiety and fear amongst the students. Secondly, the sheer amount of attention paid to the exam at Eastfields produced an ongoing, cumulative association between citizenship and 'being tested'. This was reinforced by the nature of the tasks candidates in the Cambridge ESOL exam are tested on and which were regularly practised in class. For example, the speaking and listening exam requires candidates to engage in a 'conversation' with the interlocutor which analysts (Lumley and Brown 2005; Simpson 2006; van Lier 1989) have shown has more in common with a bureaucratic interview than a real conversation because of its asymmetry and interviewer control. Likewise with the 'long turn' which students rehearsed in the form of presentations in class; these performances were evaluated by Diane, or at times me, in preparation for the final performance which was given in front of an external tester.

The public, performative nature of the exam, reminiscent of the citizenship ceremonies in which presiding officials 'watch the lips' of new citizens to make sure they are speaking English (Khan 2014; see also Fortier 2013 and Chapter 3, 3.2), contributed to a strong association between citizenship, exams, public performance and evaluation and, like the LITUK test, caused considerable anxiety for many of the students; this was reported in the one to one and focus group interviews I carried out with them. During these interviews some students talked about their experiences as migrants in the UK and how they felt 'differentiated and judged' in Foucault's terms. In this extract, for example, in reply to my question 'why do you think the government introduced the LITUK test?' a Nigerian student, Bunmi, commented:

> They want immigration but not from all the countries, Muslim countries no, I think. They prefer the immigration from Poland and from Europe more than the Muslim countries because they think they make problems… before, we didn't have these problems, they are because of terrorism. We didn't have these problems before. I am a Muslim and before I never had any problems.
> **[Student focus group 1, Eastfields]**

Some of the students, then, already experienced the exclusionary nature of citizenship documented by theorists (Anderson 2013; Brubaker 1992; Lister 1997; van Steenbergen 1994b) and discussed in Chapter 1 (1.2.2) – in this case the exclusion was caused by rules for EU citizenship which permits Poles entry to the UK but not people from the Commonwealth and elsewhere, and by the judgements made of people with particular ethnic identities, exacerbated by the increased securitisation of immigration documented by

Bigo (2002) and Khan (2014). The LITUK test or the ESOL exam were for some of these students the sorting mechanisms or 'filing systems' (Brubaker 1992: 31) which they had to go through in order to secure their inclusion, legally at least. Finally, for those following the ESOL route to naturalisation – far more than the test route – it strengthened the association between the English language and citizenship which had been promoted during the early days of planning for the ESOL citizenship programme, and it is to this relationship I turn next.

6.6.2 Language for citizenship: the ignored curriculum

As I described in 6.4.2, explicit language development was approached quite differently by the two teachers. At Eastfields there was very little explicit language teaching; although students were exposed to a lot of written and spoken texts and teacher talk and engaged in a lot of interactive classroom activities – some of which I discuss in the next two chapters – Diane preferred to train students to get through their exam and to teach citizenship related topics. Janette on the other hand considered ESOL and citizenship to be largely synonymous, was less confident teaching about culture or citizenship and was concerned with her students' lack of accurate, 'English-sounding' spoken and written English (see Chapter 5, 5.3.2). Thus, for the students at Northside 'citizenship' was associated with vocabulary building, correct grammar and the production of texts in Standard English. Academic literature provides contrasting ways of interpreting this approach and what it might symbolise in terms of understandings of citizenship. On the one hand, Janette's focus on standard English and correctness could be viewed from a language ideologies perspective (Chapter 3, 3.2) – i.e. one which critiques ideological assumptions about language – as a regulative practice of 'verbal hygiene' i.e. the belief that 'putting language to rights' is a way of 'putting the world to rights' (Cameron 2013: 61); for some people, standard English and grammatical accuracy equate to orderly behaviour, conformity and success. From a related but slightly different perspective, Roxy Harris (2008: 1) has argued that in the UK there is a tendency to stigmatise versions of the national language developed in migrant urban areas and that multilingual people and communities are often subject to 'stringent demands' to acquire the standard version of the national language over and above what is demanded from British-born people (see also Blackledge 2006, 2007, 2008); Janette's focus on correct grammar could be regarded as creating unrealistic goals and criteria 'detached from the ways in which second language learners use new languages' (Shohamy 2009: 51). On the other hand, it could be argued that in taking this approach

Janette – in common with many other ESOL practitioners – was opting for the most obvious, 'teachable' aspects of English which furthermore were a) valued highly by her students and b) required by the exams they had to take. For the students, perhaps conscious of the greater demands made on them than on locals and wishing to get jobs or improve their existing employment, acquiring standard written English was viewed as the only way to fulfil the requirements for entry to the further education and training which would enable them to do this.

I would like to argue, however, a larger point about the role of language in the two ESOL citizenship classes, and this concerns a significant absence, or an 'erasure' in the curriculum at both sites. Diane, in line with the designers of the original ESOL citizenship programme, i.e. the Life in the UK advisory committee headed by Bernard Crick, aspired for adult migrants to become active, participatory citizens for which they would need to have a certain level of competence in English (Chapter 2, 2.5); Janette aspired for her students to become employable and to be able to function effectively in their local contexts as parents. However, neither Janette's class – with its narrow, worksheet-based focus on grammar and accuracy – nor Diane's with her reliance on implicit language socialisation can be said to have addressed these aspirations explicitly. A curriculum which did do this would include coverage of the complexities of language as it relates to culture and participatory citizenship, amongst which might be: sociolinguistic knowledge about language variation in the local and national communities and language use in multicultural urban communities which encouraged students to consider their multilingual repertoires as resources for intercultural communication (Blommaert and Backus 2011; Blommaert 2012); the pragmatic functions of language i.e. politeness norms, humour, indirectness, understatement and so on (Burns et al 1997; Flowerdew 2013); discourse socialisation for work (Burns and de Silva Joyce 2007; Roberts *et al* 1992); bureaucratic and institutional encounters (Bremer et al 1996; Duff 2008; Roberts and Campbell 2006) and the language of debate, argumentation and negotiation (Cooke *et al* 2015). These aspects of language instruction were largely absent from both classes; how far the students at Eastfields were able to pick up some of this knowledge from exposure to talk in Diane's class is a matter of conjecture and one I will return to in Chapters 7 and 8. I now turn in the last section of this chapter to a discussion about the understandings of citizenship as displayed in the two classrooms.

6.6.3 Citizenship

My discussion about Janette and Diane and their ESOL citizenship classes in this chapter and Chapter 5 has highlighted several striking differences between them, although there were also similarities: both teachers employed similar pedagogic strategies such as role plays, group work and worksheets, both prioritised the external exam in their planning and neither addressed the pragmatic or interactional dimensions of language necessary for meaningful participation or for understanding the complexities of local culture. An essential difference, however, was in the way the two teachers approached citizenship topics in their classes: although Janette's scheme of work contained some content which appeared in the official materials, most of these dealt with everyday topics such as those found in mainstream ESOL curricula. Furthermore, there were several absences within this limited range: there were very few mentions, for example, of British emblems and heritage symbols; in fact Janette avoided altogether topics related to Britishness or national identity. Another absence was the political participatory aspect of citizenship advocated by many theorists of citizenship and the designers of the programme; the one lesson which was coded under this category on 'civil liberties and voting' was in fact a kind of de-briefing about a visit to an exhibition at the British Library the day before. This had been a great success and the students spoke animatedly about it in class the next day, showing particular interest in the Suffragettes and other protest movements; Janette, however, reported that she was unconfident about teaching material of this sort and in the end the teaching of citizenship lesson by lesson at Northside translated predominantly into grammar and vocabulary worksheets and writing exercises. As I suggested in section 6.4.2 this was quite feasible under the logic of the belief that 'ESOL is citizenship' although it did mean that some of the lessons coded as such in Janette's class – e.g. food – would be unrecognisable to anyone outside of ESOL and the content of Janette's lessons at best represented a 'thin' (Kostakopoulou 2006) or 'banal' (Macgregor and Bailey 2012, and see Chapter 1, 1.2.1) version of citizenship.

In contrast, the topics in Diane's lessons all featured in the citizenship handbook and/or the NIACE materials and several political debates related to citizenship such as immigration, the economy and the welfare state emerged in her class discussions, thus aligning with the intentions of the LITUK advisory board as well as suggesting a degree of coherence between the views expressed in her interview – 'citizenship is political' and 'citizenship is about participating' – and what occurred in her lessons. This is not to say,

however, that Diane's lessons were without tensions and contradictions in their representations of the UK, British institutions and the students' own nationalities and I explore this in detail in Chapters 7 and 8.

The difference between the two classes should not of course come as any surprise and in many ways my classroom data can be viewed as empirical evidence of the malleable nature of citizenship (Squires 2002). As I showed in Chapter 2, citizenship functioned as a 'net' for the government which it could use as a solution for a seemingly disparate 'cluster of concerns' (Newman 2010: 713). Similarly, the LITUK handbook and NIACE materials, with their miscellany (or 'compendium' as the introduction to the handbook put it) of information encompassing the political, the institutional, the emblematic, the social and the everyday illustrate the difficulty – if not impossibility – of attempting to codify a body of knowledge as enormous and in many ways intangible as that deemed necessary for 'citizenship', not to mention the major, continuing task for adult migrants of learning to use English in a way that allows for participation in a range of activities both symbolic and functional. The materials allowed for teachers to orient in various directions and to focus on some topics as opposed to others and teachers were given quite a lot of leeway as to what they did in their lessons, although as I showed in Chapter 5 this was constrained by institutional and professional imperatives such as exam training and limitations such as low literacy levels amongst students. A huge amount hinged therefore on the stances of individual teachers – both in their lessons as a whole and in the moment to moment interactions or the kind I discuss in the next two chapters – their interpretations of the programme and their pragmatic need to do what was 'do-able' for them within their particular contexts.

6.7 Conclusion

I have shown in this chapter and Chapter 5 that although they shared some similarities, my two case study classes differed in one vital respect: Janette's class turned out to resemble an ordinary ESOL class whilst Diane tackled national culture, citizenship and some of the debates related to it more directly. As I discussed in Chapter 4, this is the main reason why the next two chapters are concerned solely with the classes at Eastfields. The fact that Janette was able to largely sidestep citizenship and continue with ESOL 'business as usual', however, is itself note-worthy and represents one of the reportable findings from my research. As such it provides an example of the approach to the citizenship programme

which anecdotal evidence suggests was taken by most other practitioners in the sector; I could even speculate that Janette's approach constituted a 'creative non-implementation' (Braun *et al* 2011a: 586) or mild resistance to the insertion of citizenship into ESOL which was after all opposed by many teachers.

Whatever Janette's motives, as I signalled in the introduction to my thesis, as of October 2013 the ESOL route to naturalisation and residence no longer exists, and it is difficult to say whether the citizenship programme has had any lasting effect on ESOL practice; as Braun *et al* (ibid) point out it is sometimes the case that policies simply 'peter out' particularly where they get 'superficially mapped on to current practices so any innovatory potential may simply be ignored'. However, although the ESOL classes route to citizenship no longer exists in the same form, there is likely to continue to be some need for citizenship teaching of the type offered by Diane in her courses at Eastfields. Since the change in legislation in 2013 applicants for citizenship have to produce evidence that their English is at Entry level 3 – meaning people will come to mainstream ESOL until they reach the right level – as well as subsequently take the *Life in the UK* test. This means that any future courses which are provided to assist people wishing to get through the test are likely to resemble Diane's courses to some extent, that is to say short courses which focus on the information about the UK contained in the handbook from which the test questions are derived. It is to this kind of course, then, that the findings of my research – and the discussion in the next two chapters – will be most relevant.

Writing about the field known as British Studies (Chapter 3, 3.4.2) Christopher Brumfit (1997: 42) points out several challenges presented by teaching national culture 'head on': the sheer scope of the syllabus; the large amount of resources available for inclusion; the possible inability of lower level students to acquire the skills to critically evaluate discourses; and the problem that teaching about Britain cannot easily be divorced from political debates about the nature of Britishness and the contentious nature of British nationalism. In this chapter I have shown how Janette and Diane met some of these challenges through erasure, narrowing the syllabus and teaching the most 'teachable' topics. In the next two chapters I look at other ways in which Diane attempted to meet these challenges and I explore in some detail two key themes, positioning and stance. In Chapter 8 I identify four stances the teacher displayed towards aspects of the UK as she brokered between the official programme and the students who were frequently referents in the debates about

Britishness, immigration, cohesion and citizenship itself, whilst in the next chapter, Chapter 7, I look closer at Diane's ESOL pedagogy and how it positioned students in particular ways.

Chapter 7: 'The New and the Old': pedagogy and positioning

7.1 Introduction

In the final two chapters I take a closer look at what happened when one of my case study teachers, Diane, attempted to teach about Britain and British citizenship explicitly. In Chapter 8 I will discuss how she brokered Britain, and the stances – simplified, personal, serious and sidestepping – which she employed to do so. In this chapter I address my penultimate research sub-question: in what ways did ESOL pedagogy position students and what were the effects of these positionings? By 'pedagogy' I am referring to classroom tasks, participation frameworks and teacher talk. By 'positioning' – discussed in more detail in Chapter 3 (3.5.2) – I am referring to the fact that these practices 'constitute speakers and hearers in certain ways' (Harré and van Lagenhove 1999: 398). Davies and Harré (1990) distinguish between two forms of positioning: 'reflexive positioning' which refers to the way in which a speaker positions him or herself in relation to a topic, person, place or thing (known in the stance literature as the 'stance object') and 'interactive positioning' (or 'stance attribution' in the stance literature) in which speakers 'project, assign, propose, constrain, define or otherwise shape the subject positions of their interlocutors' (Jaffe 2009b: 8). The capacity that one speaker has to position another interactionally is influenced by many factors, such as the respective status of the speakers and their social and institutional roles. This has obvious implications for classrooms in which the possibilities for students to reflexively position themselves or to resist the positions allocated to them is limited (Harklau 2000). In this chapter I explore how a range of ESOL pedagogic practices positioned students in particular ways and what effects this had on the teaching of cultural and citizenship knowledge.

As I showed in the previous chapter, the class at Eastfields was notable for the teacher's attempt to address citizenship directly, unlike the class at Northside where the teacher opted for an 'ESOL business as usual' approach. Diane's pedagogy, however, remained a standard ESOL one; the worksheets, student presentations, role plays and frequently recurring participation frameworks are commonly observed in ESOL classrooms (see e.g. Baynham, Roberts *et al* 2007; Roberts *et al* 2004), as is the practice – standard in the education of adults – of drawing on existing student knowledge as a starting point for the teaching of new material. Throughout this chapter I consider four features of the pedagogy observable at Eastfields: 1) the Initiation-Response-Evaluation (IRE) (see Chapter 6, 6.2.2),

which has multiple functions but in this classroom sometimes positioned students as 'not-knowers' (7.2); 2) tasks and interactional practices which positioned students as expert representatives of their countries of origin and encouraged them to compare 'back home' with the UK (7.3); 3) activities such as quizzes, worksheets and role plays which served to distance students from local and national issues which affected them (7.4) and 4) rhetorical and argumentational devices employed by Diane to mitigate some of the more problematic effects of applying ESOL pedagogy to citizenship (7.5). My exploration of the relationship between pedagogy and positioning in the Eastfields classroom begins with the IRE.

7.2 The IRE: positioning students as 'not knowers'

The first extract I present, 'St. David's Day', is an example of how the IRE sometimes created a deficit in the classroom between students' knowledge and that of the teacher (and mine on the occasions I am drawn into the activity). The extract occurred during a 'talk around task' episode (see Chapter 4, 4.4.1) on 05-06-08 in which the students, teacher and I are standing up around one of the tables upon which Diane has strewn pictures symbolising different festivals or events. These are religious, or at least rooted in Christian beliefs and practices (Easter, Christmas), religious-national (saints days), military (Remembrance Sunday), ludic (New Year's Eve), and cultural/commercial (Mother's Day, Valentine's Day, April Fool's Day). The basic sequence (Mehan 1979: Ch 2) of the episode is as follows: each student takes a card, describes the picture, says what festival or event it represents and having got that right, sticks it onto the corresponding month on a calendar on the wall in another part of the room. The episode lasts for approximately 21 minutes and in total 14 festivals and events are discussed. Some of these – Valentine's Day, Christmas – are familiar to students whilst others, such as April Fool's Day, are more baffling. When extract 1 begins a student has taken a picture of a daffodil which is meant to represent St. David's Day (for transcription key see Chapter 4, 4.4.5):

```
Classroom extract 1: St David's Day [05-06-08]
A = Amina, Bangladeshi student
J = Judith, Ghanaian student
M = the researcher
H = Hasan, Somali student
N = Nadine, Moroccan student
S = unidentified student

1     D:    OK which one have you got
2           alright
3           so what does that show us
4           (6)((J and M audible sticking picture on the board))
5           can anybody help us with that
6           what are they
```

```
7              (2)
8              what flower is that
9       S:     sunflower?
10      D:     ↓↑no:
11      S:     no no no
12      D:     (2)((nominating N)) do you know what that is
13             you've lived here a long time (1)
14      N:     °Saint Pat↑rick°
15      D:     you're on the right lines
16             it's not Saint Patrick
17             but you're on the right lines with the saints
18             ↑↓OK
19             what - does anybody know what this flower is called
20      S:     no
21      D:     it's a flower you see all the time in March
22      S:     daffodil
23      D:     daffodil yes it's a daffodil
24      S:     ah
25      D:     it's a daffodil and
26             go on then tell us
27             (2) not saint Patrick
28      S:     Scottish
29      D:     not Scottish
30      S:     Ireland
31      D:     not Irish
32      Ss     ((laughter))
33      S:     Wales
34             @Wales@
35             yes so the daffodil is the flower of Saint David
36      S:     °David°
37      D:     so sometimes Welsh people will wear a daffodil in their lapel
38             and when do daffodils come out
39      S:     April
40      D:     April
41             even earlier nowadays March
42             >in my garden I had daffodils at the end of January this year
43             would you believe<
44             so it's February March
45             and Saint David's day is on the first of (.)↑↓March
46             so do you want to go and put that one up there for March
47      H:     who is David
48      D:     ↓OK who is Saint David (2)
49             think back to our very first lesson
50             we talked about it in our very first
51             can you remember
52             you have a good memory
53             ↑no
54             think back on our first lesson when we talked about patron saints
55      S:     saints
56      D:     yes
57             we had the patron saint of England was ↑Saint
58      N:     George
59      D:     George
60             Scotland ↑was
61      J:     er
62      D:     the one you just said
63      S:     Andrew
64      D:     Saint Andrew
65             the patron saint of Ireland is ↑Saint
66      N:     (2) Patrick Patrick
67      D:     Saint Patrick
68             and the patron saint of Wales
69      A:     David
70      D:     Saint ↑↓David
71             and his flower is the daffodil
72             OK who's got another one
73             what have you got
```

What I would like to draw attention to here is not the use of the IRE *per se* but to point to the possible effects of using it to teach abstruse knowledge of the kind students grapple with in this extract. The IRE was ubiquitous across the Eastfields data[60] and had multiple pedagogic and social functions, many of them positive. In the rest of the episode in which this extract occurs, for example, Diane used the sequence to remind students of what they had done in previous lessons, to activate their existing knowledge, to 'scaffold' i.e. structure students' moves from their existing knowledge to something new (Cazden 2001: Chapter 4, Young 1992: 99) and, by nominating individual students to speak, to ensure that there was an equal distribution of speaking rights in the lesson. This sequence, though, in which the teacher attempts to elicit knowledge the students do not possess – possibly because she is approaching it as revision, or because she has misjudged what they know – is characterised by long pauses (e.g. lines 26-34 and 57-69) and turns in which students stab at the answers until the correct one is reached. Diane 'gets through' (Mehan 1979: 111) this difficult sequence by employing several different strategies: she breaks down the first initiating question ('what does that show us' in line 3) into smaller parts by rephrasing it several times; she provides clues (e.g. lines 16-17, line 21, line 54), repeats and reformulates the question (e.g. line 19) and provides her own correct answer (e.g. in line 35 and 43-44)[61]. Although the overall 'emotional tone' (Erickson and Schultz 1982) of the extract is good humoured – signalled by the students' laughter and a lack of any observable sign that Diane was frustrated or irritated – this elicitation of facts the students do not possess was somewhat torturous and, given the time and effort it took, hardly proportional to the interest or usefulness the knowledge may have had in their everyday lives.

I should stress that by pointing to the effects of the IRE in this extract I do not do so to critique Diane's professional judgement, either her use of the IRE, which is second nature to most teachers (Rymes 2009: 127), or her assessment of student knowledge. Whilst in an ESOL class the teacher would carry out a language needs analysis to enable her to make judgements about her scheme of work, no such provision was available to Diane for her citizenship class; gaps in students' knowledge only became apparent in the course of the lessons, which made planning ahead difficult. It was therefore hard for Diane to generalise

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[60] I have not carried out a quantitative analysis across the whole of my data but by way of example of the frequency of the occurrence of the IRE in some elicitation sequences, in the episode under discussion here (from the lesson on 05-06-08) there is a total of 37 IRE sequences, or 'topically related sets' (Mehan 1979: 65-71), in 21 minutes.
[61] It has been pointed out by Robert Young (1992: 113) that teachers often give so many clues in questioning sequences like this that they regularly answer their own questions.

about levels of student knowledge about Britain (see Chapter 5, 5.3.3); my data reveals that some were well informed about local and national politics, for example (see 7.4), whilst others were familiar with fairly complex processes connected to employment, schooling and local services. The weakest gap in their knowledge was undoubtedly about British festivals, however, as the St. David's Day extract indicates and although this kind of extract may well appear absurd taken out of context, cultural knowledge of this type had a prominent place in both the LITUK handbook and the NIACE materials (see Chapter 3, 3.3) and questions about saints days, emblems and such like appear regularly as LITUK test items – and far more so since the changes to the test in 2013. Therefore, although regularly lampooned in the media (e.g. O'Hagan 2006), learning this kind of knowledge was a high stakes activity for the students at Eastfields.

One of Diane's aims on her course, then, was to teach students about those aspects of the UK which might otherwise be opaque to them; in her interview she reported that she wanted to explain things like 'why we have the flag of St. George and why Scottish people paint their faces blue at football matches' (Chapter 5, 5.3.1). The topic of British festivals and emblems thus occurred very frequently in the Eastfields recordings: the topics arising in the lessons I discuss in this chapter and the next echoed across several others, as revision in two subsequent classes and on a class outing around Westminster. Perhaps unsurprisingly, national symbols of this kind became synonymous with 'citizenship' amongst some students; when asked what she understood by the term in an interview for this project, for example, a Somali student, Zara, said: 'kings, queens, flags, royals, the British world, the blue book'. Despite Diane's intentions, though, in this extract and others like it, the IRE was not effective in teaching these new facts and in fact drew attention to the students' deficit by asking questions to which they were unlikely to know the answers, thus obliging them to 'guess what teacher thinks' (Coulthard 1977: 104; Rymes 2009: 112; Young 1992: 102) and interactively positioning them as 'not-knowers' about the UK. Thus, the IRE, an integral aspect of ESOL pedagogy ordinarily useful for teaching language skills, exacerbated their position as outsiders, creating a sharp contrast with Diane (and I, when I was drawn into the discussion) as the 'seat of knowledge' (Rymes 2008: 127) in the classroom and as a native insider.

7.3 Students positioned as representatives of 'home'

In contrast to – or, arguably, in parallel with – the positioning of students as 'not knowers' about the UK the students at Eastfields were more frequently positioned as expert knowers about their countries of birth. In this way, their lack of knowledge about some of the more obscure aspects of the UK – St. David's Day, daffodils and so on – was to a certain extent mitigated by their expert knowledge about their home countries[62]. In this section I discuss two ways in which this was done through aspects of ESOL pedagogy: through a version of the IRE which I have labelled 'questions round class' (QRC) and through various activities which constituted what I have called 'comparative pedagogy' in which students are invited to compare their countries with the UK.

7.3.1 Questions round class: students as experts on 'home'

Questions round class are a type of interactional sequence – referred to by analysts as 'recycling' (Griffin and Humphrey 1978 in Mehan 1979: 88) – in which the teacher asks the class a question, and then nominates respondents without repeating the initial question. In mainstream classrooms recycling of this kind is often employed by teachers to get the right answer by asking as many pupils as necessary until one is provided. In the Eastfields data, however, the teacher often asked the same question around the class nominating different members of the group not by name but by their country of birth, as exemplified in extract 2. This occurred during a lesson on 15-05-08 about women and young people. The students have been working on a worksheet which has nine statements about the UK which they compare with their countries of birth[63]. When the extract begins students have been asked to come together with the whole group and share their ideas in a plenary. During this activity, which lasts for 42 minutes, Diane goes through the worksheet in order, talking around the task.

```
Extract 2: The Old Population [15-05-08]
D = Diane
A = Afnan, A Bangladeshi student
N = Nadine, a Moroccan student
S = unidentified student

1    D:    right looking at the first one
2          in Britain we have an (.) old population
```

---

[62] This was not always the case, however, as some students had left their countries of birth as children and had lived in other countries prior to coming to the UK. This was particularly the case with two Somali students who were rarely able to answer questions put to them about their country of birth.

[63] The topics are: the percentage of young people in the population; the divorce rate; the number of young people living at home; the number of young people with part time jobs; the age at which people can vote; how many people vote in elections; the age people can buy alcohol, the levels of binge-drinking amongst the young and the proportion of girls who smoke compared to boys.

```
3          as I think I mentioned last week
4          only a quarter of the population is under nineteen
5          more- there are more old peop-
6          there are more people over sixty (.) in the population
7          than there are under nineteen
8     S:   ((low voice)) nineteen
9     D:   anybody here who's under ↑nineteen
10         [cough] excuse me no
11    Ss:  [xxx]
12    D:   [xxx] he's got a young face ((laughs))
13         right OK
14         now then my bet is that most of you come from countries
15         where there are a lot of young people
16    S    yes
17    D    ↑yes
18         do you know what proportion in Bangla↑desh
19    A:   I Shabnam and I we have a discussion
20    S:   [xxx]
21    D:   ↑yeah
22    S:   [xxxx] forty percent
23    D:   a lot of young people yes
24         what about in Morocco
25         how many young people (.)do you ↓think
26         >I mean you may not be right but don't worry<
27    N:   sixty sixty or seventy per cent
28    D:   a very high percentage of the population
29         Paki↑stan
```

This QRC sequence continues for about a minute during which four more students from Yemen, Somalia, Ghana and Colombia are asked the same question, culminating in Diane's conclusion that 'most countries' represented by the students have a young population. Unlike the IRE sequence described in 7.2, the teacher does not seem to require that the answers to the question about the proportion of young people in the population are correct or even accurate – this is voiced in line 26 when she says 'you may not be right but don't worry'. In fact, questioning sequences of this kind in my data often perform functions other than eliciting the right answer; for example, they are used as a strategy for ensuring representation for all students in whole class discussions, and in extract 2, the QRC served a rhetorical function for the teacher by allowing her to marshal evidence to strengthen her subsequent argument i.e. that taxes from young migrant workers will pay for the British ageing population (see 7.5 and Chapter 8, 8.3.3 for further discussion on this extract). In this way, Diane puts to work a common classroom interactional pattern as a persuasive rhetorical device which ensures that her listeners accept her proposition. Producing 'facts' and evidence helps her to maintain the authority of her argument and ensures smooth teacher-student relations when, due to the potentially face-threatening topic under discussion, they could become a source of tension.

Another effect of interactionally positioning students as representatives of their countries of origin, however – and a potentially much more problematic one – is that this subjects

them to two related processes: they are 'essentialised' i.e. identified as a member of a national or ethnic group rather than as complex individuals (Dervin 2012: 187; Holliday 2011: 5) and 'Othered' (Holliday 2011: Ch 4, Palfreyman 2005, Dervin 2012; Pennycook 1994), i.e. defined in opposition to the UK, as opposed to part of it. As David Palfreyman (2005: 213) explains:

> Othering consists in the ways in which the discourse of a particular group defines other groups in opposition to itself: an Us and Them view that constructs an identity for the other and, implicitly, for the Self[64].

These processes – in which ESOL pedagogy serves to highlight differences from rather than similarities with the UK, thus working *against* the official integrative aim of the citizenship programme – were fostered by other pedagogic activities at Eastfields which I discuss in the next section.

7.3.2 Comparative pedagogy

As well as being positioned interactionally as experts on or representatives of their countries of birth, students were frequently involved in classroom activities in which they had to compare their home countries to the UK[65]. In extract 3, for example, Diane gives instructions for the activity described above, and in extract 4 she asks them to extend the theme to prepare a talk for the following week:

```
Extract 3: Giving instructions [15-05-08]
1     D:     alright now the first task that you have to do is
2            if you look at the sheet that I've put there
3            I have put down a number of things about (.)
4            children and young people in Britain
5            what I want you to do is to make a note on the right hand side
6            about what happens in your country (.) ↑OK


Extract 4: Giving homework [15-05-08]
1     D:     ↑↓right
2            because this week we're looking at family and young people
3            next week when we do our talks
4            I'd like you to compare
5            either the position of women in your country and the UK
6            or how children are brought up
```

---

[64] The term 'Othering' frequently refers to processes concerning ethnicity and race, following the work of Edward Said on Orientalism (1978) but has also been employed in discussions about gender, social class disability and immigration (Anderson 2013), as well as in language education (see e.g. Kubota 2004; Charalambous and Rampton 2014)

[65] Out of a total of 17 observations of 5 hours duration this was the explicit intended focus of 5 of them. In some of these lessons there were 3 or 4 separate long activities in which students engaged in comparing; in total there were 12 episodes of this kind across the three courses. Sometimes, the comparing happened across lessons: the 05-06-08 lesson on UK festivals, for example, had been preceded the week before with a lesson in which students had described festivals in their own countries. Tasks which took place in one class often served as preparation for subsequent classes as illustrated by two extracts from the lesson on 15-05-08.

Comparing the UK with home was in this way built in to the Eastfields syllabus and integral to many of the pedagogic tasks students were required to carry out. As I explained in Chapter 6, many of these comparing activities arose from the challenge of preparing students for their Cambridge Speaking and Listening exam at the same time as teaching about citizenship; combining the two was therefore a pragmatic response to this challenge. Pedagogically, there were other reasons for comparing activities: firstly, the established tradition in adult education of 'starting where students are' aimed at encouraging them to draw on their existing knowledge and 'speak from within' (Cooke and Roberts 2007) – which in ESOL often translates as 'talking about home' – and secondly, because sharing experiences helps to build solidarity and cohesion in multi-ethnic adult classrooms, although as I suggested in 7.3.1 this is created through the highlighting of *differences* between them and the UK, not similarities. In the next section I consider a dynamic which was frequently observable in my data in which students are positioned as representatives of poor countries which, by dint of comparison with the UK, are portrayed as corrupt and inefficient.

7.3.2.i Comparing the UK with home

The tendency to compare students' home countries unfavourably with the UK, and some of the effects of this, is illustrated by extract 5, 'The NHS' in which students compare the health system in the UK with that in Bangladesh. This occurs during a 'talk around task' episode which took place in the first lesson of the third ESOL citizenship course (11-09-08). The class is going over the answers to a quiz entitled 'Living in the UK: how much do you know?[66]' Extract 5 begins with the question 'when did the National Health Service begin' and is followed by a comparison given by Diane between the past – when people died because of lack of healthcare – and the present, when health care in the UK is free. Diane then tells two exemplum narratives (Baynham 2011) about the USA and China where health care is prohibitively expensive. This triggers a comparison between these two places with the health care system in Bangladesh:

```
Extract 5 The NHS [11-09-08]
D = Diane
M = the researcher
H = Hussein, Bangladeshi student
R = Roshanara, Bangladeshi student
L = Laila, Bangladeshi student
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[66] The quiz questions are about British history, politics and institutions (what does 'United Kingdom' mean? How many houses of Parliament are there? When did the NHS begin?), the law (what happens if you drive without a licence?), employment (what is the minimum wage?) and sources of help and information.

```
     S = unidentified student

1    H:     same Bangladesh
2    D:     ↑yeah
3           what's the system in Bangladesh
4    H:     [you have money you go
5    R:     [government hospital but their service is not good
6           the people use to go to the private service
7    D:     ↓OK but what about for everyday things
8           say for ex-
9           OK go to hospital if it's an emergency
10          but what about if you've got like you know
11          I don't know erm
12          something that you don't go to hospital for
13          but you're not very well with
14          er do you pay when you go to the doctor
15   L:     yes every single time
16   S:     [xxx] private
17   D:     but are there like GPs do you have
18   S:     no GPs
19   S:     it's not like here you know hospital
20          there isn't anything like free doctors
21   Ss:    ((all talking at once))[xxxx] any doctor [xx] every time
22   D:     and is it expensive?
23   Ss:    ((talking at once)) very expensive very expensive
```

Hasan's initial comparison is between Bangladesh, China and the USA but with Diane's question in line 17 (are there GPs?) the Bangladeshi system is set against the UK system ('it's not like here… there isn't anything like free doctors' in lines 19-20). In the next part of the sequence Laila changes the subject from the cost of health care to inefficiency in the Bangladeshi system:

```
24   L:     there's one problem they don't keep any records like in this
25   D:     country so if you go another time they won't know what
26   L:     they don't take any records
27   D:     right
28   L:     what's happened before
29   D:     I mean here they joke
30          that the hospitals always lose the records ((chuckles))
31   S:     yeah ((laughs))
32   L:     they don't keep any records or
33          every time they give new prescription
34          new treatment
35          everything they do beginning they start
```

Laila's anecdote is an example of a recurring feature of comparative pedagogy at Eastfields in which a student provides a dramatic or extreme example from their home countries which makes any negative feature of the UK system pale by comparison[67]. Although Diane attempts to ameliorate this with her comment in lines 29-30 (see 7.3.2.ii), she in fact

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[67] Other examples are e.g. when the issue of murderous violence suffered by members of opposition parties in Colombia is raised in a discussion about voter apathy amongst the young in the UK (15-05-08) or a student brings up the problem of child labour in Morocco during a discussion on the law in the UK regulating the employment of children (15-05-08).

exacerbates the rich/poor contrast still further with the direct personal question she asks next:

```
36    D:    right so is there anybody here
37          who's maybe helping family or friends
38          with medical things in Bangla↑desh
39          is anybody anybody here in a position
40          ↑yes you help somebody in Bangla↑desh
41          coz if it's so expensive ↑yes
42    S:    yeah we help
```

By asking which of the students sends money to their countries of origin to help people with health care costs, Diane is linking back to the 'lack of health care and poverty' theme, this time however with the spotlight not on the past but on contemporary poor people – and what is more, on poor people who are directly related to the Bangladeshi students themselves. Through comparative pedagogy, then, students are positioned as representatives of 'home' – and often that home is a poor country riddled with problems – but *not* as local users of the NHS which all of them undoubtedly are, regardless of their national status.

In other parts of the Eastfields data this tendency for students to compare their home countries unfavourably with the UK is sometimes very marked: in the lesson on 22-05-08, for example, in which students were asked to prepare talks comparing the situation of women, children and young people, every one of the 14 presentations compared their countries negatively in comparison with Britain. In some ways, this dynamic is perhaps inevitable. Students have, after all, in most cases migrated for economic or political reasons and all reported in their interviews that they considered the UK to offer better opportunities than their countries of birth; similarly, it is probable that the health care system and the conditions of women and children in some of their countries of origin do compare unfavourably with the UK. My point, however, is not about the accuracy of what they say but about the fact that through standard ESOL pedagogy – asking students to talk about what they know – attention is focused on a negative/positive dichotomy at the expense of a more nuanced exploration of themes and experiences. In an environment in which the students are by implication positioned negatively as people from poor countries, this pedagogy thus serves to *underline* their lower social status and other differences rather than diminish them.

7.3.2 ii Mitigating negative positionings: talking down the UK

Diane attempts to mitigate for the sometimes stark effects of the frequent 'Othering' of students in various ways (see also 7.5), one of which is 'talking down' i.e. criticising the UK. An example of this is seen in the NHS extract when Diane responds to Laila's anecdote in lines 29-30 with the comment that 'here they joke that the hospitals always lose the records'. This strategy could be seen as an attempt to mitigate the gulf which is emerging in this discussion about the Bangladeshi and the British systems and thus to protect the students positive face; another example occurs later in the sequence when Diane comments that 'British people complain and complain about the National Health Service' and points out that I myself have been complaining about the NHS just that very morning. Diane thus attempts to save the face of the students by drawing attention to negative aspects of the British and the UK but these are in fact 'false parallels' that 'flatten out and conceal profound, ongoing inequalities' (Steyn and Foster 2008: 29) between the UK and the students' countries of birth.

The conceit running through some of the Eastfields lessons in which the UK is talked down by way of saving students' face and mitigating the excesses of comparative pedagogy occurs also when the UK is compared *unfavourably* with other places and the cultures of the students are 'talked up', i.e. praised as superior, for example when several students argue that child-raising practices are problematic in the UK compared to their countries of origin (15-05-08 and see Chapter 8, 8.3.3). This dynamic is more usually initiated not by the students, however, but by the teacher. In the same class, for example, during a discussion about young people and binge drinking in the UK, Diane asks – in a reversal of the advice-giver role – 'can anybody think of anything that you think would stop young people from doing this? You come from very different cultures where this doesn't happen'. Although the students' countries come out losing most of the time in comparison with the UK, this deficit is mitigated – at least to a certain extent – by this seemingly opposing dynamic in which some (albeit usually minor) aspects of UK culture are represented as less than perfect. In this way, Diane is able to save the face of the students whose countries, as I have shown, are often represented as poor and inferior whilst at the same time avoiding a crass triumphalist stance but ensuring that the superiority of the UK remains largely intact. How Diane deals with more serious British problems such as nationalism, patriotism and imperialism is discussed in Chapter 8; meanwhile, in the next two sections I consider what

happened when the Eastfields students were addressed not as representatives of home but as denizens/future citizens of the UK.

7.4 Overlooking student knowledge and experience

So far in this chapter I have focused mainly on how student deficits – in terms of knowledge about the UK and in terms of the resources of their countries of origin – were underlined or produced by pedagogy and in classroom interaction. I have shown how students were positioned as either 'not-knowers' or as representatives of their countries of birth and asked to compare their country with the UK, often unfavourably. This is not the whole story though and in the next two sections I turn to occasions when students were addressed as participants in the UK voting system and as workers in the national economy. My focus is again on the Eastfields pedagogy and in particular how it works to a) overlook students' experiences in their everyday lives and to ensure that 'citizenship' seems always to be somewhere else and b) manage topics which are highly face threatening for students.

In Chapters 5 and 6 I pointed out that one of the differences between the two teachers in my study was Diane's stance that citizenship is political and participatory (see Chapter 5, 5.3.1 and Chapter 6, 6.5.2). It follows, then, that in each of the three courses I observed at Eastfields, some class time was dedicated to teaching and learning about local and national government; indeed it was this, along with the focus on British emblems and festivals which differentiated the ESOL citizenship lessons at Eastfields from ordinary ESOL courses. One of the most notable features of the lessons on political citizenship – especially in comparison with the ones on festivals – was the level of knowledge displayed by students: they were aware of the name of their MPs, some were personally acquainted with their local councillors, many had been to their MPs and councillors with problems and a sizeable number on Course 2 had voted in the London mayoral elections in May 2008. Diane was clearly impressed by their knowledge, saying to one class (22-05-08) 'you are politically aware, most people wouldn't know that' when they were able to give the names of the wards they lived in. The other notable feature of the lessons on local and national government was the complexity of students' questions and Diane's level of knowledge: the topics covered included how local government is funded; levels of council tax; the relationship of municipal to central government; different kinds of schools and how housing associations work – all of which students, with some effort, seemed able to understand.

The point I wish to make about these lessons, however, is again one about the pedagogy and its suitability when it is recontextualised in a citizenship setting. Although students displayed quite high levels of knowledge, the pedagogic activities they were asked to engage in – learning facts and figures about government departments, reading political manifestos and writing their own mock manifestos – did not call on this knowledge or acknowledge students' experiences as voters or local residents. On two occasions, students were asked to carry out a role play, one in which they took the part of a constituent going to an MP for advice for a problem, and the other in which they played the role of politicians presenting mock manifestos. Whilst both of these activities were entertaining and produced much humour and jocularity, they were also somewhat problematic: firstly because some students failed to understand that they had to pretend to be someone else, secondly because although students clearly had experience with taking their problems to politicians the role plays were based on invented problems, and thirdly because students were given no instruction on the kind of language they might need in real high stakes encounters such as meeting an MP or when speaking persuasively, a point I discussed more fully in Chapter 6 (6.4.2) and will return to in Chapter 9. The pedagogical choices made in these lessons, then, positioned the students as recipients of facts and figures about British political systems but overlooked their role as active participants in those systems. Thus, although in this field students did not suffer a knowledge deficit, they were positioned by the pedagogy as if they did and their experience did not therefore seem to count for very much in these lessons.

7.5 Personalisation and distancing strategies: pedagogy to protect students' face
Bridget Anderson (2013: 71) comments that labour markets are 'key sites for the construction of "us" and "them"' and in this section I discuss what happened when students were positioned as 'migrant workers' during a discussion about immigration and the UK economy. In order to protect students' face – and her own – Diane employed two pedagogic strategies: personalisation (which receives a much fuller treatment in Chapter 8) and 'distancing'. The two extracts I present to illustrate these occurred in the same episode as the 'Old Population' extract seen earlier in the chapter in 7.3.1 (and see Chapter 8, 8.3.3).

7.5.1. Personalising pedagogy
Just before extract 6 occurs, Diane has been talking about the problems of the ageing population in the UK and that there are not enough young tax-payers to pay for care of the

elderly. She then introduces the theme of migration and how this is a solution to the problems of the old population in the UK. By way of gathering evidence for her argument she conducts a 'question round class sequence' which provides evidence for her thesis that people migrate when they are young. Extract 6 begins just after the QRC:

Extract 6 The Old Population (2)
```
D = Diane
N = Nadine, a Moroccan student
Na = Nadia = a Bangladeshi student

1      D:     late teens twenties and thirties
2             it's young people who do it
3             by the time you get to my age
4             ((breathy))I haven't got the energy to go off and start
5             again in another country ((laughs))
6             you know find a job
7             learn a language
8             sort out a new life
9             ((breathy sigh))aah it's too hard
10            it's people of your age who do it
11            you know you've got the energy at seventeen twenty-six
12     Na:    @I don't have energy Diane@
13     D:     ((laughs)) thirty one @you've got the energy to do this@
14            you work hard
15            young people have got the energy.
16     N:     [xxx]
17     D:     I mean I you know I've worked hard for a very long time
18            now I'm getting to the point where I don't want to
19            work hard anymore
20            you've got the energy
21            you've got the energy
22            to study
23            work
24            look after children
25            do two jobs
26            go to school in the days
27            work at night
```

In the opening of this sequence Diane is still summarising the evidence she has gathered from the students about the age at which they migrated to Britain. In line 3 she shifts into a brief performed hypothetical narrative (De Fina and Georgakopolou 2012: 103 and see Chapter 8) about the process of migration; her breathy voice and heavy sighs and the list of verbs in lines 6-8 personalise this process and dramatize it as exhausting and onerous. This culminates in the exclamation 'aah it's too hard' followed by a switch of focus back onto the students in line 10. Despite Nadia's mock protest in line 12, Diane continues contrasting her lack of energy with the young migrants' capacity through another list of verbs – a fleeting but graphic description of the imagined daily life of a working class migrant – in lines 20-27, this time without the heavy sighing and performed tiredness. Analysts (e.g. De Fina and Georgakopoulou 2012) who have studied the use of narratives as argumentative, rhetorical devices point out that personal stories and anecdotes make an argument more vivid, more persuasive and more difficult to argue against than other

argumentational strategies. Elsewhere in this sequence, Diane invokes her elderly father, her friends' ageing parents, my ageing parents and her future self by way of personalising the problem of the ageing population; in extract 6 she embodies the ageing process itself through her intonation and breathless shift into performance. She thus brings alive a topic which would be far less engaging if delivered purely through a facts and figures worksheet and possibly far less palatable to students who are positioned in this discussion as working class migrant contributors to the British economy. Diane employs personalisation to convince her listeners about her argument and to invoke sympathy and solidarity which mitigates a topic which is potentially face-threatening to the students.

7.5.2 Distancing pedagogy

The sequence in extract 6 continues with a shift of footing – i.e. 'a participant's alignment, or set, or stance, or posture, or projected self… held across a strip of behaviour' (Goffman 1981: 128) – from the personal to the didactic with an explanation about recent immigration to the UK:

```
Extract 7 The Old Population (3)
1        they're mostly young
2        and they will be coming here
3        and working and paying taxes
4        and will help to suppo:rt
5        the older people here
6        so migration is actually
7        you probably know there is a big (.) debate
8        a big argument going on in this country at the moment
9        about whether migration is good or bad or both for the
10       country people are always talking about it
11       one of the good things about migration
12       is that it is mainly young people who come
13       and young people are going to do all those things
14       that we said they're going to work hard often
15       erm contribute taxes
16       not use the health service @very much@
17       not need a pension
18       because they're still working
19       so they give a lot to society before they need to
20       to to- take from it
21       so it is one of the reasons why migration's very useful
22       to this country as a country of old people.
```

This section consists of a long monologic turn in which Diane lectures on the general topic of immigration – a topic in which her audience are direct referents, as I pointed out earlier. To mitigate the awkwardness of their positioning as the subject of a contested, fraught debate Diane uses two distancing techniques: she shifts to the third person pronoun 'they' to refer to migrants in general rather than the 'you' used earlier in the episode and she frames the discussion didactically, i.e. by explaining that there are two or three sides to this

argument; line 19, spoken with equal weight on the words 'good or bad or both' embodies the balanced argument Diane wishes to transmit. Like the lessons on voting, then, the discussion is *about* something directly related to student experience but addressed through 'facts and figures' rather than the values and emotions of the referents in the debate. In this way, moral aspects of this debate – the exploitation of migrant workers or the position of ex-colonial people supporting the British economy with their labour, for example – are elided, as is any discussion about the feelings and experiences of the students as migrant workers. Diane thus manages to pull off an argument which is highly face threatening to her interactants – and therefore potentially troublesome – whilst at the same time maintaining her own and their 'positive face' and the cohesion and harmonious atmosphere of the group. In this section, then, I have started to show how Diane's pedagogy simultaneously positioned her students in particular ways – as not-knowers, experts on home and as migrant workers – whilst also attempting to soften some of the more face threatening results of this positioning. In the next chapter, Chapter 8, I explore more fully these and other strategies Diane employed to broker Britain through her stances on questions such as nationhood, patriotism and the representation of the UK itself.

7.6 Discussion

Throughout this chapter I have shown how pedagogy positioned students in particular ways. In this final section I discuss in more depth the effects of these positionings and begin to point to the implications for teaching citizenship to ESOL students, a discussion which will be fully explored in the concluding chapter, Chapter 9.

In section 7.2 I showed how students were positioned as 'not-knowers' about British cultural facts, about public debates and about British attitudes and values. In the St David's Day extract their lack of knowledge was emphasised by a somewhat torturous IRE sequence in which students tried to identify a daffodil and what it stood for. For many students, knowledge of this kind was obscure but learning it became a high stakes activity because of its inclusion in the LITUK test, handbook and ESOL citizenship materials. The sheer amount of time spent in class on this area of cultural knowledge, however (and see Chapter 8 for details of yet more) came at the expense of other aspects of citizenship such as political participation. This led to it becoming synonymous with 'citizenship' for students and gave it a weight that it did not warrant in terms of its usefulness in their lives. A further, more serious, consequence was that through pedagogy – in this case the IRE –

students ended up being tested publicly on their recognition of particular items and cultural practices. In my view this became a process akin to the 'shibboleth' tests described by Tim McNamara (2005, and see Chapter 6, 6.6.1) which he likens to modern day citizenship tests. McNamara describes how the original biblical test required a particular pronunciation of the word 'shibboleth' to establish the identity of people from warring groups, thus marking the difference between insiders and outsiders. He shows how similar tests have been used in modern contexts, particularly in situations of military conflict and that some 'shibboleth-like' tests have tested not pronunciation to distinguish one group from another but the recognition of cultural items and practices in various kinds of tests[68], including tests such as LITUK. The inability of the Eastfields students to recognise an emblem which all British born people would know marked Diane's ESOL students as 'Other' and set up a boundary line between 'us' and 'them' in much the same way.

This dynamic was reinforced in my second discussion in section 7.3 in which I showed how students were frequently positioned as representatives of their home countries rather than denizens and soon to be legal citizens of the UK; in the 'NHS' extract it is notable that none of the students spoke as users of the health service – or were addressed as such by the teacher – even though some of them had been in the country for many years and all were users of the NHS. Even where students were seen to have a degree of knowledge about local issues such as voting and political participation, their experience was overlooked by the role plays and worksheets in lessons which covered these themes. In this way, and despite their years of residence in London, students were regularly represented as newcomers or 'FOBs'[69] (Talmy 2009a; see also Harklau 2000) and invited not to engage in discussions about becoming British citizens but in frequent comparisons of the UK with their countries of birth. This had two major effects: firstly, it essentialised and Othered students by not offering them alternative speaking positions and secondly, it tended to reduce complex issues to dichotomies – UK good/elsewhere bad or, less frequently, UK bad/elsewhere good – thereby contributing to the 'simplifying' effect of some of the teacher's stances which I discuss further in Chapter 8. It was also noticeable in this class that because of comparative pedagogy students ended up reflexively positioning *themselves*

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[68] One such example was the 'fruit machine test' developed in Cold War Canada to filter homosexuals out of the military which worked on the prediction that gay men would recognise terms and practices from the homosexual sub-culture of the 1950s whilst heterosexuals would not.

[69] FOB stands for ('Fresh off the Boat'), sometimes abbreviated to 'freshie', a derogatory term for new arrivals. In his paper 'Forever FOB', Steven Talmy (2009a) describes the problems which ensued in a high school ESL programme when students with long periods of residency in the USA were positioned as newcomers; they were given age-inappropriate juvenile fiction and asked *ad nauseum* to celebrate their heritage cultures.

as representatives of their countries as a kind of default position. This tendency is mirrored in other ESOL research: in her study of the representation of ESOL students in a college in the USA, for example, Linda Harklau (2000: 48) found that students regularly told stories about their tough experiences which seemed 'to essentialise themselves as a cultural "other" in order to secure teachers' sympathy and support'. This negative 'self-othering', i.e. in which migrants 'stress their differences vis-à-vis people of the host country' (Dietz 2011: 41, see also Holliday 2011; Palfreyman 2005) was not always unanimous amongst the group, however; just after this extract, for example, the topic shifted to the question of corruption in Bangladeshi hospital waiting rooms and several students told anecdotes about paying bribes to jump the queue. One female student, however, can be heard disagreeing with her classmates that 'it isn't like that everywhere', thus refusing to collaborate with the rising level of criticism of the system in her home country. Although resistance as such was uncommon in the Eastfields data, students were not entirely passive, and in Chapter 8 I show how on several occasions Diane was obliged to adopt a 'side-lining' strategy when they asked awkward questions about Britain, or when they brought up topics which were embarrassing or taboo.

The positioning of students as representatives of their countries of birth also served to highlight the fact that they came from economically disadvantaged countries, thus drawing attention to their deficits not just in terms of knowledge but also materially; in section 7.5 I showed how they became positioned as migrant workers in a debate about immigration and the economy and were thus 'Othered' in class terms as well as ethnically. In a class populated by students in low paid, casualised employment this constituted a source of potential awkwardness which Diane attempted to mitigate through various rhetorical strategies: personalising the dilemma of the ageing population, providing evidence for her arguments so that students would be less likely to refute them and shifting pronouns so that the problem was discussed in the third person instead of directly. However, whilst these moves may have prevented a loss of face for the students and Diane, this pedagogy also served to *erase* the experiences of the students as migrant workers in much the same way as their participation in local and national democratic processes was also overlooked. In this way, the experiences of these students on their way to becoming UK citizens – and all that this meant in terms of their positioning in the economy and the British class system – was positioned at one 'remove' from classroom discussions. This type of pedagogy, then, although often useful for the teaching of language competence and skills created a 'them

and us' dynamic – a 'soft border' (Anderson 2013: 176) – which worked directly *against* the officially declared integrative motives of the designers of the citizenship programme and served to erase or side-line the lived experiences of people becoming British.

7.7 Conclusion

The role of the teacher at Eastfields, then, was a complex one: on the one hand she had to manage the hybrid nature of the class which prepared students for an exam in oral competence as well as teaching them about the UK and on the other hand she had to manage the asymmetry between herself, as teacher and expert representative of the UK, and the students in the economy of the ESOL citizenship classroom – an economy in which students were unequal in both symbolic (culturally and linguistically) and material terms. Diane's ESOL pedagogy sometimes highlighted their deficits but more often positioned them as expert representatives from home; much of classroom time was thus spent comparing the UK with other countries. Of course, Britishness, nationhood and patriotism, the themes of Chapter 8, all depend to a certain extent on positioning Britain in comparison with elsewhere and the British in comparison with other nationalities and in the next chapter I turn to the stances Diane took on Britain itself.

Chapter 8: Brokering Britain

8.1 Introduction

In the final empirical chapter of this thesis I turn to the representation of Britain in the citizenship programme and the classroom at Eastfields to address my last research sub question: what stances on Britain and British citizenship were observable in the teacher's pedagogic practices and talk? This chapter and the previous one are closely connected: as I explained in Chapter 3, stance and positioning are two sides of the same coin, and many of the features discussed in Chapter 7 – simplification, personalisation, comparative pedagogy – are observable in the extracts I present in this chapter. Furthermore, as Bridget Anderson (2013: 4) remarks 'the foreigner defines the nation and its citizenry from outside' and much of the comparative work in Diane's lessons served to point not just to the students' countries of birth but at Britain too. The difference between the chapters is mainly one of focus; in this chapter it is not on the positioning of students – although clearly, this was happening simultaneously – but on the teacher's stances on Britain and how, through these stances, she brokered the nation itself. As such the chapter addresses questions about British national identity and how Britain was portrayed in the handbook, materials and ESOL citizenship classroom.

As I suggested in Chapter 2 (2.3.4), although some theorists such as Rogers Smith (2001) and Bernard Crick (2009) regard citizenship as a purely political category, its intimate relationship with legal membership of the nation state and immigration meant that in the UK citizenship programme British national identity became equally if not more salient than the participatory, political aspects of citizenship. Despite the claims made in *The New and the Old* (Home Office 2003: 11) that there was 'no need to define Britishness too precisely nor to redefine' it, the citizenship programme emerged at the same time as the Britishness debate was heating up in media, public and academic discourse. The LITUK test, much of the LITUK handbook and the NIACE materials then – and therefore a lot of the teaching in Diane's classes – were not about political institutions or participation but facts and figures about British customs and traditions, topics such as the UK population and the role of women and British institutions such as the NHS.

Despite efforts such as the New Labour Britishness project, however, commentators on British national identity (e.g. Fox and Miller-Idris 2008a, 2008b) point out that in their

everyday lives most people who live in 'established nations' (Billig 1995:6) (as opposed to those in the process of formation or those whose borders are under threat) do not talk about or think consciously about their national identity unless triggered to do so by e.g. international sporting events and national spectacles. The task of ESOL citizenship teachers – to make the nation explicit to prospective new members – was therefore a relatively unusual activity[70]. In his book *Banal Nationalism* (1995), however, Michael Billig points out that although the category of 'nation' may not be prominent for people most of the time it is kept alive through a constant low-level 'flagging' of nationhood in quotidian activities, routine symbols and habits of language such as possessive pronouns; 'nationalism', says Billig, 'far from being an intermittent mood in established nations, is the endemic condition', a common-sense, taken for granted almost invisible ideology 'simultaneously obvious and obscure' (p. 6). On this view, in the ESOL citizenship classroom messages about Britain were likely to be transmitted not only through explicit topics chosen for the scheme of work but also in the *way* the teacher talked about Britain i.e. implicitly through language socialisation (see Chapter 3, 3.4.3) and, as an essential part of this, stance-taking. As I will show in this chapter, Diane's stances on Britain and British nationhood were usually observable through quite low-key stance-taking acts involving pronoun shifts, humour and personal/institutional blends; indeed, stance-taking acts do not necessarily require the modal conviction of attitudinal statements flagged by phrases such as 'I think' or 'in my opinion' and are more often premised on inference rather than assertion of evaluation. As Jaworski and Thurlow (2009: 245) comment:

> What gives stances their inherently ideological significance is that they are less likely – relatively speaking – to draw attention to themselves. As with ideology, some claim to knowledge-about-the-world is made but in a way that is *apparently* less 'committed' and therefore presented as more of a common-sensical taken for granted.

In this chapter, then, I discuss four of the stances Diane displayed in her classroom talk as she brokered Britain: 'simplified' (8.2), 'personal' (8.3), 'serious' (8.4) and 'sidestepping' (8.5). These are by their nature interpolated into each other but treated separately for analytic purposes.

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[70] This is not the case of course for people in Scotland, Wales and N. Ireland for whom Scottish, Welsh and Irish national identities are more salient categories and British identity is contested. The NIACE materials were in fact adapted for use in the other nations and it is interesting to speculate how questions of national identity were addressed outside of England in ESOL citizenship courses.

8.2 Simplified Britain

The first stance is related to the discussion I began in Chapter 7 in which I described the uneven knowledge of the students with regards to British festivals, customs and heritage symbols; four of the extracts I discuss in this chapter are taken from the same episode as the St. David's Day extract (7.2) in which the students were asked to describe an emblem, match it to a festival and pin the picture onto the correct month on the calendar. One way that Diane attempts to make this kind of target knowledge accessible is through short didactic 'easy, consumable chunks' (Shrubshall and Chopra 2004: 53) such as 'off-the-peg' stories from a familiar canon of folk and popular culture, told in a simplified style to make them comprehensible to ESOL students. Examples of these in my data are sometimes exclusively British – the stories of Guy Fawkes and the World War 1 poppy fields (see 8.4.1), for example – or stories familiar from the bible or other sources such as the extract I discuss here, the story of The Three Wise Men. As I indicated in Chapter 4 (4.4.5), stories of all types were an important way in which Diane displayed her stances in her classroom talk and, as I will show, are an important resource for socialisation; as Lesley Rex and colleagues (2002: 791) comment, drawing on Clifford Geertz (1973):

> Stories and their meanings are not chosen and managed by their tellers alone. Stories are also expressions of cultural values, norms, and structures passed on through the tellers, often without conscious intention.

As I show in the next section, complex questions about British culture and values arose in spite of – or perhaps because of – the teacher's simplifying stance and the extract in section 8.2.1 illustrates two of the challenges of brokering Britain in the ESOL classroom: the fact that despite simplification students sometimes ask difficult questions, and the problem for the teacher of managing her personal stance whilst trying to provide a balanced or neutral view of complex issues.

8.2.1 Simplified Britain: canonical stories

In extract 1, Peter, a student from Jamaica has picked a picture of a scene taken from the front of a Christmas card depicting the story of the Three Wise Men:

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Classroom extract 1: The Three Wise Men [05-06-08]
P = Peter, a student from Jamaica
D = Diane
Sh = Shabna, a Bangladeshi student

1     P:     this show the three wise man follow the star to Bethlehem
2            when Jesus Christ was born
```

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3     D:    OK so Christians believe that when baby Jesus was born
4           three wise men
5           three kings came from the East carrying presents
6           carrying gifts for the baby
7           go:ld frankincense and my:rrh
8           the most expensive things you could possibly give
9           and they followed the sta:r all the way to Bethlehem
10          where Christians believe that Christ was born
11          so this picture shows the three kings on their camels
12          ((slight teasing voice)) >coz traditionally they're always
13          thought of as coming from somewhere with camels<
14          following the star to Bethlehem
15    Sh:   is it true Diane
16    D:    probably not ((laughs))
17          but you know it's (.) all part of the beliefs and traditions that
18          who knows maybe there was some truth one d- one day but (1)
19          ↓ri:ght who hasn't spoken?
```

Unlike other students from Somalia and Bangladesh in course three who were unfamiliar with this story, as a person socialised in Jamaica where English is spoken and Christmas is celebrated, Peter is familiar with this scene and describes it succinctly, using the familiar stock phrases associated with it i.e. 'three wise men' and 'follow the star'. For Diane and I this story is a highly familiar, indeed hackneyed one which was part of our childhood socialisation and which we have been exposed to on countless occasions throughout our lives in school textbooks, school assemblies, the media and so on; as such it is part of our 'collective memory' (Billig 2001; Wertsch 2002) and one of the 'stories we live by' (cf. Lakoff and Johnstone 1980). Diane's telling of the story thus employs the same predictable style as stories told to young school children or tourists – in fact, Diane was once a blue badge tourist guide – and some of the stock phrases she employs ('baby Jesus', 'three Kings came from the East') are, like those in folktales and other oft-repeated children's stories, familiar from hundreds of tellings.

The employment of these stories in an adult ESOL citizenship class can be viewed in various ways: on the one hand, the primary school/tourist register could be regarded as somewhat infantilising, a tendency in ESOL/EFL which has been critiqued by some researchers (e.g. Auerbach 1992; Talmy 2009; Wallace 1992). On the other hand, it could be argued that becoming familiar with the genre and cultural significance of canonical stories of this type is part and parcel of the socialisation process which migrants undergo in a new cultural environment; bible stories such as the nativity, for example, are the subject of an annual row in the media when accusations are levelled at multicultural schools and local councils for favouring festivals from other religions at the expense of Christian ones or of erasing Christian festivals altogether (see e.g. Clark 2014), a feature of local life which is likely to affect new citizens who send their children to British schools.

There is a further point to be made about this extract, however, which points to the complexity of telling cultural narratives such as these to students who may be unfamiliar with them, and unfamiliar with ways of telling stories derived from religious texts. I would suggest that Diane's linguistic choices in extract 1 are a distancing mechanism from the religious nature of the story, thereby revealing her stance on religion: firstly, there is an absence of the 'I' and 'we' pronouns she uses on other occasions (e.g. the Bonfire Night story in section 8.3.1). Secondly, the phrase 'Christians believe' is used twice (lines 3 and 9/10); this, along with the formulation 'they're always thought of as coming from somewhere on camels' (lines 12/13) which is spoken in a slightly teasing voice, signals a change of footing (Goffman 1981), i.e. a change in her stance towards the story and her listeners. In her interview, Diane reported that religion was one of the topics she avoided in class and she talked at some length about her distaste for public displays of religion and how teaching religious students – as she perceives the ones in this class to be – can be uncomfortable for her[71]. The telling and re-telling of stories of this kind, however, is regarded by sociologists as one of the ways that religion is maintained as a 'chain of memory' (Hervieu-Léger 1998: 35 in Haakedal 2009) and this narrative, one of the central stories in Christianity, could be interpreted by listeners as a sign of religiosity on the part of the narrator. Shabna's question in line 15 (is it true?) seems to create a moment of conversational trouble (Baynham 2011a: 71) for Diane, indicated by the laugh following her reply 'probably not'. This is followed, however, by what appears to be another change of footing, a kind of back-tracking on her epistemic stance, when she says 'who knows maybe there was some truth one d- one day but' (line 18). Diane falters in line 18, leaving her utterance incomplete and moves the activity on to the next participant. I cannot say with any certainty whether the student's question is genuine or playful but its perlocutionary effect is to oblige Diane to be explicit about her own personal view on theology whilst at the same time having to manage the fact that her listeners, as religious people – the majority of them Muslims – might find her view surprising, noteworthy or even offensive. This fleeting but sudden intrusion of Diane's personal stance on a serious topic in an otherwise light-hearted sequence brings me to the next brokering stance I would like to explore in this chapter, 'Personal Britain', in which I look at occasions in which Diane

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71 There are only two other occasions in my data in which Diane initiates a sequence in which religion is the topic a) a sequence in which she asks questions of the Muslim students about Eid and how they know when it begins (22-05-08) and b) during a plenary discussion after a brainstorming session about 'being British' (11-09-08) in which she claims 'we're not a very religious country here… very few people go to church… religion is not very important compared to countries where you come from'.

chooses to bring in personal examples and anecdotes, thereby acting as a representative –
and sometimes as an embodiment – of Britain in her classroom talk.

8.3 Personal Britain

As the previous example illustrates, and as I showed in Chapter 7, throughout the
Eastfields data there are frequent instances in which Diane's private or 'home' persona is
brought into the classroom. These take the form of fleeting comments, asides and
disclosures like the one in the previous section, as well as personal stories of varying
lengths, types and purposes. In Chapter 4 (4.4.5.i) I indicated the multifunctional nature of
classroom stories and in the next three sections I consider a small selection of personal
narratives, 'small stories' (Georgakopolou 2007) and fleeting intrusions of personal
discourse which served various brokering functions: to represent a British festival; to
communicate a serious point about British attitudes; and to mediate the British state's
position on the retirement age and migrant contributions to pensions.

8.3.1 Synthetic personalisation: British culture

In this extract, taken from the same episode as The Three Wise Men, a student has chosen
a picture of Bonfire Night which triggers this description from Diane of her own
celebrations the year before:

Classroom extract 2 Bonfire Night [05-06-08]
```
D = Diane

1     D:    we have we have fireworks
2           we have firework parties
3           we either have a party at ho:me
4           or we go to a public party ((coughs))
5           this year we had a party at home
6           and we invited all our ↓↑neighbours
7           and everybody brought ↓↑fireworks
8           and we had baked potatoes
9           >we had a small bonfire<
10          and we had baked ↑↓potatoes
11          and garlic bread wrapped up in foil
12          and we put it in the bonfire
13          and everybody ate it and watched the fireworks
14          and all the children went ooh ooh
15          and the next morning there was a big mess in our garden
16          ((laughs)) coz there was bits of fireworks everywhere and so on
17          but it was a really nice evening
18          some years I go to the big display up on Blackheath very high up
19          so they have a really really big display up there
20          right ↓OK who hasn't spoken
21          who's got one
```

On a mundane level, there are two ways of viewing this narrative and others like it and the way they are told: firstly, personal stories told by the teacher are invariably more interesting and entertaining to students than worksheets; they help to vary and enliven lessons and are conducive to positive teacher-student relations. Secondly, in a similar way to the Three Wise Men, the Bonfire Night story serves as a model for the monologic turns Diane is trying to elicit from students; as I discussed in Chapter 6 this is one of the requirements of the exam the students have to take, so this activity serves both to teach the lexis and symbolism of British festivals and as a model of a standard western narrative (Labov 1972) which students are likely to need for the 'long turn'.

There is more to be said about this extract, though, particularly about Diane's storytelling style. Analysts (e.g. Bamberg 1997) point out that personal narratives can be viewed in two ways: as representations of a happening in the past and what it means now to the narrator, or as 'acts of telling or representing' (ibid: 335) an event in a particular way to a particular audience. Although the Bonfire Night story is told ostensibly as a personal anecdote, the storytelling style has many similar features to the canonical, simplified story in extract 1 and can in fact be viewed not as a personal story but as a personalised version of an 'off the peg' one: the texture of the story is again that of one told to children or tourists; it is list-like – the events are told with a string of clauses beginning with 'and' (lines 6-15) with a rising intonation after each one – and it is highly schematic; like the story of the Three Wise Men, it is instantly recognisable to me and corresponds closely to my own cognitive schema of Bonfire Night. Although analysts (de Fina *et al* 2006; Juzwik and Ives 2010) point out that narrative is an important means of discursively constructing a narrator's identity, I would suggest that what Diane produces here is a synthetic personal narrative designed to construct not only her own identity but that of the country's; in this case the picture she paints is an idealised one of a convivial, cohesive 'community of value' (Anderson 2013). Her description is in fact redolent of what Krishan Kumar (2003) has identified as a genre in film and literary writing – particularly popular in the 1940s –which provides 'a rich vein of commentary on the national character' (p. 299). In this genre, writers from various points on the political spectrum such as John Betjeman (in Paxman 1999: 153), T.S. Eliot (1948) and George Orwell ([1941] 2000) – to name the most oft-quoted – produced lists of images which for them represented quintessential Britain (or more accurately, England): Orwell's list in his essay on the possibility of left-wing patriotism, *The Lion and the Unicorn*, invoked 'solid breakfasts and gloomy Sundays, smoky

towns and winding roads, green fields and red pillar boxes', Betjeman's more nostalgic vision was of 'a visit to the cinema, branch-line trains, light railways, leaning on gates and looking across fields' (Paxman 1999: 153) whilst Eliot's (1948) list famously invoked 'Derby Day, Henley Regatta, Cowes, the twelfth of August, a cup final, the dog races, the pin table, the dart board, Wensleydale cheese, boiled cabbage cut into sections, beetroot in vinegar, 19th century Gothic churches and the music of Elgar' (p.30). Thus writers have helped to create the 'imagined community' (Anderson 1983) of Britain and, according to Kumar (2003), it is this vein which politicians tap into in their sporadic attempts to stir patriotism amongst the electorate; in a much critiqued speech about Britain's role in the EU in 1993 (see Billig 1995: 99; Cohen 2000), for example, the Conservative Prime Minister John Major[72] – quoting the socialist Orwell out of context – provided another list of 'unamendable' essentials which characterised the country:

> Fifty years from now Britain will still be the country of long shadows on county grounds, warm beer, invincible green suburbs, dog lovers and pools fillers and - as George Orwell said 'old maids bicycling to Holy Communion through the morning mist'.

In a more recent revival of the genre, in a speech warning about the problems of immigration, the Prime Minister David Cameron described British communities as 'knitted together by all the rituals of the neighbourhood, from the school run to the chat down the pub'[73]. Taken in this tradition, then, the Bonfire Night story – seemingly personal to Diane but recognisable to me and no doubt to other British-born people – contributes to a cumulative depiction of Britain as a good, safe, congenial 'community of value' and serves to offset the more negative representations (NHS waiting times, hospitals losing files, the ageing population) discussed in Chapter 7 (and see 8.3.2 below). In the next section I describe an example of a personal story which serves a different purpose – socialising students into local ways of behaving – in which Diane takes a stance to communicate something serious, and considerably more dystopic, than her Bonfire Night story.

8.3.2 Giving advice on local behaviour

Peggy Miller (1994: 159) points out that the 'flow of social and moral messages is relentless in the myriad small encounters of everyday life' and that personal narratives play a large part in this flow. Research by Rex *et al* (2002) in two secondary school classrooms in the

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[72] Major, J. (1993) 'Speech to Conservative Group for Europe'. Available at http://www.johnmajor.co.uk/page1086.html. Accessed 28-03-15
[73] Speech made on 14th April 2011 to Conservative party members.

USA reveals that although the numerous narratives produced by teachers had various purposes, by far the most common was the 'object lesson' i.e. stories told by the teacher 'to provide a message or moral regarding a preferred action or state of being' (p. 775). Similarly, Mary Juzwik and Denise Ives (2010) show how through a personal narrative about being punished as a child for smoking, a teacher models herself to her teenage students as a responsible person who responded to punishment by learning her lesson. In the Eastfields data, although Diane does not moralise in the way teachers would to younger students, she frequently positions herself as 'advice giver' to students about various situations, problems and dilemmas which arise in classroom discussions. These were about social and economic problems such as housing, finding work and being properly paid or moral problems such as voter apathy, drunkenness or street violence, the theme of extract 3.

The topic of the lesson (15-05-08) in which this occurs is 'women and young people'; prior to the extract, students have been asked to brainstorm in groups the differences in the UK and their home countries with regards to child-raising practices. It is thus an example of the comparative pedagogy I discussed in Chapter 7. This is followed by a plenary in which students report to the class the main points raised in their groups. During the plenary a heated discussion erupts about the issue of child discipline; this lasts a total of fifteen minutes and is characterised by student initiated turns and the telling of a string of exemplum narratives about the students' experiences in London and the UK which are put forward to support the students' argumentational position (de Fina 2006: 367). In the course of the discussion a 'home good/UK bad' dynamic of the type I discussed in Chapter 7 (7.3.2.ii) emerges; the students are unanimous in their opinion that in their countries the problem of child discipline is less prevalent than in London because it is addressed by all the adults in the community and, unlike in the UK, physical punishment of children is tolerated. Judith, a student from Ghana, tells a story about an experience she had on a local London bus in which a boy had thrown something through the glass door and nobody had taken action. She comments that in Ghana the boy would have been beaten by the people on the bus. Other students then lament that in England this is not possible because there are laws against hitting children and this leads to problems of ill-discipline. The extract starts at the end of this part of the discussion at the point where the interactional control returns to Diane in line 4:

D = Diane
M = the researcher
S = Shabnam


```
1    S:    it's law you can't beat your child
2    D:    ]I'll tell you
3    M:    ]that's interesting=
4    D:    =that's an interesting thought
5          and I want to give you another one as well
6          which is
7          I think what- if if I saw that happening on the bus
8          the reason why I wouldn't do anything
9          is because I'd be worried about what that kid would do to me
10         if he'd pull a knife on me
11   Ss:   yes yeah yes
12   D:    now a lot of you have said
13         that you think this is a safe country
14         and I agree with you
15         I think on the whole it is a safe country (.)
16         but in that situation I would be very careful
17         I have done it at times
18         I have intervened
19         and afterwards like my husband has said
20         you were really stupid to do that because they could have
21         pulled a knife on you
```

In line 2 my evaluation 'that's interesting' is an attempt to respond neutrally without showing my discomfort at the stances the students are taking on the topic of physical punishment. At the same time, in line 3 Diane makes a bid for the floor whilst also aligning with me with her repetition of the word 'interesting'. Diane then gives advice by using a hypothetical formulation (lines 7-10) i.e. what she would do in a situation such as that witnessed by Judith. In line 12 Diane says 'a lot of you have said this is a safe country', a rhetorical move followed by an 'I agree but' formulation (lines 14-15) which sets up an iterative narrative – a story which illustrates an event which happens typically or repeatedly (Baynham 2011b: 66) – about what has happened on previous occasions when she has intervened in similar situations. Her point is further emphasised by the dramatization of her husband's reaction which she recreates through a shift into performed direct speech in lines 20-21. Thus Diane displays the stance of a concerned citizen – thereby aligning with the students who advocate intervention – whilst at the same time presenting a 'voice of reason' stance which she voices through her animation of her husband's opposition to her behaviour and fears for her safety. The episode continues for another seven minutes in which Diane argues her point still further with a dramatic exemplum narrative taken from the news about a local boy who died whilst intervening in a violent altercation in a bakery and, at the end of the episode, by asking me if I ever intervene in such situations – a strategy which Diane sometimes used when she wished to exemplify a point she was

making about the UK. To this I reply 'yes often' which is not really true but which I guess is Diane's 'preferred response'. Müller and Di Luzio (1995: 114) point out that narratives have an important function in 'documenting, detailing, dramatizing claims that narrators want to affirm in everyday argument' and here personal story-telling is employed by Diane to argue the point about a serious moral and behavioural issue. The Safe Country story also serves to contrast how things are done in the UK compared to elsewhere – another example of the comparative pedagogy I described in Chapter 7 – and as such performs a socialising function for students who hold different beliefs from Diane and I about child-raising and ill-discipline.

In the two examples in 8.3.1 and 8.3.2, then, Diane brokers Britain in two ways. In the Bonfire Night extract her synthetic personalisation idealises Britain as a cohesive and neighbourly place reminiscent of many idealised portrayals of the country in the media, art and political discourse. In the Safe Country extract, her personal anecdotes about street violence socialises students into local ways of doing things, i.e. keeping a low profile and not getting involved, an approach which contrasts sharply with that taken in their own countries. In the next section I draw on an extract from an episode already discussed in Chapter 7, The Old Population, to show another way in which Diane represents Britain through her personal stances, this time when she brokers between the British state and the students in a discussion about raising the pension age.

8.3.3 Brokering the state

In this section I return to the Old Population episode I first introduced in Chapter 7 (7.3.1 and 7.5.1). In extract 4 I show how Diane brokers the British state's position on an issue which is of personal importance to her – the raising of the pension age – but which is the source of potential embarrassment to her students who, as migrant workers, are expected to finance the ageing population. I will show that she mitigates this awkwardness through the use of exaggeration and self-mocking humour which helps to save the face of her students and her own whilst at the same time maintaining a cohesive and harmonious atmosphere in class.

By way of a reminder, the Old Population sequence occurred during a lesson about women and young people. The extract occurs in a longer sequence (see Chapter 7, 7.3.1 and 7.5.2 for further extracts) which contains an argument which builds throughout its length, the

gist of which is: in the UK we have an old population and not enough young people to support us so in this respect the immigration of young migrant workers into the economy is a positive thing. Extract 4 occurs near the beginning of the episode:

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Extract 4: The Old Population (4) [15-05-08]
D = Diane
A = Afnan, A Bangladeshi student
N = Nadine, a Moroccan student
Na = Nadia, a Bangladeshi student
Ma = Mahmoud, a Bangladeshi student
S = unidentified student

1               I know I've said a bit about this before
2               what is the result for this country of having such an old
3               population (3)
4               it it creates it makes some problems for us
5               or some issues >maybe they're not necessarily problems<
6               but there are some some things that affect the country
7               some things that the country needs to think about (.)
8               we are an old population (4)
9               ((4 background murmurs))
10              what do we-
11      A:      need people take care
12      D:      that's right
13              there is going to be a hu:ge nee:d for people to take care
14              of people like ↑↓me: in the next few @years@
15              (1) so you're all young
16      Na:     you're not old Diane
17      D       @yeah I'm not young@ ((laughs))
18              you're young
19              ((laughter, background murmurs))
20      D       ((raising voice over students talking in the background))
21              yes you're old now (.)
22              so in the next few years
23              in the next few years
24              we need you all to go to work
25              earn lots of money
26              pay lots of taxes
27      Ss      ((students talking at once))
28              so we can retire
29      Ma:     100 per cent oh my god
30      D:      ((laughs))
31      Na:     he pay lots and lots
32      D:      alright
33              so when I first started work
34              I thought I was going to retire at ↑↓sixty
35              ((to M)) did you think you were going to retire at ↓↑sixty
36              but of course the government is saying
37              mm we have too many old people
38              and they keep on rai:sing
39      S:      ]yeah
40              ]the retirement age
41              by the time you retire it'll be seventy ((laughs))
42      Ss      ((talking in background))
43      D:      when I started work I thought ((breathy))ah sixty ((laughs))
44              I tell you what I think as well
45              I think that by the time you retire
46              there may not be a very big state pension
47      S       yeah
48      D:      at the moment there is still a state pension
49              I sometimes wonder how long that will happen
50              coz it's very expensive
```

In lines 2-10 Diane initiates an IRE sequence with the question 'what is the result for this country of having an old population?'; the response is provided by Afnan in line 11 (need people take care) which is positively evaluated by Diane in line 12. This introduces a new theme in the argument, that young people need to pay taxes and work hard so older people can retire. Until line 13 Diane represents the ageing population problem as belonging to 'the country' ('some things **the country** needs to think about'); her pronouns – a key 'positioning device' (Bamberg 1997: 338) – 'we' and 'us' refer to the state and to the general UK population (**we** are an old population, problems for **us**). In lines 13-14, however, Diane refers not to 'older people' in general but 'people like me', thus blending a governmental problem with a personal one. The chuckle embedded in the last few words of the utterance ending 'in the next few years' (line 14) signals two face threatening issues: a) the students, as young people but also as migrant workers, are the referents in the debate and b) Diane is drawing attention to her age. She then addresses the students in line 15 ('you're all young'), implicating them directly in the debate as the solution to her – and the country's – predicament. This provokes a hubbub in which the students start to speak at once. In line 16 Nadia, collaborating with the slight teasing tone of the discussion, rebuts the teacher's declaration that she is going to be old in a few years' time. Diane then repeats her claim that she is not young but the students are and in lines 22 to 28, over the hubbub, she reiterates what 'we' (i.e. the British state/people like Diane) need 'you all' (young people/the students) to do to solve the problem. In line 29 Mahmoud comments about the levels of tax he will have to pay, his hyperbolic tease ('100 per cent oh my god') continuing the jocular tone of the sequence. In lines 33-50 the argument shifts to a related societal problem, that the old population is growing and the retirement age is being raised. This theme begins with a fleeting brief exemplum narrative about what Diane used to think when she started work after which she appeals to me, a similarly ageing Brit, to reinforce her point (line 35). In lines 26-40 the footing shifts again from an alignment of the personal with the state/general population to a stance which suggests mild opposition to the government policy of raising the retirement age; the pronoun which refers to the government here is not 'we' but 'they'. In line 41, Diane shifts the focus again to the students with 'by the time you retire' followed by a didactic sequence in lines 44-50 – delivered with no joking or teasing – in which she explains her predictions about the dwindling state pension in the future.

One of the notable features of this extract is the use of personalisation and humour to create solidarity and rapport which, in an adult classroom is a key strategy for creating a supportive and friendly environment and for handling 'the interpersonal aspect of being in a classroom and the accompanying power/knowledge imbalance' (Baynham 1996: 194). In my data, personalisation and humour was one of the chief ways in which Diane mitigated potentially face-threatening topics such as the one dealt with here, i.e. the role of migrant workers in the British economy. The mild teasing and self-mockery i.e. 'playfully belittling oneself' (Yu 2013: 1) on display here is a type of conversational humour which Diane employs frequently and which can be said to be one of the distinctive aspects of her interactional style (Tannen 1984: 130). Humour of this kind has several functions: according to analysts (e.g. Boxer and Cortés-Conde 1997) self-mockery is usually 'oriented towards fostering rapport and solidarity' (Yu 2013: 19) and can serve as a way for speakers to downplay their authority in an asymmetrical interaction as well as contribute to the presentation of a positive self-image. Self-mockery requires that the speaker is the centre of verbal play and that the 'put-down' must be initiated by the speaker her/himself; Diane's comment in lines 13-14 about needing care in a few years' time – spoken with elongated vowels (hu:ge nee:d) to dramatise the point – is one such example. Analysts have shown that self-denigrating humour 'is often not responded to by laughter but rather by an offer of sympathy or a contradictory statement' (Schnurr and Chan 2011: 21). This is particularly prevalent in interaction in which there is asymmetry between speakers; research in workplaces, for example, has shown that laughter functions as 'a signal for subordinates to acknowledge the non-serious intention of a superior's self-denigrating comments rather than to express agreement with those comments' (ibid: 32). In line 16 Nadia's humorous contradiction 'you're not old Diane' is therefore the preferred response to Diane's playful self-denigration. Nadia thus contributes to the creation of a 'play frame' (Bateson 1954; Coates 2007; Tannen 1993)[74] for the ensuing talk – picked up also by Mahmoud in lines 29 – which enables Diane to make claims about herself, about the country and about her interactants which would be otherwise highly problematic. By employing self-mockery in this instance Diane is not only playing down the seriousness of the topic and promoting alignment with her students but in fact ensuring their collusion (McDermott and Tylbor

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[74] The concept of framing originated with Gregory Bateson (1954) and has been adopted by Erving Goffman (1974), Del Hymes (1974), Deborah Tannen (1993) amongst others. Tannen comments that 'Bateson demonstrated that no communicative move, verbal or non-verbal, could be understood without reference to a metacommunicative message or metamessage about what is going on – that is what frame of interpretation applies to the move' (p. 3). In interaction this means that the hearer of an utterance must know what frame s/he is operating in i.e. whether the activity is joking, playing, imitating, performing, serious and so on.

1983) for the rest of the extract in which several highly face-threatening references are made to their role as low-paid migrant workers in the economy (see Chapter 7).

Diane's personalisation goes beyond just a display of mild self-mockery, however. She in fact positions herself simultaneously in three ways in this sequence: firstly as an individual personally affected by the ageing process and the government's policy of raising the retirement age (lines 13-14 and 33-35); secondly, as broker of the state's position on the economy ('we need you all to go to work earn lots of money pay lots of taxes') and pensions ('it's getting very hard to pay these pensions' 'by the time you retire it'll be seventy) and, thirdly, in the extract as a whole, she takes a positive stance on immigration which values migrants for their contribution; as Bridget Anderson (2013: 72) points out, invoking the qualities of the 'good migrant' is a common way for people who regard themselves as liberals or left-leaning to talk about immigration. Similarly, the talk shifts in and out of frames throughout this extract; Diane changes footing from playful to serious and didactic on several occasions, such as in lines 43 – 45. In fact, rather than shift footing between positions she embeds one footing within another (Goffman 1981: 154), thereby allowing a 'lamination' of different stances and positioning throughout the extract (Hoyle 1993). Diane thus blends various stances, positionings and voices, simultaneously managing the state position with a personal take on herself, using teasing and self-denigrating humour to mitigate the serious institutional message to her interactants, the student/migrant workers. On other occasions, however, Diane deals with serious topics in a way which is entirely devoid of playfulness and in the next section I describe one such episode.

8.4 Serious Britain
'The Safe Country' and 'The Old Population' extracts in the last section shows how Diane employed personalisation and humour to make serious didactic points about Britain. In this section I present another simplified primary school/tourist telling of a historical event – in this case one which is replete with patriotic symbolism – which Diane appears to take extremely seriously, the commemoration of the war dead in the Remembrance Sunday ceremony. This event comes up as a theme on all three courses, on the class trip to Westminster and is discussed twice in this lesson alone.

The extract comes from a talk around task episode in the middle of a listening activity
which took place on 05-06-08. Students are listening to a home-made recording of several
people talking about British festivals and have to guess which one they are talking about.
This occurs just after the students have listened to someone talk about attending
Remembrance Sunday and Diane is checking their understanding of the tape:

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Classroom extract 5: The World War 1 poppies [05-06-08]
D = Diane
J = Judith
R = Peter
M = Mohamed
N = Nadine


1     D:    OK so what does Remembrance Sunday remember?
2     Ss:   the memory of the people died
3     D:    that's right it's in memory of those who died in various wars
4           especially the two big (.) world wars of the last century
5           so <as John was saying
6           they have a big parade in Whitehall>
7           erm the Queen usually goes the Prime Minister goes
8           various other important people go
9           they have people from the ↓army
10          and the ↓navy and the ↓air force and so on
11          and what do people wear in ↑their ((points to lapel))
12    S:    =poppies
13    S:    [poppies
14    D:    yes poppies why do they wear poppies
15    M:    the family everybody die in the war
16    D:    no er no anybody can wear them
17          you know lots of people wear them
18          do you know why we wear a poppy though
19    P:    remembrance of the soldier in the past
20    D:    =yeah but why a poppy?
21    J:    ((sneezes)) Jesus
22    D:    [anybody know why a poppy
23    N:    it's a flower
24    D:    it's a flower yes a poppy is a flower
25          OK if you think back
26    S:    [red flower
27    D:    [think back to two big world wars
28          when was the First World War
29          what were the dates of the First World War
30    S:    [1918
31    M:    [1910
32    D:    1918 yes that's when it ended
33          so erm it went 1914 1918 terrible terrible war
34          erm where
35          >in fact it was fought all over the world so maybe that's not a
36          good question<
37          a lot of it was fought in northern France and Belgium
38          so a lot of that war was there
39          (2) at the time in the area where the war was being fought
40          there were lots and lots of poppies growing
41          erm so- so it's a part of France
42          that has a lot of corn and wheat growing
43          and the poppies would grow through the corn and the wheat
44          and this is one of those sort of pictures
45          that people have in their minds of that part of the world
46          that part of the war
47          so the poppies are like the blood
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48          that's been spilt
49          they look like drops of blood almost through the fields
50          so the poppies remind us of the people whose blood was spilt in
51          that terrible war
52          and that's why now we wear a poppy
53          we buy a poppy
54          and the- the money goes to help people
55          who've been hurt in in wars so yes Remembrance Sunday
56          and when is Remembrance ↑Sunday
57    S:    the eleventh of November
58    D:    it's the eleventh of November
59          do you know why it's the eleventh of November
60    S:    [xxx]
61    D:    that's right yeah
62    S:    [xxx]
63    D:    exactly in 1918 the war ended
64          at eleven o'clock on the eleventh of November
65          so it  ended at the eleventh hour of the eleventh day
66          of the eleventh month
67          so that's why Remembrance day is the eleventh of November
68          right ↑↓OK
```

In the IRE sequence in lines 1-3 Diane elicits the purpose of Remembrance Sunday which the students readily answer. This is followed by a synopsis of what the students have heard on the recording ('John' being the name of the speaker) and a reiteration of the event in lines 6-10. This is spoken slowly and carefully and the cast of attendees (the Queen, the Prime Minister and so on) are recited with a rather list-like intonation, perhaps because Diane is repeating the story from the recording for the benefit of students. In line 11 Diane initiates another sequence in which she elicits that people wear poppies in their lapels, an additional detail about the ceremony which is not mentioned on the recording. Then comes another question (line 24) eliciting *why* people wear poppies which the students find more difficult to answer and which Diane repeats three times (lines 18, 20 and 22). She then answers her own question, first by eliciting the dates of the First World War and then explaining the symbolism of the poppy which represents the blood of the war dead (lines 37-52). This is another example of a frequently repeated 'off the peg story' like 'The Three Wise Men' in 8.2.1; Diane evokes the well-known image of the poppies amongst the corn and wheat and employs several expressions often heard in tellings of this story in the media and popular history, e.g. the collocation of 'spilt' and blood (lines 48 and 50) and the repetition of the adjective 'terrible' (lines 33 and 51). In line 56 she elicits the date of the commemoration and the reason for this, ending with the emblematic recitation of 'the eleventh hour of the eleventh day of the eleventh month'. As with Diane's stories of the nativity and Bonfire Night, this story, then, serves the basic purpose of socialising students into one of the emblematic 'stories British people live by'.

This extract is worthy of further discussion, however, because it invokes an instance in which patriotism and 'the nation' is made visible and explicit in Diane's class and it is not mitigated by humour or playfulness. As Fox and Miller-Idris (2008: 545) argue, commemorations such as Remembrance Sunday are 'key sites for the affirmation and reaffirmation of national bonds'. During such occasions, say Fox and Miller-Idris, 'the choreographed exhibition and collective performance of national symbols' ensure that those in attendance 'are united in the transitory awareness of heightened national cohesion'. Extract 6 therefore describes one of the occasions in the British calendar in which the nation is ritually performed; such occasions are attended by royalty, the British political elite and the armed forces and broadcast on national television and symbols such as flags, anthems and statues – the 'neatly packaged distillations of the nation' (ibid.) and the focus of this extract – are all highly visible. There are various features here which could lead to the interpretation of Diane's stance as a patriotic one: firstly, the fact that this topic is repeated on several occasions – twice in this lesson alone – would seem to point to its significance. Secondly, Diane's uses of pronouns shift from the distancing 'people wear' and 'they wear' poppies (lines 11, 14, 17) to the first person plural 'we' in which she aligns herself with the collective who commemorate the war dead 'do you know why **we** wear a poppy' (line 18) and in lines 52-53 'that's why **we** wear a poppy, **we** buy a poppy'. Thirdly, Diane performs the Poppies narrative in a serious tone and there is an absence of irony, teasing or skepticism in this extract compared to other parts of the data.

Not everyone in the nation is uniformly affected by or in agreement with such ritual, of course; indeed the wearing – or not – of the poppy is frequently the source of public debate (see e.g. Fisk 2011). Events such as Remembrance Sunday are regarded with skepticism by anti-war supporters (see e.g. Smith 2013) whilst the regular invoking of national heritage symbols is regarded by some critical theorists such as Paul Gilroy (2004) as examples of 'melancholia' i.e. the inability of Britain and (some) Britons to deal with the loss of empire. It follows, therefore, that although an event such as Remembrance Sunday commands respect amongst many, others in the UK are uncomfortable with, or even opposed to such an event and its symbols. Fox and Miller-Idris (2008: 549) have this to say about national symbols and their significance for ordinary people:

> There are many ways in which national symbols intersect with the lives of ordinary people, from the extraordinary to the ordinary, from the obvious to the oblivious, from the profound to the prosaic. Much of the scholarship on national symbols and their ritual platforms, however, has focused either on their formal properties or

elite production. To understand symbols' popular meaning and resonance, the lens needs to be refocused on the ordinary people who engage and interpret – and ignore and deflect – them.

On this view, Diane can be seen as an 'ordinary person' who is 'engaging with and interpreting' the nation and its symbols, albeit in the public arena of the classroom. A closer look at extract 5 and a consideration of how the World War 1 poppies story *could* be told suggests that Diane is careful to avoid a more jingoistic telling of the story of World War 1; for example, she does not mention 'the enemy' or indeed any particular nation and she does not invoke British victories and war heroes. Her use of an 'off the peg' narrative which employs a simplifying style similar to that used for tourists, on BBC history programmes or for schoolchildren serves, as in 'The Three Wise Men' story, as a distancing mechanism. As such, narrative is again a major means by which Diane navigates between competing discourses on contested topics and thereby manages her stance; she talks about World War 1 with a blend of emotional rhetoric and seriousness – which show her affective stance – whilst avoiding both jingoism on the one hand and anti-war discourses on the other. Her stance thus exposes students not to the complex facts of the topic of the commemoration of war, but to how these are *avoided* in an attempt at neutrality.

8.5 Sidestepping contested Britain

In the previous section, my discussion about the commemoration of the First World War pointed to how Diane navigated between competing discourses about a particular phenomenon. The Poppies extract contains no difficult interactional moments for Diane; the IRE ensures a smooth exchange of questions and answers which she is in control of. However, as I suggested in section 8.2.1, this was not always the case and the Eastfields students sometimes disrupted the flow in various ways, either by converting a light-hearted topic into something more weighty by bringing in difficult or tragic examples (discussed in Chapter 7, 7.3.2) or on occasions by asking a question Diane found difficult to answer, particularly when it highlighted a topic which was contested or awkward such as the moment at the end of the story of the Three Wise Men. In the next two sections I discuss two different strategies – the use of pedagogic authority to sidestep a student initiated topic regarded as taboo and the use of humour to deflect a moment of embarrassment – which Diane adopts to deal with two occasions when troubling questions about British national identity and patriotism emerge in the discussion.

Extract 7 occurs in the first lesson of the third course. Students have been sitting in groups discussing why they want British citizenship and what they understand 'being British' to mean. There is then a plenary in which Diane summarises what has been discussed on each table: the role of women in the UK vs. back home; the British drinking culture; the personal consequences of migration; the weather in the UK; multiculturalism and lack of religion in the UK. A few minutes after this episode Roland initiates an exchange which continues as follows:

```
Classroom extract 6: Being British [11-09-08]
R = Roland, a student from Jamaica
D = Diane

1     R:     just like I said before
2            I said to serve
3            being British is to serve the country
4     D:     ↓↑mm (.) yeh
5            what did you mean by that
4     R:     that means
             ((student whispering. Cough))
5            to serve the country and to serve the people
6            that mean you get rid of all the bombings and those things
7            you stand up for the country so that nothing illegal don't come
8            in the country
9     S:     [yes
10           [and all those things
11    D:     °↓right°
12           on that point I think we'll move on because one
13           of the things that we'll be talking about a lot
14           over the next 12 or 14 weeks is
15           >you know what's it like to be British<
16           what are the what are
17           the sort of characteristics of Britain
18           and how does it differ from (.) your countries
19           so we will come back to that quite a lot
```

Roland's initiation in line 1 appears to be a non-sequitur but is in fact a response to Diane's question several turns back as to whether she has missed anything or not in her summary. Her intonation in line 4 (↓↑mm (.) yeh) is not encouraging, and her 'what did you mean by that' in line 5 is spoken in a challenging tone, possibly as a response to the phrase 'serve the country' which has patriotic connotations. In lines 4-10 Roland expands on his initial comment, persisting with a topic which, until now, has been unspoken in class, i.e. terrorism ('all the bombings'). This creates a situation similar to that reported by Ben Rampton and Constadina Charalambous (2013, 2014) on Greek Cypriot students learning Turkish; they report that in 32 hours of recordings, the term 'Turk' or 'Turkish Cypriot' was used only four times, the teacher instead creating a distance between the grammar and vocabulary of Turkish from the people who speak it; when someone 'breaks silence' by

bringing up Turkish people or culture, it creates a very troublesome moment indeed. In Chapter 7 (7.5.2) I showed how Diane's pedagogy distanced the students from awkward topics in a similar way; in extract 6 she deals with trouble by using her teacherly authority to close down the interactional space (see Cooke and Wallace 2004 for a discussion of this in other ESOL classrooms), i.e. she defers the topic to a future time (lines 12-19). This moment is highly troublesome because it raises an issue which is 'hidden in plain sight' or what would be called in popular discourse 'the elephant in the room'; it is the only occasion in my data when the topic of terrorism or anything related to it such as Muslim extremism arises spontaneously. As I showed in Chapter 2, though, the problem of terrorism and the securitisation of immigration contributed to the implementation of the citizenship testing programme – and as I discussed in Chapter 6 (6.6.1), the students I interviewed at both research sites were well aware of this and spoke freely about it. In class, however, the topic rarely arose and when it did it was deemed too sensitive to be taken up for class discussion; in this way a serious issue which affected many of the students, and about which they spoke eloquently in other settings, was sidestepped and, in the same way as it did in the lessons on voting and political participation (Chapter 7, 7.4) citizenship and the questions raised by it once again seemed to belong elsewhere.

8.5.2 Embarrassing Britain

In extract 7, A National Day, Diane employs a different stance when dealing with an awkward moment. In this extract, self-mockery (8.3.3) is employed to downplay Britain's colonial, militaristic past, a potential source of national embarrassment and shame. The extract occurs in a phase of the lesson which took place the week before the one on British festivals on 05-06-08. The theme of the lesson is 'festivals around the world' and the students have been giving short oral descriptions about a festival in their countries. Towards the end of this episode, just before Diane brings it to a halt, Peter initiates the following exchange:

```
Classroom extract 7: A National Day (22-05-08)
P = Peter, Jamaican student
M = Melanie, the researcher
D = Diane, the teacher
J = Juan, Colombian student

1     P:    so far I see in Britain every other culture celebrate
2           (2) freedom independence and religion in Britain
3           so far I don't see in Britain special(.) occasion=
4     M     =[yeah good point
5     D     =[it's a very interesting point
6           this is something that the
7           government has been talking about a lot
```

```
8            because we don't have a national day
9    P:      [every other culture here
10   D       [yes
11   P:      [celebrate here
12   D:      [you are - that's a really good point Peter
13   P:      [celebrate the only thing they celebrate is bonfire when Houses
14           of Parliament that's the only thing
15   D:      [yes yeh we don't have a special day
16           we don't have a day that unites us all
17           and there is an argument you know some people say
18           that we should have
19           a special day
20   P:      [yes you should have one
21           that isn't er a day when we conquered somebody ((laughs))
22           or @we won a battle or something like that@
23           but it should be some sort of
24           national-
25           because most other countries have a national day
26           er when does Morocco have a national day
27           er Independence from France
28   N       yeah I can't remember
29   D       but you have a national day
30           Bangladesh has a national ↓↑day
31   Ss      yes [xxx]
32   D:      is that independence ↑day yes↑
33           ↑Colombia
34   J:      13ᵗʰ July
35   D       right ((ss all talking at once in background)) Ok
36           China has a national ↑day
37           Pakistan has a national ↑day Ghana has a national ↑day
38           Vietnam has a national ↑day ↑Jamaica
39           Jamaica has a national ↑day
40           Independence ↑day.
41           I know Somalia things are not
42   Ss:     ((students talking at once))
43   D       and what do people do on bank holidays ↑here
44   SS      [xx nothing]
45   D       @they go ↑↓shopping@
46   M:      ((laughs loudly))
47   D:      @they go shopping@ ((laughs))
48           right on that thought erm
49           I'm going to end the morning a little bit early.
```

In lines 1-3 Peter introduces a serious theme into an otherwise light-hearted superficial discussion about New Year's Eve. His comment puts Diane in the position of having to explain a highly political, contested – but at the time very current – issue i.e. the nature of nationalist celebration in Britain, arguably made more sensitive by the fact that over half the students in the class are from ex-colonies, i.e. Jamaica, Ghana, Bangladesh and Pakistan whose national days commemorate independence from Britain. Diane and I respond in lines 4 and 5 with overlapping turns ('good point'/'that's a very interesting point'); our evaluation of his comment both acknowledges the change of key and the fact that it is potentially troublesome. Unlike extract 7, however, Diane does not deflect or close down this contribution but takes it up as a new discussion point. Her initial response in lines 6-7 (that is something the government has been talking about a lot') and 15-17 ('there is an argument you know some people say that we should have a special day') is didactic – i.e. it

shows students that this is a contemporary talking point – but it also distances her from overly-nationalist discourses by representing the question as a public debate (cf. with the immigration extract in Chapter 7, 7.4.3) rather than her own, explicit opinion. However, her use of 'we' in line 8 and then again in line 15 aligns Diane with 'the British' and she warms to Peter's theme. In lines 18-22 Diane employs an ironic downplay with her comment, spoken laughingly, that the special day shouldn't be 'a day when we conquered somebody or we won a battle or something like that'. This is an example of the self-mockery I have discussed elsewhere (8.3.3) but in this case is directed not only at herself but at herself as a representative of Britain and its imperial excesses. Her use of ironic humour here is a way to 'convey unspeakable meanings indirectly' (Holmes and Hay 1997) and to ensure collusion as opposed to dissent amongst her interlocutors; rather than address the troubling topic head-on or close it down – which in her institutional role she is entitled to do, and indeed does do in extract 6 – she manages through ironic downplay to continue the topic but to sustain a light-hearted key. At the same time, though, Diane's employment of the first person plural 'we' indexes her explicitly as a British person and thus implicated in the history she is lampooning. The combination of irony and use of 'we' gives her the possibility to distance herself from the excesses of the British imperial past without entirely disavowing her heritage or shirking from her own identity as a British person and 'broker'.

Diane then seems to warm to the argument that Britain needs a national day and engages, in lines 25-40, in what I have termed 'questions round class' (see Chapter 7.3.1) in which she asks the same thing to all the students in an evidence gathering – and solidarity building – exercise for her (and Peter's) argument, i.e. that everywhere else has a national day so Britain should have one too. The extract ends with an exchange in lines 43-47 which seems to function as a kind of coda or punch-line to the sequence and brings the extract and this part of the lesson to an end. As a response to an utterance from Peter about bank holidays (inaudible on the recording) Diane shifts back to the gentle mocking she began in lines 18-22; this is aimed not at the establishment or herself but at 'people here': 'what do people do on bank holidays here?' 'nothing' 'they go shopping. They go shopping'. In this exchange, Diane has dropped the 'we' pronoun which indexed her as a person implicated in British history, heritage and behaviour, instead employing the third person plural 'they'. Through this change in pronoun and the use of mild mockery, Diane expresses her stance on the behaviour of other Brits, i.e. on their consumerism and lack of interest in the broader

national community. The utterance also implies, though, that British people who go shopping on bank holidays instead of celebrating their nationhood do so because they lack any alternative; this turn, then, can be seen as an alignment with a mainstream discourse – i.e. that Britain does not have a healthy way of celebrating the nation – which was a theme of New Labour's Britishness project and one of the justifications for the introduction of the citizenship agenda itself.

8.6 Conclusion: Brokering Britain

Together with Chapter 7, this chapter has shown something of the nature and extent of the challenging task facing teachers who tackled citizenship head on in their ESOL classes. It is clear that teaching even a simplified version of Britain such as that contained in the LITUK handbook and NIACE materials was implausible without some extremely hard relational and stance work on the part of the teacher. I have described four stances which Diane took in her attempts to broker Britain. The first, simplified Britain, was of course necessary in an ESOL class in which students had different levels of linguistic competence and cultural knowledge; as I showed in section 8.2, however, the act of simplifying did not always make complex cultural phenomena such as religious belief – or lack of it – more straightforward. The second stance, personal Britain, allowed Diane to do various things: to socialise students into local ways of behaviour, to mediate the state's position on a policy directly affecting them and to represent an ideal image of Britain as a 'community of value' (Anderson 2013). Diane's third and fourth stances, serious and sidestepping Britain, revealed how she dealt with serious questions such as the commemoration of the war dead and how she played down more contentious problems such as patriotism and Britain's colonial past. I have also suggested that rather than teach directly about Britain, in some of her stance-taking acts Diane *embodies* certain characteristics which might be recognised as 'British' i.e. mild irony, self-deprecation, distancing, scepticism and a modest, measured patriotism. The cumulative effect of her stances, I would argue, was a minimisation of the excesses of Britain's more problematic aspects and the maintenance of the country as a generally positive place to live. I will extend this argument further, along with other points which bring together the issues raised in the thesis as a whole, in my concluding chapter, Chapter 9.

Chapter 9: Concluding remarks

9.1 Introduction

My original interest in the subject of ESOL citizenship – and my main motivation for carrying out the research reported in this thesis – arose from a professional and political concern with a sector I have been involved in for many years. In my last year of teaching, before I left to become an ESOL researcher, a new government policy was introduced which inserted the teaching of citizenship into ESOL for the first time. As I indicated in the Introduction, this did not happen without a struggle and from the start the relationship between citizenship and ESOL was a contested one, not least because of the conflicting views about citizenship itself amongst practitioners in the field. This piqued my curiosity and led to the idea for the research reported in this thesis. I had two main aims: 1) to explore the literature on citizenship so as to better understand the nature of the concept and how it came to be inserted into ESOL; and 2) to give an account of two ESOL citizenship classes and – using the concepts of 'brokering' and 'stance' – to explore their relationship with the complex debates about citizenship raging in the UK. These aims were reformulated into the following over-arching research question:

1. How did teachers approach the teaching of citizenship to ESOL students?

And these sub questions:

2. What is 'citizenship'? (Chapter 1)
3. How did the UK ESOL citizenship programme emerge? (Chapter 2)
4. How was citizenship inserted into ESOL in two different colleges of further education? (Chapter 5)
5. What were the characteristics of the two ESOL citizenship classes? (Chapter 6)
6. In what ways did pedagogy in one class position students and what were the effects of these positionings? (Chapter 7)
7. What stances on Britain and British citizenship were evident in one of the teacher's pedagogic practices and classroom talk? (Chapter 8)
8. What were the implications of this research for future ESOL citizenship teaching? (Chapter 9)

In this final chapter I offer some concluding remarks about the research process, take stock of my findings and suggest some of their possible implications. In the first part, (9.2), I reflect on my research design and methods and assess the usefulness of linguistic

ethnography as an approach. I then move on in 9.3 to revisit the research questions and some of the discussions contained in their corresponding chapters. As I do this, I will pull together the over-arching themes which have emerged and which constitute a summary of my main findings. In the third part, (9.4) I offer a discussion of the implications of these findings for ESOL citizenship teaching and for future research.

9.2 Methods and the research process

Despite being framed by large political issues, my research centred on a small-scale ethnographic study of two ESOL citizenship classes, which, as it turned out, represented the two main ways in which citizenship was inserted into ESOL across the UK (Taylor 2007): at Northside citizenship content was incorporated into an ESOL course, whilst at Eastfields the course was specially designed for people wishing to obtain citizenship either by following the ESOL citizenship course route or taking the LITUK test. I was thus able to compare and contrast the two classes and to offer the research as a case study which could potentially provide points of comparison for other practitioners following similar models.

My research was oriented by linguistic ethnography which combines a concern with context with an analysis of situated language use (Rampton *et al* 2004). This meant that in order to understand the two case study classrooms as fully as possible, I generated data from various sources and took into account several levels of context: a) the political and philosophical understandings of citizenship as contained in the literature (see Chapter 1); b) the government agenda and public debates circulating at the time the ESOL citizenship programme came into being (Chapter 2); c) the institutional and professional contexts of ESOL (Chapters 3, 5 and 6) and d) the classroom, i.e. pedagogy, classroom interaction and teacher talk (Chapters 6, 7 and 8). In order to explore the relationships between these levels I developed the notions of 'brokering' and 'stance' which allowed me a way of linking the local lived experience of the teachers and the broader institutional and political factors which influenced the ESOL citizenship programme. Given that teachers had a relatively free hand as to what they actually taught in their citizenship classes, stance gave me a way to understand the rather large differences between the two teachers and their lessons. Some of their stances were broad ones evident in their curricular choices and classroom conduct but others were only observable in their spoken interactions in their interviews and classroom talk; closer study of the interaction in Diane's class in particular gave me

essential insights into the subtle ways she brokered between the curriculum and her students which I would have missed had I relied on field-notes and interviews. For these reasons, I consider linguistic classroom ethnography to have been a useful and productive orientation for my research. One of the drawbacks of this kind of research, however, is the sheer amount of data generated during field work; my study involved approximately 100 hours of classroom observations, 70 of which were audio-recorded, as well as qualitative interviews with students and teachers. This took some time to process and involved listening to many hours of classroom recordings and the development of a coding system which served to locate relevant episodes for closer analysis and helped me ensure nothing was overlooked. Despite the time-consuming nature of this stage, I was subsequently confident that I had not just 'cherry-picked' the extracts I finally chose for closer analysis but had selected them as representative examples which reflected the rest of the data.

This is not to say, however, that the process was as smooth as this brief summary makes it sound; as I described in Chapter 4 there were several elements to my research which at the time felt *ad hoc* and haphazard and which caused me some anxiety, e.g. the recruitment process which was rather more expedient than 'purposeful'; the limitations of the audio recordings which meant I was unable to hear individual voices in many of the pair and group activities; and the way that at both sites I was regularly brought into the lessons as an 'expert' or as a participant rather than an observer. I was dismayed by the amount of exam practice at Eastfields and the fact that, particularly at Northside, I did not always encounter citizenship teaching of the kind I had hoped for, and I worried too about seeming overly-critical of the teachers who had generously given their time and allowed me into their classrooms. These anxieties were not helped by the fact that academic literature rarely carries frank appraisals of the pitfalls and mistakes made in the research process although I now realise that this is common in doctoral research (see e.g. Lareau 1996) and that this is an emotional journey as well as an intellectual one. I came to understand that in ethnography the principle of staying close to the data means you work with what you find, and in the end the problems I perceived – that one of the teachers just seemed to be teaching ESOL, that there was too much exam preparation, that I kept popping up in the data, that I felt critical of some of their practices – became interesting puzzles which obliged me to become more reflexive and which formed the basis for some of my central arguments; as such the process has been a valuable lesson in the nature of ethnographic research.

9.3 Research questions and emerging themes

My central research question 'how did teachers approach the teaching of citizenship to ESOL students?' obliged me to step back and consider two basic questions which underpinned it: what exactly *is* citizenship – bearing in mind that my background was in language education I had only a lay person's idea about this – and how did the ESOL citizenship programme come about. In exploring these two questions several key themes emerged which resonated through the rest of the thesis and which pointed to the difficulties which had to be navigated by teachers attempting to insert citizenship into their ESOL teaching.

9.3.1 Citizenship is a 'net'

As I showed in Chapter 1, most theorists writing about citizenship agree that it is a highly contested term; the words used to describe it such as 'polyvalent' (Joppke 2010), 'chameleon-like' (Wahl-Jorgensen 2006), 'malleable' (Squires 2002) and 'vacuous' (Dahrendorf 1994) suggest that citizenship can mean different things to different people, or even different things at the same time. The slippery all-encompassing nature of citizenship had several implications for the ESOL citizenship curriculum. Firstly, as I documented in Chapter 2, citizenship was adopted as a policy solution to several large problems which emerged during the New Labour administration after 1997: the perceived breakdown in community cohesion in some northern towns; the crisis of identity the British were deemed to be suffering in the face of mass immigration; the rise of extremist Islam; and neo-liberal reforms to the welfare state. Central to all of these debates was the notion that these problems were exacerbated, and in some cases *caused* by poor English; in this way, citizenship and ESOL have been (and continue to be) closely linked from the beginning.

The second implication of the nebulous nature of citizenship meant that the curriculum was able to encompass an almost limitless range of topics which could all be claimed as 'citizenship' – including some which seemed to have little relationship with the concept such as food and verbs for cooking; as Janette said in her interview, the teachers were able to 'cast their nets' very wide when it came to choosing topics for their classes. As I discussed in Chapters 5 and 6, this is one of the reasons why many practitioners such as Janette regarded ESOL and citizenship as synonymous and why the insertion of citizenship

into ESOL was regarded by the government – and some college managers – as an unproblematic process which did not require any particular training for teachers or extra financial resources. It also meant that locally ESOL citizenship courses varied according to the stances taken by institutions – at Northside the course was embedded into an existing ESOL framework and at Eastfields it was specially designed – and by the stances taken towards the citizenship programme and the notion of citizenship itself by individual teachers.

9.3.2 Citizenship includes and excludes
The issues I raised in Chapters 1 and 2 pointed to several large tensions in the debates underpinning the UK citizenship programme: testing, for example, was seen as both an 'entitlement' *and* a source of discrimination whilst ESOL citizenship lessons were regarded as both a site for socialising students into their roles as low-paid workers *and* as offering them the chance to transform their material situations. The literature shows that this 'Janus-faced' capacity to look both ways is an inherent feature of citizenship itself; it is in fact the source of much of the vagueness surrounding its definition and of the 'ideological dilemmas' (Billig *et al* 1988) facing ESOL citizenship teachers and students.

As much of the literature documents, one of the most problematic Janus-faced features of citizenship is that it excludes at the same time as it includes. As I showed in Chapters 1 and 2, there are various sources of exclusion which create conditions of less-than-full citizenship or 'dis-citizenship' (Ramanathan 2013): economic inequality; difference from the mainstream because of gender, ethnicity, language, disability, sexuality and culture; and legislation governing immigration, residence and nationality. Apart from the obvious facts of their immigration status and nationality, the students in the two classes were potentially marginalised on all of these grounds but particularly economically, culturally and linguistically. The two teachers were well-aware of these conditions and part of their brokering task was to mitigate for them in their teaching and interactions with students. Whilst Janette opted to focus on grammar and vocabulary, thereby removing the need to address this problem, for Diane, who opted to teach citizenship themes directly, it became a major challenge which required quite a lot of hard stance and relational work to overcome. My data shows how she went out of her way to ameliorate the cultural, linguistic and material gaps between herself and the students by positioning them as experts on their countries of birth, by downplaying the UK and by employing humour and distancing

strategies to soften some of the more awkward themes. On the other hand, though, much of the same pedagogy positioned students as representatives of their countries of birth and side-lined their experiences as locals; as I argued in Chapter 7 the tendency of the pedagogy in Diane's class to create a 'them and us' dynamic became a central concern in my analysis. The 'Othering' of students occurred mainly during discussions about 'back home' compared to the UK, but on some occasions the source of their otherness was their economic and material positions as migrant workers in the UK economy. With some exceptions, (Block, 2012, Block et al 2012; Collins, 2006; Darvin and Norton 2014, Kanno, 2014; Vandrick, 2014) explicit attention has not traditionally been paid by applied linguistics researchers to the question of social class although it has long been an essential element of the citizenship debates and was a central plank in the analysis of welfare reform during the New Labour government (Clarke, 2005; Martin, 2003; Newman 2010). Ron Darvin and Bonny Norton (2014: 111) observe that 'as migrant students insert themselves into segmented spaces, their countries of origin are themselves implicated in a global class hierarchy, often positioning them in ways that refract this world economic order'. This of course is an important part of the context of many ESOL classes but became particularly salient in Diane's ESOL citizenship class when she tackled head-on the troublesome themes of immigration and the economy.

9.3.3 Citizenship is Britishness

Another source of exclusion and an important marker of difference between the students and the British mainstream was the question of nationality and national identity. As I have discussed throughout, there is a tension in the citizenship literature between civic models of citizenship which are based on institutions such as the rule of law, the welfare state, national broadcasting and political participation and ethnic models which emphasise common ethnic and cultural roots (see Mycock 2010). Although the architects of the original citizenship programme – notably Bernard Crick and Dina Kiwan – advocated a multicultural civic model of citizenship based on respect for diversity, the law and political participation, this was compromised by the emergence of a renewed debate about 'Britishness' which meant that national and ethnic identity, far from being downplayed, became strongly associated with the citizenship programme. This was exacerbated by the fact that the LITUK handbook and the NIACE materials included large amounts of material on British emblems, heritage and history which translated into lessons of the kind I described in Chapters 7 and 8. At Eastfields, 'nationality' was the main identifying

category of both Diane – who represented Britain – and the students who represented the Other. As I suggested, for students who are planning to remain in the UK and who in some cases have been in the country for long periods of time, being frequently positioned as spokespeople for 'back home' did little to counteract the category of 'nationality' as the main sorting mechanism promoted by immigration policy.

New Labour's Britishness project did not catch hold in many circles outside of Westminster and was critiqued from various different angles: firstly, British national identity is complex and politically fraught, partly because of its past as a colonial power which afforded citizenship to people not born in the UK (see Chapter 2, 2.3.1) and partly because the UK is a multinational state characterised by struggle over the dominance of England over Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland; some historians, e.g. Linda Colley (2009), regard the possible break-up of the United Kingdom to have been in fact the main reason for the promotion of Britishness during New Labour. Secondly, political British nationalism tends to be associated with nostalgia – such as that evident in the literary lists I discussed in Chapter 8 – patriotism, whiteness and the politics of the Right (Back *et al* 2002; Gilroy [1987] 2002, Kostakopoulou 2010). New Labour's attempts to enter this terrain was perhaps the aspect of their citizenship project which was most negatively received: the sociologist Les Back and colleagues (2002: 446), for example, accused the government of drawing on 'the currency of rejuvenated national pride whose defining centre is allusively archaic' whilst Paul Gilroy (2002) accused New Labour of populism and of the disavowal or erasure of Britain's colonial past. In the introduction to the second edition of his book *There Ain't No Black in the Union Jack* (2002), Gilroy comments that:

> it was as though… the party's information warriors could plunge into the discursive toy box, take out whatever they wanted and adapt it for any purpose they could dream… the language and symbols of British patriotism are twisted and compromised not so much by their history of misuse by the ultra-right but by New Labour's blank refusal to take their embeddedness in colonial and imperial history seriously. (p. xxxi)

The emblems, stories and heritage symbols evoked in Diane's class were also selected from 'the discursive toy box' but as I showed in Chapter 8, Diane herself was aware of some of their colonial connotations; for this reason her talk was characterised by attempts to mitigate this or avoid the most jingoist patriotic versions of Britishness or awkward topics such as terrorism. At the same time, though, as I showed in Chapter 8, this brokering involved sidestepping and deflecting awkward topics which in turn created a distance

between her and the students' lived experiences as denizens and future citizens with the result that the resources of the students were overlooked and in her classes – as in Janette's where it was scarcely mentioned – citizenship seemed always to belong somewhere else.

9.3.4 Summary

As I have shown throughout the thesis, the answer to my central research question 'how did teachers approach the teaching of citizenship to ESOL students?' was rather different for the two teachers. In Janette's case it might be summarised as something like: 'by defining citizenship as synonymous with existing practice and carrying on as normal'. For Diane, who chose to tackle citizenship head-on, the process was less straightforward because it meant that a lot of the more difficult aspects of citizenship had to be navigated in class. The answer to the question in her case might be summarised (somewhat inelegantly) as: 'by teaching citizenship topics but with a huge amount of hard work brokering the contested and problematic issues which emerged as a result'. However, as I have shown, one of the points in common across Northside and Eastfields is that in both sites, citizenship was not often based in the experiences of the students themselves as citizens – in Janette's case because it was ignored in favour of language instruction and a 'business as usual' approach and in Diane's because her pedagogy frequently positioned students as representatives from home or distanced them through role plays, worksheets and other pedagogic activities.

Despite Diane's attempts to side-step or avoid troublesome topics, however, these had a tendency to 'bubble up' during classroom interaction. In the next section I argue that alternative pedagogies might be better equipped for teaching citizenship to adults, but meanwhile I would suggest that one of the implications of my findings concerns the ability and readiness of teachers to deal explicitly with national culture in ESOL teaching and the issues which can arise when teaching citizenship to adult migrants who are frequently referents in citizenship-related debates. In chapter 2 I discussed common debates in citizenship education which were summarised as: 1) whether citizenship is best learned formally or informally through socialisation; 2) whether the curriculum should favour knowledge transmission about citizenship or promote opportunities for 'active citizenship' such as volunteering and so on; 3) whether the curriculum should focus on the rights and responsibilities of citizens or address structural inequalities in society and 4) whether young people should be educated for national citizenship or for cosmopolitan citizenship. These

debates are about the teaching of citizenship in schools but I would argue apply equally to the teaching of adults.

In the case of ESOL citizenship a further question was raised, however, which I have discussed at length throughout this thesis, i.e. about the role of national culture in ESOL teaching and the relationship of migrants' existing national identities with those under formation in their adopted country. This element links the citizenship debates with debates in the literature about the teaching of culture in language education which I described in Chapter 3. Research has shown that although teachers often shy away from addressing culture explicitly, much cultural information is transmitted implicitly in classroom pedagogy and talk; whether they address it directly or not, then, ESOL teachers are already teachers of culture. This was made much more explicit, however, by the ESOL citizenship programme which was concerned with facts and figures about British culture, politics and everyday life, as I showed in Chapters 3 and 6. This raised some extra questions about the teaching of citizenship, i.e. how far should the model of citizenship in the official texts be a civic one or a national one? What counts as useful cultural knowledge? What about the contested nature of British national identity and problems associated with it such as patriotism and nationalism?

In my data, these questions were left to individual teachers to address as best they could and whilst it is not my aim – or indeed my place – in this thesis to offer formal recommendations for practice, I would suggest that at the very least, ESOL teachers, as teachers of culture and citizenship, should have the professional opportunities for discussing these themes in their training and in their continuing professional development. There is also an implication for future research: although the relationship between language teaching and culture has been much researched (see Chapter 3) and the field of 'intercultural' teaching and learning is well established (see e.g. Byram 2008 and Guilherme 2002 amongst many others), little of this work has been carried out in ESOL settings where questions of integration, inequality and marginalisation are a fundamental part of the cultural scene. There is clearly a gap for research of this kind to be carried out in the UK context.

9.4 Teaching citizenship in ESOL: implications for future courses

In the previous section I summarised the challenges created for ESOL teachers by the nature of citizenship itself and its relationship with important debates in the UK. As I showed in Chapter 5, however, the insertion of citizenship into ESOL produced other problems which arose from the institutional and professional contexts in which the teachers worked. In this final section I discuss two of these and their implications for future courses: the institutional context (9.4.1) and the question of language in citizenship teaching (9.4.2).

9.4.1 Institutional contexts

Citizenship was inserted into an under-funded, beleaguered sector without any training over and above the half day offered by NIACE to familiarise teachers with the statutory materials. Teachers in the sector – many of them like Janette part time or hourly-paid – had other claims on their time and attention, some of which were more pressing than citizenship. As I showed in Chapters 5 and 6, one of the biggest challenges for Janette and Diane was the sheer amount of time needed to prepare students for their Cambridge ESOL exams which had only a tangential relationship with citizenship themes. These exams were high stakes ones not only because students needed the certificate as evidence for the Home Office, but also – and for the colleges this was more important – because future funding depended on the attainment of qualifications. The exam, therefore, assumed a greater importance in both classes than the teaching of citizenship, and for many students the Cambridge ESOL speaking and listening exam became the *de facto* citizenship test. The exam was not the only demand made on the teachers' time and attention, however; the teachers were also faced with other college imperatives in the form of paperwork, preparing for inspections and other government driven curricular innovations such as 'ESOL for work'. In the light of their workloads and other imperatives in their professional and institutional lives, then, for many teachers it was probably a relief that ESOL and citizenship could be construed as synonymous and inserted into existing practice with few changes. One very basic implication for the future, then, is the need to consider the existing imperatives in the sector and the resources and capacities of institutions where new policies are going to be implemented.

9.4.2 Language issues

A further problem is a professional one and concerns the relationship between citizenship and English language competence and the absence of critical discussion about this in the design and teaching of the ESOL citizenship curriculum. Academic studies in the field of language ideologies (e.g. Blommaert and Verschueren 1998; Kroskrity 2000; Schieffelin *et al* 1998; Woolard 1998) point out that debates about linguistic diversity are rarely about language alone, or sometimes are not really about language at all: they are invariably proxies for other concerns such as race relations and immigration, cultural diversity and the economy. Kathryn Woolard (1998) and others (Blackledge 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009; Cameron 2013) point out that in liberal democratic societies, 'the misrecognition of the indexical character of language may make discrimination on linguistic grounds publicly acceptable where the corresponding ethnic or racial discrimination is not' (Woolard 1998: 19). Researchers who have analysed the UK citizenship testing programme from this perspective have pointed to two related ideologies which underpin the discourses about English language competence: the nationalist ideology that nation states ought to be characterised by one common language, and, as an extension of this, the notion that societal monolingualism is desirable and that linguistic diversity or multilingualism – 'the linguistic analogy of heterogeneity' (Cameron 2013: 66) – is problematic. The ESOL citizenship programme undoubtedly reinforced these two ideologies a) by overlooking the multilingual nature of British towns and cities in the LITUK handbook and NIACE materials and b) failing to consider multilingualism as a resource for both community integration and for language learning – the latter of course being absent from UK ESOL curricula generally.

However, there were further questions raised about the relationship between language and citizenship in my study. As I discussed in Chapter 6, the language which might be needed for meaningful integration and citizenship was largely ignored by both teachers – Janette opting for a focus on correct grammar, spelling and pronunciation and Diane leaving explicit language instruction to one side. They are not, however, personally to blame for this; language for citizenship was also ignored by the government, the authors of *The New and the Old*, the *Life in the UK* handbook and the designers of the NIACE citizenship materials. There seems to have been little or no discussion about exactly what a language syllabus for citizenship might consist of and it therefore remained unaddressed both in the curriculum and in the classrooms I observed. This absence seems to have been the result of

two assumptions about ESOL and language learning in general: 1) the assumption I have already discussed that ESOL and citizenship were one and the same and 2) the assumption that simply attending classes would mean students would learn English and therefore integrate, and it did not really matter what the linguistic content of those classes were or what other barriers to learning students may face. As I argued in Chapter 6 (6.6.2), research on second language learning is not short of suggestions for what an 'English for citizenship' curriculum might include. Apart from acquiring sociolinguistic awareness about multilingualism, regional varieties and linguistic repertoires, students could benefit from learning about, *inter alia*, the pragmatic functions of language, the language required to navigate asymmetrical encounters and the language of debate, argumentation and negotiation. A second implication of my findings, then, is that linguistic aspects of citizenship need to be thoroughly discussed amongst curriculum designers, amongst language teachers themselves and – although this is less likely to occur – amongst politicians who readily invoke language issues in rhetoric about integration, cohesion and citizenship legislation.

9.4.3 The potential of citizenship in ESOL

The question arising from my arguments in this thesis, then, would seem to be: given the difficulties, is the teaching of ESOL citizenship possible at all? As I will explain in this section my own personal answer is: 'yes, but not in the way it was proposed under New Labour in 2005'. I have come to believe in the course of my research that ESOL and citizenship are deeply connected and that citizenship does have a role in ESOL curricula. I end this chapter – and the thesis – with a personal reflection on my own changing stance on citizenship, the potential of citizenship in ESOL and some of the wider implications of my research.

As I indicated in the Introduction and Chapter 4, when I began this study I was critical of the citizenship agenda and opposed to the incursion of the Home Office into the adult ESOL sector. However, my stance on this has been modified by several things which happened whilst I was carrying out this research. The first is that I realised, through my observations and interviews, as well as by reading other UK research (e.g. Gidley et al 2012; Han et al 2010; Macgregor and Bailey 2012) that most students who attended ESOL citizenship classes both enjoyed them and benefitted from them in multiple ways. The students I got to know at Northside and Eastfields were enthusiastic and engaged and

particularly interested in topics related to British politics, history and culture, both of the heritage variety and the everyday life sort. It became clear to me that 'citizenship' could indeed provide topics for ESOL – a 'subject in search of a subject matter' (Harrison 1990: 1) – and that the introduction of citizenship had, despite its difficulties, the potential to revitalise ESOL teaching.

The second thing that happened to change my stance was that I, along with Diane and lots of colleagues in the ESOL sector, became involved in two nationwide campaigns against funding cuts, one in 2007 and the other in 2011 (see Cooke 2011; Peutrell 2015; Simpson 2015 for accounts). The striking thing about the campaign in 2011 was the involvement of students who helped to organise protests, wrote letters, met with their MPs, engaged with social media and went *en masse* to lobby Parliament. One of the oft-heard comments during this campaign was that this was 'real citizenship', and indeed, many of the teachers who skipped classes to go with their students to the protests did so under the pretext that it would count as 'citizenship' in their timetables. For me, this provided a vivid contrast between the lessons I described in Chapter 7 in which students role-played political scenarios with invented problems. It also marked a shift from the paternalist 'helping' attitude often found amongst ESOL professionals to a more collaborative relationship between teachers and students; both of these caused me to rethink even further the potential for incorporating citizenship explicitly into ESOL.

This was citizenship of the active, participatory kind envisaged by Crick and his colleagues, of course, and it is the potential of this model which I believe is worth exploring for inclusion in ESOL teaching. This is less likely to win the approval of the authorities, however, and indeed, some college managers prohibited their teachers from taking political action with students during the 2011 campaign. This finds reflection in responses to young people's participation in protests against the second Iraq War in 2003 which was widely condemned and seen as largely out of step with the forms of active citizenship encouraged by school curricula; as Steve Cunningham and Michael Lavalette (2004) argue:

> On the one hand, citizenship classes encourage children and young people to show a concern for 'the common good', to engage in 'active citizenry' and to accept the consequences of their actions; yet on the other hand, their 'reward' for proactively articulating their concerns over a major world crisis has been, on the whole, admonishment and ridicule. (p. 265)

Fostering 'real' citizenship of this kind in ESOL presents a similar challenge to the rhetoric of the official curriculum and tests how far political participatory models are welcomed in adult and further education institutions.

The final thing which happened to change my views on citizenship – and this is related to the previous points about campaigning – was my involvement as a collaborator on several action research projects (see Cooke *et al* 2015 for details) with a group of practitioners who teach ESOL according to Freirean-inspired participatory principles such as those advocated by Elsa Auerbach and other colleagues (Auerbach 1986, 1992, Auerbach and Burgess 1985, Auerbach and Wallerstein 2005). This work showed me what happens when students are not positioned as representatives from 'home' but as people from the local community and when real life issues affecting them in their daily lives form the basis for the curriculum; as Auerbach (1992) puts it, when the direction of the instructional process is 'from the students to the curriculum rather than from the curriculum to the students' (p.19). One of the features of teaching in this way is that, inevitably, local, national or global politics are brought into the classroom; rather than *avoid* awkward topics such as immigration, extremism, racism, religion, social class and exploitation – i.e. those sidestepped by Diane – ways are found to address them. This does not mean that students are forced to become 'political' against their will, but rather that the teachers employ techniques which encourage exploratory dialogic discussion and a questioning stance (see Bryers et al 2013, Bryers et al 2014 for an outline of some of these techniques).

The final implication of my study for future citizenship teaching, therefore, concerns pedagogy. My intention is not to advocate that everyone in ESOL should adopt participatory methods, of course, but rather to argue that teachers who wish or are asked to teach citizenship or British culture in the future need to engage in a discussion about the pedagogies best suited to this kind of subject matter. This would mean thinking about what it means to teach language for citizenship as I discussed earlier, and it would mean thinking seriously – and being prepared to be open and explicit about – where they stand on the questions raised by teaching citizenship to ESOL students such as Britishness, integration, immigration and the role of migrants in the economy. This discussion would mean thinking about the effects of standard ESOL pedagogy on the teaching of citizenship and culture and considering alternative pedagogies such as participatory ESOL or other approaches such as those mentioned in Chapter 3, i.e. critical intercultural approaches (Dervin 2012),

cosmopolitan citizenship approaches (Osler and Starkey 2005a) or those adopted by British Studies in the 1990s.

9.5 Final summary

To sum up, then, the interview and classroom interactional data which formed the basis of this thesis suggested that the teaching of citizenship to ESOL students was fraught with problems. Despite the supposed importance of the programme itself and the seriousness of the debates underlying it – about immigration, national identity, integration, social cohesion and welfare reform – it was inserted with little funding or training into a sector which was already suffering from chronic under-investment and in which teachers are amongst the most marginal in the UK education system. Introducing citizenship into ESOL was seen by the government as straightforward and unproblematic, as was the learning of English itself, although exactly what 'language for citizenship' might consist of was overlooked by both the architects of the programme and the designers of the materials. In the end, the question of how to insert citizenship into ESOL was decided locally and as a result the decision of what to teach rested with individual practitioners who either continued their usual practice (cf. Peutrell 2014) or navigated the same challenges as those which I have documented in Chapters 7 and 8.

Despite these difficulties, however, I have argued in this chapter that there is potential for citizenship and ESOL to be experienced together. In order for this to be meaningful for both students and teachers, however, the curriculum would need to prioritise socio-political issues and 'culture' in the broad sense of the word, i.e. to go beyond the narrow restrictions of 'food, festivals and flags'. An essential element of an approach such as this would be a language curriculum which focused on institutional life and political debate and which systematically developed the capabilities linked to these. It would also be necessary to develop a pedagogy which was able to reflect these two strands – content and linguistic – and which was oriented to activism and empowerment. And finally, teachers would have to be given the opportunities to develop the professional vision – or stance – to drive these new ideas forward in spite of the tensions and challenges they present.

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Appendix A: Field notes

Eastfields 05-06-08

The lesson

I arrive. There are some sts already in the classroom, and the programme for the day is already up on the whiteboard. It says 'Festivals and traditions in the UK' 'Guy Fawkes' 'exam practice' and 'lots of listening practice'. D arrives and tells me she is still ill. She asks me if I wouldn't mind taking the class in the afternoon again – I am a bit stressed by this but as it turns out it is OK as it enables me to build more of a relationship with them which might help when I come to ask to interview people later on.

Recording 1

00.0

D says they are going to do the session they were unable to do before half term, as her materials had been lent to someone else and not returned. She says they are going to look at festivals in the UK, what typical British people might do at typical times. She calls immediately on me (the typical British person, 'very useful having Melanie') and asks me what I did last Xmas, to describe it and so on. She writes some words on the board and then elicits from the sts the words for 'cracker' (which one of them knows) and 'turkey'. Eliciting from sts who have 'lived here a long time'. She elicits Valentine's Day (who knows the date? Anybody get a Valentine this year? what happens this day?), New Year's day (what do people do? Party night. Christmas with family, New Year party). They seem to be familiar with most of these.

8.33

D says they are going to listen to people talk about festivals and what they did on certain festivals (some fiddling around with the machine, AV person comes) – these are teachers from Eastfields, and the tape is a home-made listening. Some of them are more natural sounding than others – but others are stilted and 'read aloud' sounding. The listening seems to be a kind of display on behalf of the speakers of the most traditional versions of festivals, except the Valentine's one which talks about her boyfriend getting flowers from the garage on the way home. D twice says she thinks this is funny, but the sts don't seem to get it – she doesn't explore it with them either. This kind of thing seems 'cultural' in a more complex sense than the heritage stuff they are talking about in the lesson. The 'festivals' they describe are:

- Hallowe'en [stilted, unnatural]
- Mother's Day
- New Year's Eve [not v audible]
- November 5th
- Remembrance Sunday
- Valentine's Day. [15.22 transcribed]

Sts discuss answers in groups. The sts' task is to guess which one they're talking about.

18.52

The tape is played again, stopping after each section. In feedback phase, there is a certain amount of discussion, questions, D telling anecdotes or giving extra info. Trick or treat, which day? Why celebrate? Many are old, long time ago, before Christianity, before Islam. Dead people haunt the earth. Mother's Day, easy. Who has children at school? Did they

make a card for you? Do they celebrate this in other countries too? 5th November, flagging up activity coming later. Poppies, Remembrance Sunday is 11th Nov. Why do people wear poppies? D explains why the poppy is a symbol of the war dead – 1st world war, dates, terrible war, a lot fought in N France and Belgium. Area, poppies growing, corn and wheat, pictures people have in their minds of the war, blood which has been spilt in that terrible war. Money goes to help people hurt in wars. Why 11th November? 11th hour, 11th day, 11th month. Valentine's day, 'funny when she talks about him'. [transcribed]. D laughs, sts don't.

36.00
There is now a shift of focus to a new activity, but on the same theme. D asks the sts to gather round a table and choose a card, something you think you can talk about. They are all photos or pictures of symbols associated with Xmas, Easter, New Year, St Patrick's, St David's, Hallowe'en, April Fool's. I help them identify some of the pictures. There are no non-Christian/non British events represented (because they did their own home festivals last week?) which makes it different to usual ESOL fare which might include e.g. Diwali, Notting Hill. They are asked to take a card and speak about it to the class, i.e. what they know about this festival and its symbols.

38.20
Instructions - D uses example of April Fool's day, office covered in Post-It notes. Tricks, make the bed so the sheet only goes half way down the bed, can't get feet into bed [Are D's examples real? Or a kind of 'imagined' composite idealised English culture?] S: in our religion you can't, why not? Prophet, lying etc. [did D understand this?] Afterwards they have to stick the picture in the right place on a calendar/timeline on the board. Anybody here Christian? Gives particular picture to Janet? Don't do one you don't know. END

Recording 2
00.0
They do activity standing up round the table. D gives some anecdotes/extra information/storytelling about each one. The discussion covers:

- J talking about Easter, the crucifixion, Christ rising from dead etc.
- [section transcribed] D eliciting name of daffodil and St David's day – they've done this on the first day, apparently, as D reminds them. A Somali, H, asks 'who was David', and D says he is a patron saint – but doesn't explain who the man might have been, or explain what a saint might be.
- S talking about Valentine's
- N talking about Remembrance Day, soldiers, dead people, war. D reiterates earlier explanation re poppies/blood etc. D talking about the Queen laying a wreath at the cenotaph. D explains this means 'empty tomb'. She flags forward to the walk they are going to do round Westminster. Lewisham, war memorial etc.
- Hallowe'en – children, mask, face-painting, scary, costumes.
- A talking about Bonfire night, Guy Fawkes night. Uses words such as 'plotting' 'blow up' – she has clearly learned this (in another class? in the blue book?). D tells of firework party they had last year for Bonfire night at her home, garlic bread, baked potatoes, bonfire, children ooh, mess in garden the next day [this is later referred to in the Guy Fawkes story]. Some years she celebrates at Blackheath etc. [VOICE: person who participates in English culture?]

- Father Christmas (the Christmas Father).
- P talking about the three wise men. V poetic (or is it me romanticising their accents?). D gives a v trad telling of the story of the three kings. 'Maybe it is true, who knows?' [VOICE: 'passing on culture' to children/the media etc? reminiscent of some of the history chapters in the blue book, esp 1st edition?]
- J on Xmas trees. D on pagan traditions, pre Christianity, darkest night, light etc.
- I am asked to do it too – I choose a chocolate egg and talk about eating them all in one day when I was little and how it is a pagan symbol. I feel I have to do this, but it feels unnatural and 'not me'. Easter eggs. Fertility, new life. Pagan, Christianity adopting pagan traditions. D shows pictures of chick and rabbit, Easter, new life, Christians, new life, Christ coming back to life.
- D elicits whisky, fairly laboriously. New Year, Scotland.
- D elicits Christmas pudding – all the sts know what it is and have tried it. D and I don't like it.
- St Patrick – 'trebol', shamrock, good luck.
- New Year, 12 o'clock, too tired to deal with staying up late these days. Pakistani student knows about party in Edinburgh. Scotland, New Year more important than Xmas, in Ghana too – J explains about this, everyone goes to church, pray music preaching, at 12 o'clock bonfire. Italy, pots and pans thrown onto the street etc. Refers back to previous lesson when this was discussed.

END

Recording 3
During break some sts talk about their progression, doing voluntary work, JC+ training and so on. [not recorded]

00.0
After the break D introduces the next activity. She is going to tell the story of Bonfire night, the sts are going to re-tell it in groups, and write their version of the story collaboratively. She says she is going to tell the story, not read it, so it will be different each time. D then gives out pictures illustrating the story – these are in the order she tells it and are to serve for them to follow the story and when they come to re-tell it.

1.56
[transcribe?] D tells the story of the Gunpowder plot, students asked to follow pictures which they are going to use later to put the story together. It is a 'genre' which I recognise, semi- 'BBC' type history programme, semi 'guided tour for foreigners' – 'the king in his fur-lined collar and robes' – i.e. detail to entertain, focus on 'heritage' detail, use of we/us to talk about how *we* commemorate the foiling of the plot 'what are we celebrating with our bonfires and our baked potatoes and garlic bread in our gardens? Well it all goes back over 300 years' [not IRF, question is part of narrative]. No complex historical detail except that the Catholics and Protestants hated each other 'like the Sunnis and Shi-ites'. It seems to be a story I have heard a 1,000 times. [VOICE? Passing on culture/history, us/you?]

9.32
After the 1st telling, D elicits and gives place names and names of key people from the story (King James, Robert Catesby, Guy Fawkes, Lord Monteagle) and other words such as 'plotters', 'treason', 'traitor'. What do you call it when you betray your country?

11.52

D then tells the story for the second time, slightly more potted version.

15.30
After this the sts work together to re-write the story using the pictures to help them [J and Bengali students audible doing this activity. Some use of Bengali. Not possible from recording to see how they do the activity. J what is the spelling of tortured? D helps them at 25.00.]. D talks about what was really happening, that some people believe the govt encouraged the plot to be able to turn against the Catholics even more. Similar to terrorism today, see how bad the terrorists are, we have to have lots of strict laws. [VOICE: D's political opinions?]

28.50
A representative is selected from each table to go to the front and tell the story in order, using notes, saying a section each of the story. Stilted, not fluent. Sts do this v badly, it is obviously difficult for them – why? Did they understand the story? D I know you remembered this better than what you said, because you all wrote lots. D rounds this off with 'any questions? So next year when you see British people celebrating this you'll understand why. J says she has never noticed the fireworks etc on Bonfire night. END

Recordings 4 and 5 (5 minutes)
[audible. Students preparing questions about 'work'. Not 'interesting' but a very typical ESOL activity, i.e. forming correct questions]. There is then an explanation about the exam, partly for my benefit as I am to do exam prep with them after lunch. She talks about the 4-part format of E2 and E3 and says she wants to focus particularly on asking questions. The exam is looking at how well do you ask questions, how well do you answer questions? She writes 4 topics on the board: looking for a job/living in London/neighbours/transport, says these are typical exam topics. Each table is designated a topic and they have to come up with as many questions as they can on each topic. There is certain confusion here over the nature of the task – some sts do what they usually do in this class, which is brainstorm their ideas and opinions about the topics, or asking questions about statistics and citizenship type topics – which they don't need for the exam. D talks to table with machine about open and closed questions and getting good answers from their partners etc. D models the problem with yes/no questions, try to change questions to make questions more open.

16.00
They are then asked to interview a student from another table – this produces stilted one-word answer type 'communication' [examples on recording if necessary e.g. around 19.00].

27.00
They are asked to come up with questions starting with 'what do you think of…' for their topics (quite difficult for the people doing jobs). This is then built into a mingle type activity in which students practise their questions on each other. They do seem to get engaged with this activity, and do seem to be grasping the Cambridge ESOL idea that they need to be seen to be interested in each other by asking questions and giving 'interesting' replies.

After lunch I take the class for a training session on taking the exam – based on the video used by Cambridge ESOL to train examiners. The main focus is on 'interacting', not talking too much or too little, asking each other questions, sticking to the topic. There is no recording of this part.

Appendix B: Summary of data

SITE 1: EASTFIELDS

Course 1 General

Dates	Total hours spent in field	Scheme of work	Teacher interview	Student interviews	Student group interview	Notes
18-10-07 – 22-11-07	**14.5** in classroom + focus group	No, but do have it for later rounds (see below)	No, but conversations/chats	No, but conversations and chats during the class and in the breaks etc.	Yes 22-11-09. 56.27 minutes. Recorded and partially transcribed, needs more work.	No recording for this round (pilot) – not agreed in advance

Course 1 lesson by lesson

Date	Lesson plan collected? Content/activities	Materials collected	Field notes	Observations/Notes
Observation 1 18-10-07 (9.30 – 15.00)	No, on whiteboard Topic: local government Problems, where to go for help. Manifestos. Voting system: first-past-the-post vs. proportional representation Some use of local govt websites	Yes: 1. Revision from week before re. MPs (personalised) 2. Manifestos 3. Comprehension Qs and personalisation of problems 4. Voting forms (from Institute for Citizenship)	Yes: incl description of classroom, first impressions, my discussions with students re test. My involvement as P/O Reflections post lesson	Striking level of knowledge of teacher Complex concerns of students (re e.g. housing) Sts v politically articulate Interactional/conversational style of much of teaching No focus on linguistic aspect of e.g. asking for help Diane: aspirational, belief in agency, involvement, idealistic? Socialisation into 'democractic' ways of doing things?
Observation 2 15-11-09 (9.30 – 13.00) I leave at lunch time	No, on whiteboard How Britain is governed – revision No 10 website Forms of govt The Law – moral dilemmas, when would we break the law? Rules vs. laws Legal age requirements for activities (e.g. vote, buy alcohol) BBC website Citizen X: quiz re crime, story re being a witness, choices re morality and the law. Exam practice: afternoon	1. Revision sheet from week before: How Britain is Governed Not collected: web sites used as a group, activity on age requirements from Niace citizenship pack	Yes: incl my reflections on sts' political views (conservative on some issues e.g. homelessness) Chats with sts re Cambridge exam. My involvement, including one instance in which I disagree with D. Reflections	Complex content, beyond that required by blue book? Teacher aspirational for sts. Seems to wish for them to know *more* than UK citizens. Lots of 'talk around task', some st initiated (e.g. monarchy vs. republic) Sensitive moment – sts talking about child discipline Some focus on 'colloquial' language Argumentation and citizenship?

Observation 3 (9.30 – 15.00) 22-11-07	No, on whiteboard Communities EU Commonwealth	1. Quizsheet on the Commonwealth from BBC website 2. Map of Europe Website: Young commonwealth.	Yes	Patchy st knowledge on British Empire Facts and figures focus (write down 53 countries of the commonwealth) Students seem less interested than usual – T v interested. Issue of T gauging level of knowledge and interest of students? Emergence in this class of literacy problems of some students – esp. around using an atlas.

Eastfields Course 2 General

Dates	Total hours spent in field	Total recordings	Scheme of work	Teacher interview	Student interviews	Student group interview
08-05-08 – 26-06-08	38.5 hours + interviews	30 hours	Yes	Yes. 15-09-08. 1h.21.40m	Judith: 26-06-08. 1h.43.50m Juan: 02-07-08. 49.35 mins + 47.57 mins	Yes. 22-05-08. 34.08 mins (*goes badly? see notes in file*)

Course 2 lesson by lesson

Date	Lesson plan collected? Content/activities	Materials collected	Field notes	Observations/Notes
Observation 1 08-05-08 9.30 – 15.00	No, on whiteboard. Britain Today 1-minute talks on a famous building (exam prep) Differences between home and UK Religions (unplanned?) Cultural differences, acceptable behaviour UK vs. other countries St countries of origin Immigration Ethnic minorities in London: size of groups Exam prep – chats in two circles	1. Britain Today quiz 2. Culture and diversity (from Citizenship pack) 3. pie chart of ethnic groups in UK population	Yes, with details of students, added to during course. Description of classroom. Reflections. My tone is more critical than last term?	**No recording** – not agreed yet. First ref to pensions/ageing population etc This course less 'citizenship-ish'? more focus on exam? Easier topics? One minute talks more common in this round Q on religion (cf D's interview) Facts and figures, graph, pie chart (as opposed to feelings/qualitative experience?)
Observation 2 15-05-08 9.30 – 15.00	No, on whiteboard. Women and young people Exam practice (talks My country vs. UK; listening) Parenthood, UK vs. home	1. Women and young people: facts and figures 2. Children, family and young people worksheet	Yes, incl my reflections on feeling uncomfortable at my involvement.	**Recording** Lots of talk round worksheet. Partial transcription made of whole lesson. Needs more work. Lesson used for LDC day: Rec 3, 35.39 Pensions and immigration. Serious discussion at end? Sts'

				concerns vs. facts and figures? Lots of st talk
Observation 3 22-05-08 9.30 – 15.00	No, on whiteboard Exam practice (listening) You and decision making: role play going to MP for help (based on Niace pack) Price of citizenship test/immigration (unplanned) Festivals and celebrations: presentations re festivals in own countries More presentations re role of women in their countries	1. listening script, exam practice	Yes. My role as 'examiner'. Reflections on exam, and st anxiety. Sts inhibited by recorder Reflections on presentations	**Recording** Partial transcription of some extracts T ill so I take group in the p.m. Lesson plan changed because materials have been lent out. Literacy issues. Quality of recording bad when there is group work/hubbub. Lots of role plays
Observation 4 05-06-08 9.30 – 15.00	No, on whiteboard British festivals and traditions. Guy Fawkes; telling and re-writing of story Exam practice: questions and answers re work, and video	1. Pictures of Guy Fawkes to put in order Homemade listening – Ts from Eastfields talking about festivals; cards with pics; students talk about cards.	Yes. Incl some reflections on 'culture' as seen in this session. My discomfort at being drawn into these discussions.	**Recording (not p.m. i.e. me doing exam prep with students)** Partial transcription of some extracts T still ill, I am asked to take the class again. Lesson marked by 'tourist' type symbolism? Or at best 'heritage history' e.g. Guy Fawkes. T as Blue Badge guide.
Observation 5 12-06-09 9.30 – 15.00	No, on whiteboard Revision of UK festivals and traditions Local government Problems and how to get help from council Manifestos Ways of voting Mock election	1. revision sheet on British festivals and traditions 2. Manifestos – candidates + comprehension exercise 3. personalised writing frames for student manifestos	Yes Incl. critical comments on pedagogy, e.g. tasks, length of time given for undemanding things, time-filling, role-plays.	**Recording (but an hour missing because of technical problem with machine)** Partial transcription of some extracts Problems with obscure lexis of festivals Focus on local contexts D asking about local politics – this bit not recorded. D seems much more engaged with this than festival stuff. Very long section of each student doing role-played manifestos
Observation 6 19-06-08 9.30-15.00	No	No	Yes, but not written up	**Recording** Whole day spent on exam practice. Recordings of students doing this would be useful for anyone wanting to critique ESOL speaking and listening exams
Observation 7	No	No	Yes, but not written up	**Recording** Whole day spent on exam practice. Recordings of students doing this would be useful for anyone wanting to critique ESOL speaking and listening exams

Eastfields Course 3 General

Dates	Total hours spent in field	Total recordings	Scheme of work	Teacher interview	Student interviews	Student group interview
11-09-08 – 06-11-08	28 + interviews	24 hours	Yes	No	Yes Zara and Laila 13-11-08. 1h34.00m	Yes. 16-10-09. 1.00.50

Course 3 lesson by lesson

Date	Lesson plan collected? Content/activities	Materials collected	Field notes	Observations/Notes
Observation 1 11-09-08 10-14.00	No. Introductions What is citizenship? What is British? Living in the UK quiz Buildings Geography – jumbled up map of British Isles Directions	1. Quiz: living in the UK How much do you know? 2. Famous buildings pictures 3. Famous buildings descriptions for matching to pics	Yes. Incl. description of classroom, re-union with D, info. re students.	**Recording of most of lesson, except the first 30(?) minutes?** Talk round tasks (quiz, buildings activity, UK geography) re NHS, MPs, bribery, home vs. UK. Sts struggling with names and proper nouns
Observation 2 18-09-08 10-14.00	No. Differences between home and UK Acceptable behaviour in UK (sorting activity based on Niace materials) Immigration to UK, going back home, statistics, pies chart, census Ethnic minorities in UK Talks on famous buildings	Posters produced by students on what they found strange about UK when they first arrived	Yes. Incl. my involvement as 'typical English person'. Reflections on same issues coming up re migration, pensions etc.	**Recording of whole lesson.** Literacy issues D new activity type: sts do an activity in groups, she summarises Comments on D controlling group activities, setting agenda. Lack of real interest in st experience? Examples of D asking sts not to speak Bengali Recurrence of 'talks', performance, cause anxiety for sts, don't listen to each other Talks – focus on 'delivery' i.e. speaking clearly, opening and closing, not content
Observation 3 25-09-08 10-14.00	No. Women children and young people: stats, numbers. Comparing UK and home re women and children Role of women UK vs. home Presentations on UK vs. my country Symbols and flags (e.g. shamrocks, tartan etc)	1. Britain Today quiz 2. questions re course 3. women and young people facts and figures 4. children family and young people comparison grid	Yes. New observations: the nature of 'multiculturalism'. The salience of gender as a point of comparison between cultures. Behaviour e.g. mobile phone use, use of other languages.	**Recording of whole lesson.** Arrival of Zara Literacy issues. Statements on young people and women seem very 'blue book' i.e. freedom vs. tradition type angles Less talk around task in this course? Class divided into two groups, I am expected to help out with one of them. ILPs, inspection coming up Issues of interest to D but not other sts e.g. war in Eritrea, loans in Bangladesh? Or too difficult for them to know

				about?
Observation 4 02-10-08 10-13.00 (I leave at lunch time)	No. Festivals. Customs and traditions Guy Fawkes ILPs Exam listening	1. Festivals and traditions handout Homemade tape of D and colleagues talking about festival Cards with pics related to festivals	Yes.	**Recording of whole lesson** Same lesson as obs 4 course 2 Talk around task
Observation 5 09-10-08 10-13.00	No Revision of festivals Exam practice: asking and answering questions: the silent way, asking Qs re famous buildings Writing questions re listenings	None	Yes. Evidence of my increasing boredom? Analysis of why the exam practice task is so difficult	**Recording of whole lesson.** Some talk around task in buildings activity Some correction of syntax and grammar (auxiliary verbs do/does) Exam practice – v demanding
Observation 6 16-10-08 10-13.00	No Local government Local issues Voting Council tax Housing	None Use of internet for local borough issues Cards with local council depts. Cards with problems to match to depts..	Yes Observations re use of L1	**Recording of whole lesson** Focus group in the afternoon session Talk around task noted for council/problems activity Longish section on housing, right to buy. D's take on citizenship and what it is all about
Visit 23-10-09	No	None	No	**No recording: trip to Westminster** **Photos available**
Observation 7 06-11-08 10-13.00	No Revision and feedback on Westminster trip Different ways of voting Local issues important to sts. Mock local election Exam practice (I miss this)	1. Voting form: the single vote system vs. the multiple vote system Materials available in previous folders from past obs. Pictures of places from visit on screen	Yes. Some st. boredom I engage in a debate re local taxes. Probs re role play	**Recording of whole lesson till lunch time.** Talking around task in Westminster feedback/revision Some talk amongst sts re Obama election win Lesson is a continuation of one began on 16-10-08

EASTFIELDS SUMMARY
Total hours in field: 81
Total pages of fieldnotes: 74
Total recordings: 54 hours
Total student interviews: 4 people, 3 interviews
Total focus group interviews: 3

Total teacher interview: 1

SITE 2: NORTHSIDE

Term 1

Dates	Total hours spent in field	Total recordings	Scheme of work	Teacher interview	Student interviews	Student group interview	Notes
26-09-08 – 14-11-08	13 hours 15 minutes	5 hours	Yes	No, next term	No, next term	No, next term	Semester 1: focus on speaking and listening (i.e. for exam)

Term 1 lesson by lesson

Date	Lesson plan collected? Content/activities	Materials collected	Field notes	Observations/Notes
Observation 1 26-09-08 12.45 – 15.30	Yes. Plan for session on board. Revision of medical/health related terms Correct prepositions Listening test Dialogue on medical problem Typical mistakes in writing ILPs	No.	Yes. First impressions of sts. Description of classroom, neighbourhood.	No recording 1st visit Students still being assessed Focus on grammar and pron. Citizenship only loosely dealt with
Observation 2 03-10-08 12.45 – 15.30	Yes. Health advice in brochures/leaflets etc.: vitamin C and cancer drugs, '5-a-day' How often sts do healthy things ILPs Dialogues re advice giving	1) Citizen skills: friendly advice 2) Citizen skills: healthy living (from pack 'Citizen skills BSA AssetUK, also on CD Rom)	Yes My issues reading J's signposting Comment re health discourses/the economy	No recording 'Speaking club' – invented as a way for me to meet sts
Observation 3 10-10-08 12.45 – 15.30	No Letters of complaint Exercise on linking words in a health context Vocab re libraries How to find your way round a library	1) The library: finding your way around 2) Library layout	Yes Incl my reflections on talking to sts about their tough lives etc.	No recording Sts all working at different speeds on letters Problem with focus of attention Speaking club
Observation 4 24-10-08	No. Recipes Correcting own mistakes	1) a recipe from my country: writing frame 2) checking	Yes Comments on literacy problems in class Reflections about	No recording. Class is the accumulation of several lessons on food Focus on writing again Focus on grammar,

12.45 – 15.30		your partner's recipe Website with videos showing how to cook dishes	the citizenship element of this group	punctuation, spelling Speaking club
Observation 5 04-11-08 (Tuesday) 12.45 – 15.00	No. Fruit and veg worksheet Count/uncount nouns worksheet Favourite festivals Words for festivals Video on Notting Hill carnival Diwali (worksheet)	1) example of group learning goal sheet 2) worksheet for Notting Hill carnival video 3) worksheet on Diwali 4) preparing a presentation frame Video: Connect ELT	Yes. Comments on video. My involvement with Raffiq and his Home Office letter.	**Recording of whole lesson.** Teaching assistant present Lesson similar to Eastfields.
Observation 6 14-11-08 12.45 – 15.30	No. Feedback on writing on festivals ILPs Grammar Error correction	1) festivals in my country: mistakes from writing 2) Present simple vs. continuous worksheet (from Play Games with English) + pics from Hallowe'en (difficult for sts to decipher) 3) Grammar worksheet (from Murphy)	Yes. Observations of sts' interest in grammar/accuracy Reflections on importance given to writing	**Recording of whole lesson**

Term 2

Dates	Total hours spent in field	Total recordings	Scheme of work	Teacher interview	Student interviews	Student group interview	Notes
27-02-09 – 18-06-09	12 hours 45 minutes + interviews	12 hours approx.	Yes	Yes 19-03-09 57.38 mins	Yes Raffiq 13-03-09 71.16 mins F. 18-06-09 31.23 mins S. 18-06-09 32.33 mins	Yes 27-03-09 41.58 mins	Semester 2: focus on reading and writing (i.e. for exam)

Term 2 lesson by lesson

Date	Lesson plan collected?	Materials collected	Field notes	Observations/Notes

	Content/activities			
Observation 1 27-02-09 12.45 – 14.45	No. Feedback on visit to Taking Liberties exhibition at BL (King John, Magna Carta, Suffragettes). Punctuation (context: the right to vote) Interactive voting on referenda (BL website), where do they stand cf. the rest of the voters who have done the same activity?	BL website: pages from exhibition (taken after class) 1) Punctuation of text 'Why Vote?' ('Basic Skills for Life') 2) Pics of suffragettes 3) Writing frame re suffragettes 4) two exercises on grammar: pronouns and word order	Yes. Indicates my involvement in the discussion re suffragettes/violence etc Comments on J's approach to feedback (form not content)	**Recording of whole session** Beginning of 2nd semester. Sts have done Cambridge speaking and listening exam, 4 have failed. Only 3 have been put in for the reading and writing exam. Sts v animated by topic
Observation 2 05-03-09 12.45 – 14.30	No Spelling Vocabulary of jobs Courses at Northside	1) spelling worksheet (double consonants, children's workbook) 2) jobs gap fill worksheet 3) matching jobs to definition 4) who's in charge (from Test your Vocabulary)	Yes.	**Recording of whole session**. Classroom assistant present. Some students still doing diagnostic reading tests.
Observation 3 13-03-09 12.45 – 14.30	No Work/jobs Feedback on writing test. Worksheets on the present perfect Focus on accuracy in writing.	1) worksheet – expressions related to work 2) reading on minimum wage (from Niace materials) - given for h/w.	Yes Fixation on accuracy Musings on why this class is so popular.	**Recording of whole session**. New student, J not informed. Sts still doing diagnostic tests
Observation 4 19-03-09 (Thurs) 12.45 – 14.30	No Spelling (same children's book as 05-03) Role play phone call for info re job adverts Reading re	1) job adverts from small ads 2) AECC materials E3 p. 6 Unit 8: job adverts	Yes Similar to prev weeks.	**Recording of whole session** Back of field notes: list of materials drawn on for the design of the course
Observation 5 27-03-08 12.45 – 14.30	No. DVD on 'work'. Speaking and Listening test practise Focus group interview	1) work in Britain: comprehension worksheet for DVD (Window in Britain, OUP)	Yes. Some comments on the focus group interview	**Recording of whole session**. Me used as 'expert' to help J make decisions re who to enter for tests
Observation 6	No.	Worksheet on global warming and info re.	No	**No recording.** Visit to do final interviews

24-04-09 12.45 – 13.30		Northside's Sustainability Week.		

NORTHSIDE SUMMARY
Total hours in field: 26 hours 15 mins
Total pages of field notes: 29
Total recordings: 17 hours
Total student interviews: 3
Total focus group interviews: 1
Total teacher interview: 1

Appendix C: Student focus group interview schedule

1. Who has done the citizenship test?

    - Explain?

    - Tell us about the questions?

2. How do you feel about the citizenship test?

3. Should we have a test?

4. Do you feel British?

    - Will you feel more British when you have British nationality?

5. Why do you want citizenship/leave to remain?

6. Tell me about this class.

    - Did you know this information before?

7. What is a good citizen?

Appendix D: Student one to one interview schedule

1. Tell me about yourself.

    Where from? How long in UK? Why migrated? Daily life? Languages?
    Job?

2. Tell me about your classes.

    What have you learned about citizenship?

3. Why do you want to get British citizenship?

4. Will you feel differently once you've got it?

5. Tell me about being a [Colombian/Somali/Bangladeshi] in London.

6. Is English important for citizenship?

7. Are you a good citizen?

Appendix E: Teacher interview topic guide

1. How did the course come into being?

2. How did you plan the course?

    Decide what to cover? Materials? Aims?

3. Balance ESOL/citizenship?

4. What does citizenship mean to you?

5. Does what you teach on this course reflect your own values and beliefs about citizenship?

6. Would the course look like this if you had designed it from scratch/there were no materials?

7. What do you think students get out of the course?

    Successful? Why/why not?

8. What do students know/not know?

    What kind of knowledge do they need?

9. What models of citizenship do the materials draw on?

10. Views on test?

11. Personal and professional details

Appendix F: Thematic coding Eastfields 05-06-08

D = Diane, the teacher. Sometimes 'T'
M= Researcher
w/c = whole class

Recording 1 00.00 – 43.14

Time on recording	Episode & groupings/formations	Themes/topics ['What?']	Treatment ['How?']
00.00	T – w/c	T explaining activities for whole session	
2.28	T – w/c.	UK festivals. 'What typical British people do at typical times' **OCa)**	T setting up listening activity. Listening is home made. Eastfields teachers asked to talk about festivals. D drawing on me as 'English person'. Some teaching of vocab e.g. 'cracker' 'turkey' **LWa)**
8.19	T – w/c	Instructions for listening task.	Is listening task also exam practice? Some fiddling with CD player + AV technician
11.25	w/c	Ss do listening task. UK festivals (see field notes for festivals) **OCa)**	*Transcribe more of this. Voices of teachers on tape (in Bakhtinian sense): BBC documentary, news commentary? Story-telling? Cf D's tour guide voice *Transcribed at 15.22
15.59	Ss in pairs	As above **OCa)**	Ss discuss answers in groups.
18.41	W/c	As above **OCa)**	After each section the tape is stopped and D gives feedback. See field notes for timings. *Transcribe, esp section on Remembrance Sunday. D's vocab and expressions. Voice? * transcribed at 34.35 *key section
35.09	T w/c	T explaining next activity, moving students around. Extension of listening on UK festivals. **OCa)**	Ss asked to pick pictures representing festivals. Some obscure (April Fools? Shamrock? Daffodils?)
38.20	T – w/c	T demonstrating how activity is to be done **OCa)**	*Transcribe. Voice: 'imagined', idealised Englishness? Jolly japes. Enid Blyton.

Recording 2. 00.00 – 20.57

Time on recording	Episode & groupings/formations	Themes/topics ['What?']	Treatment ['How?']
00.00	T – ss - M	British festivals **OCa)**	Long episode. Students take a card with a picture representing a festival and talk about it (see field notes for timings). D nominates turns, elicits, adds information, tells some

			anecdotes, gives some mini lecturettes. Discourse blends: teacher, Brit, personal. Voices: e.g. baby Jesus story (transcribed at 10.22). I am asked to contribute a description and anecdote. ==*Key section? Transcribe whole stretch?==

Recording 3 00.00 – 39.50

Time on recording	Episode & groupings/formations	Themes/topics ['What?']	Treatment ['How?']
00.00	T – w/c	Setting up task. Theme: the story of Guy Fawkes. **OCa)**	
1.55	T – w/c	The story of Guy Fawkes. **OCa)**	D tells story. Students look at pics, put in order. Blue Badge guide version of history. 'Guided tour for foreigners' version of history (genre, voice). Some explanation of vocabulary (plotting). Use of we/us. Some explanation for ESOL audience (Sunni vs Shi-ite). ==*transcribe?==
9.39	T – w/c	Key names from story **OCa)**	Names and words needed for story on board. IRF format.
15.46	Ss in pairs.	Ss re-tell story of gunpowder plot **OCa)**	Janet and Bengali ss work together. A lot done in Bengali (I think because it is difficult). At 25.00 they ask D for help. D gives political explanation about terrorism (voice?). D doesn't intervene re narrative telling/sequence/other language issues which arise from task.
28.40	w/c	T gives instructions for next activity **OCa)**	Students are to go to the front and tell the story jointly, each one telling a part of the sequence. Unclear why this task. EFL type activity for the sake of it?
30.02	Ss	Ss decide how they're going to do activity **OCa)**	
33.55	w/c	Group telling of story of gunpowder plot. **OCa)**	Ss do re-telling v badly. The task is obviously difficult. Have they understood the story at all? D does not push it very far, lets go of activity quickly. Task has a performance aspect, like their presentations.

Recording 4 00.00 – 45.25

Time on recording	Episode & groupings/formations	Themes/topics ['What?']	Treatment ['How?']
00.00	T – w/c	T setting up activity. Format of Cambridge exam. Asking and answering questions: living in London, looking for a job, neighbours, transport. **ER**	
8.15	Ss	Question formation **ER/LWa)**	Ss in small groups. Me helping. D moves from table to table. D and I stress 'seem interested', ask open questions, not just Y/N.
16.33	T – w/c	Setting up next task **ER/LWa)**	Lots of elaborate setting up
18.30	Ss	Asking and answering questions	Stilted, one-word answers. Me: seem interested in each other. What is natural follow up question?
23.36	T – w/c	Feedback and setting up next activity: questions using 'what do you think of…?' **ER/LWa)**	
28.02	Ss	Question formation **ER/LWa)**	
32.31	Ss	Asking and answering question with 'what do you think of…?' **ER/LWa)**	Mingle activity
37.59	T – w/c	Feedback on activity **ER/LWa)** Setting up final task: asking a question and then a follow-up question	
40.10	Ss	Asking questions and follow ups **ER/LWa)**	

Recording 5 00.00 – 5.30 (contd. from recording 4)

Time on recording	Episode & groupings/formations	Themes/topics ['What?']	Treatment ['How?']
00.00	T – w/c	Feedback on open questions, getting partner to talk **ER/LWa)**	Lecturette/discussion on exam technique. Writing on board.

Formations/participation frameworks

- Teacher explanations/instructions
- Teacher anecdotes
- Mini-lecturettes
- IRE
- Small group discussions: teacher nominated topics; student nominated topics; unstructured talk; role of feedback; absence of feedback; talking about UK with compatriots
- w/c discussions: how do ss get turns; teacher initiated topics; student initiated topics
- materials: discussions and activities mediated by materials?
- My role in some group discussions? [I think I am sometimes trying to coax ss to do what I think D wants them to do and sometimes I am being didactic in my own right. Other times I am asking them things to find out about them for my research]

Summary of coded recordings 05-06-08

Recording	OC a)&b)	IW	ER	LW a) b) c)	Other (uncoded)	Mixed
1. 43.45	35				5.5	
2. 20.57	20.57					
3. 39.50	39.50					
4. 45.25			45.25			
5. 5.30			5.30			
TOTALS: 149.3 Recordings: [approx: 151]	95 (61%)		51 (34%)		5.5 (4%)	

Notes:

1. These codes seem broader/less detailed than the first two classes.

Appendix G: Transcripts for analysis of classroom data

Theme	Transcript	Other references	Notes
Immigration and race	15-05-08/3 **whole episode** (incl. ageing population/migration) (*) 18-09-08/2 ageing population/migration; working hard in UK. (**) 18-09-08/3 race/white people in Cornwall (extract)	15-05-08/4: raising children back home 18-09-08/2: migration/why came/de-skilling/return home 18-09-08/3 minority groups in UK 18-10-07: the commonwealth 08-05-08: ageing population; return home, minority groups.	(*) this comes in a lesson on 'population, women, young people'. (**) focus of this lesson is 'immigration'
British festivals	05-06-08/1 Remembrance Sunday (extract) 05-06-08/2 UK festivals (**whole episode**) 22-05-08/4 'national day' (extract) 22-05-08/4 significance of Eid (extract)	02-10-08: same lesson same materials similar topics See also: 12-06-08 and 09-10-08 (follow up lessons to 05-06 and	Data available of students talking about festivals in home countries Crossover with British history (Guy Fawkes lessons, trip to Westminster)
Britain [citizenship, behaviour, culture, institutions, gender etc.]	11-09-08/4 being British (whole episode) 11-09-08/5 living in the UK (incl. NHS, minimum wage) (**whole episode**) 18-09-08/1 two men holding hands (extract) 18-09-08/1 customs home vs. UK 15-05-08/4 intervening on bus (extract) 15-05-08/4 equal pay (extract)	25-09-08: lesson on women and young people	