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**MODERN FOREIGN LANGUAGES CLASSROOM: IS INCLUSION OF ALL
EXCLUSION IN DISGUISE?**

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Modern Foreign Languages classroom: is inclusion of all exclusion in disguise?

ABSTRACT

The past decade has seen a drive to give all pupils the opportunity to study a Modern Foreign Language (MFL) in schools in England, making the teaching and learning of foreign languages part of the primary school curriculum. The Languages for All: Languages for Life (DfES, 2002) policy was introduced through the National Languages Strategy with an objective to increase the nation's language capability. Raising the educational standard for all pupils is another government initiative with a strong emphasis on inclusion. As the Languages for All policy stresses the importance and benefits of language learning, and inclusion suggests equality and provision for all, this study examines the inclusion of all key stage 2 pupils in foreign language learning and describes perceptions and experiences of pupils, particularly those identified as having special educational needs (SEN) in their performances and negotiations in learning French.

As a small scale, qualitative and ethnographically informed, this research is based on participant observation and semi-structured interviews with pupils, teachers of French, teaching assistants and parents. This study draws upon Nussbaum's capabilities approach and Bourdieu's concepts as theoretical foundations to analyse the 'inclusive' French classroom. As the capabilities approach takes people as ends not means, and goes beyond a focus on resources, it lends itself to critical thinking on issues around inclusion in education. In this context, this researcher investigates the experiences of pupils who struggle with foreign language learning because of their abilities or disabilities, and frames the discussion around the capabilities approach. The study also focuses on motivation and identity in foreign language learning, and draws upon Bourdieu's concepts of capital, habitus and field to analyse how the participants make sense of and respond to their own circumstances in relation to their performances in the language learning process. This research thus considers Bourdieu's concepts for a deeper understanding of issues of inequality in learning French and takes up Nussbaum's insight that pupils may differ in what learning French means to them, and it is not how they differ, but the difference between their capability to choose and achieve what they value that should matter.

The findings indicate that although, initially, the French classroom appears 'inclusive' due to the provision and practices of inclusion, a closer look shows it to be exclusionary. In addition, responses from the participants on the usefulness and benefits of foreign language learning are contradictory to the objectives of the Languages for All policy, illustrating the complexity of the 'inclusive' MFL classroom. This research concludes that structural and interpersonal practices of inclusion contribute to the disguising of exclusion in a classroom deemed 'inclusive'. Implications are that an understanding and consideration of other aspect of life such as well-being, interests, needs and values should form a necessary part of the language policy.

Key words: capabilities, capital, field, habitus, inclusion, special educational needs.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

GCSE	General Certificate of Secondary Education
ICT	Information communication Technology
IEP	Individual Educational Plan
MFL	Modern Foreign Languages
NC	National Curriculum
OfSTED	Office for Standards in Education
PE	Physical Education
SAT	Standard Assessment Test
SEN	Special Educational Needs
TA	Teaching Assistant

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION AND RATIONALE FOR THE RESEARCH

After more than a decade in the modern foreign languages (MFL) classroom teaching French and German, I decided that the time was right to reflect on the teaching and learning journey that I had been on over the years and to contemplate the experiences of all my pupils in their attempt to acquire and communicate in a foreign language in a school setting. My initial focus was on pupils who were identified as having special educational needs (SEN) or learning difficulties or disabilities¹ because this group of pupils appeared to struggle more with many aspects of modern foreign language learning. The pupils' struggles seemed to become intensified when learning had to progress beyond the basics. Moreover, their struggles seemed to include a whole range of problems such as lack of interest, lack of motivation and disengagement. As a result, exclusion from meaningful learning processes (see Benjamin, 2002) is prevalent.

My interest for this research grew, when in 2002 the National Languages Strategy for England set out the entitlement that every child should have the opportunity throughout key stage 2² to learn a foreign language by the year 2010. This commitment puts MFL in the curriculum for this age group and therefore represents a significant step forward for primary foreign languages. MFL at key stage 2 provides a challenge for pupils and teachers alike (see McColl, 2000) because the entitlement of all pupils to learn a foreign language requires teachers to take into account the diverse abilities and needs of all pupils when they plan and deliver their lessons. This is noteworthy as the National Curriculum³ (NC) places a strong emphasis on inclusion of all pupils.

When I embarked on this research, I was in charge of French and History at Main Street School⁴ where I also taught Food Technology. I taught every pupil in the school because of the Food Technology subject, and have been teaching this for twelve years. Teaching every pupil in the school enables me to observe them in different learning contexts. I have been the head of French for fourteen years and head of History for eleven years. Prior to working at Main Street School, I worked as a teacher of French and German in a secondary school in London and then in another secondary school in the north of England in Lancashire. I started teaching MFL in the first years of the introduction of the National Curriculum in the early nineties and throughout my teaching career I have lived and

¹ Special educational needs and learning difficulties and learning disabilities are used interchangeably in this research. The terms are defined in chapter 2.

² A key stage is a stage in the state education system in England. Key stage 2 is a term used for year 3, year 4, year 5 and year 6 for pupils aged between 7 and 11.

³ The national curriculum is a study scheme designed by the government to ensure nationwide uniformity of content and standards in education. This is discussed in chapter 2.

⁴ Main Street School is a pseudonym. All other names used in this research are pseudonyms.

experienced the changes that foreign languages teaching and learning in schools in England have undergone. I strongly believe that it is important to learn a foreign language and this personal observation has been supported in the studies by many authors who have examined foreign language learning by all students. McColl (2000) and McKeown (2004) for example suggest that all pupils can learn and enjoy a foreign language in a school setting.

My own experiences of teaching MFL have influenced my tendency to question the Languages for All: Languages for Life⁵ (DfES, 2002) policy. This is because the Department for Education and Skills (2002) states that 'every child should have the opportunity to study a language and develop their interest in the culture of other nations' (DfES, 2002: 15) however, although all pupils at Main Street School study a foreign language which is French, some do not show any interests in the language or indeed in the foreign culture. Some pupils display strong negative attitudes towards both the target language and its culture and appear to be disengaged. Why does this happen? My experiences thus influenced my belief in giving a voice to the young people, in order to explore their experiences of foreign language learning as after all, these young participants are the very people that the Languages for All policy has been designed to support. Other issues are also involved both directly and indirectly in the classroom, thus it was also significant to consider these issues which include motivation, knowledge of the language, views towards the language as well as identity in foreign language learning. This study is thus an inquiry into the experiences of the pupils and the teachers as they interpret and take in elements of the language policy in their day-to-day negotiations in the classroom.

In education, debates regarding the appropriateness of provision for all learners, but particularly learners who have been identified as having special educational needs are incessant. Since the election of the then New Labour government in 1997, inclusion has become conceptualised as education within the same mainstream school of all children including those identified with special educational needs and/or disabilities (Hodkinson, 2007). The impetus is to eradicate marginalisation and segregation of socially disadvantaged and ethnic minority groups in schools. This policy development followed the Salamanca statement (UNESCO, 1994) which pushed for global moves towards inclusion based on fundamental rights and entitlement for all children. Inclusion refers to all children and young people being given the opportunity to be fully included, to actively participate with others in the learning experiences provided, to be valued as learners of the school community, and to have access to a system that delivers a quality education that is best suited to their unique competencies, skills and attributes (Ainscow, 2000; Farrell, 2000). Due to a commitment to

⁵ The National Languages Strategy for England was informed by and built on the Nuffield Languages Inquiry of 2000 (For extensive reading see also Language Learning, DfES, 2002).

social inclusion, and with it 'inclusive education', both of which are central components of government policy (Florian, 1998), the UK government appears to engage itself to inclusive schooling through various official reforms and policies (see DfEE, 1997; DfES, 2001; 2003; 2005; 2007) and these continue to attract a number of rigorous debates.

Can modern foreign languages really be for all and can the principles of inclusion be effectively practised and maintained in the foreign language classroom? The Languages for All policy (DfES, 2002) seeks to promote the benefits and entitlement for all pupils at key stage 2 to learn a foreign language at school and, according to a survey by The Gallup Organization (2010), European employers place value on knowledge of second languages. In the UK, the Army has also recently announced that officers will not rise through the ranks without learning a foreign language (Farmer, 2014). Despite all the incentives, many secondary school students prefer to opt out of foreign language learning as soon as they are able to (see Coleman *et al.*, 2007; Coleman, 2009). The DfES (2007) also reports a steep decline in the numbers of students taking national qualifications in foreign languages. Furthermore, evidence suggests that MFL being compulsory at certain key stages when students do not want to learn the subject leads to disaffection and 'poor behaviour in many languages lessons' (Macaro, 2008: 105).

The MFL classroom thus presents a ground for many struggles where individuals choose, perform and persist in various endeavours. Students often complain of anxiety (Oxford, 2005) or state that they find learning foreign languages boring (Chambers, 1999) and frequently describe the subject as difficult and irrelevant (Hobson's Research, 2007/8). Teachers claim that MFL lessons are 'the most disruptive subject on the curriculum' (Macaro, 2008: 105). Parents also voice that MFL is not a core subject therefore their children, particularly, those identified with special educational needs would be better off concentrating more on the core subjects (McKeown, 2004). Evidence also suggests that students do not see the utility of the subject for future purposes (Bartram, 2012). With all of these concerns, it is therefore difficult to imagine that when *all* are included, *all* can flourish and reach the recognised level of competence (DfES, 2002) that is the objective of the Languages for All policy.

1.1 Rationale and background of the research

Since the introduction of the Languages for All policy (DfES, 2002), studies (McColl, 2000; McKeown, 2004) have demonstrated the importance and benefits of teaching a modern foreign language to all pupils including those identified with special educational needs. Specific strategies for managing pupils with different types of difficulties, and enhancing learning have been highlighted and a number of publications (Morgan and Neil,

2001; DfES, 2003; McColl, 2005; Ramage, 2012) have described ways in which language teachers can assist in providing for the diverse needs and abilities of students. Although these strategies offer useful guidance for the teacher and promote enjoyment and benefits such as personal, cognitive and academic of language learning, they do not necessarily align with pupils' views and experiences of inclusion of all in the MFL classroom as we will see later in the data chapters. This research represents an attempt in this direction in that it investigates the participants (pupils, language teachers, teaching assistants and parents) in their school setting and reports on their perceptions and experiences of foreign language learning in the 'inclusive' classroom. This research has been carried out in one mainstream comprehensive school in the south east of England. The school which I have named Main Street School caters for 9 to 13 years old pupils (year 5 to year 8). This research examines the way in which the school practices inclusion particularly in the MFL classroom. The aim is to describe the experiences and the views of the participants with regard to learning French. This study is located within an interpretive framework and has used data from participant observation, interviews and document analysis over a period of more than two academic years in the school. This research thus maps the classed experiences of pupils identified as having special educational needs through examining two connected issues: 1) how SEN students perceive the learning of French; and why many pupils respond negatively to learning the subject. 2) The extent to which SEN pupils experience an unfair and/or unjust 'inclusive' foreign language classroom.

Literature on inclusion is abundant, as is literature on MFL and the latter mostly offers guidance on pedagogy, therefore, the purpose of this research is to provide a description of the daily activities of the school regarding MFL as well as the experiences of the pupils, the teachers and the parents. I hope to raise awareness of concerns such as the reason some of the participants dislike the learning and indeed teaching of French although the policy proclaims languages for all. The work of French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu (1987; 1990) is useful in theorising how the participants negotiate the foreign language learning process in the classroom, and in particular, Bourdieu's concepts of field, habitus and capital are most relevant in understanding pupils' views and pupils' performances. Nussbaum's (2006; 2011) capabilities approach is also useful for understanding the daily practices in the classroom, in that, the approach considers that society should provide certain basic capabilities for all individuals. As I will show later, Bourdieu's concepts coupled with Nussbaum's capabilities approach fit together well for this research, as they are both concerned with the processes of inequality in society.

My interest in this research was informed by my personal experience of teaching three subjects namely, French, History and Food Technology to mixed ability groups in key stages 2 and 3. The school is located in a small town in the east of England and is

predominantly White British, though there are a few pupils from Eastern Europe and Asia as well. Whilst observing some of my pupils in the various subjects I teach, but particularly in French, the disjunction that I noticed between policy and practice especially in the 'inclusive classroom' motivated this research. What I encounter on a daily basis is different to what the policy rhetoric states. This prompted with me many questions concerning the meaning of education and concerning educational rights of all pupils, particularly those identified with special educational needs (SEN) in the MFL classroom. Remarking that key stages 2 and 3 pupils, particularly pupils identified with SEN display: reluctance to take part; lack of motivation; inability to process the learning activities as well as compliance to take part in learning French just for the sake of it, aroused in me the need to find out more. This is because what I notice in the classroom appears contrary to what the Languages for All policy proposes in its statement that every pupil should have the opportunity to study a foreign language and develop their interests in the target language culture (see DfES, 2002). Additionally, MFL studies by McColl (2000) and McKeown (2004) affirm that pupils of all abilities can learn and enjoy a foreign language in a school environment. However, in a field such as a school, social class plays an important role therefore, this research puts more emphasis on the experiences of pupils identified with SEN learning French. This research thus seeks to examine how learning French is perceived by working-class and middle-class pupils, especially those who are on the school's SEN register.

My focus for this research comes in two parts: first of all, as a linguist, I am passionate about foreign language learning and cultures of other nations thus, I am interested in understanding the reason some of my pupils respond negatively to learning French and to learning about the French culture. Secondly, as some pupils seem reluctant to learn the target language, this could indicate that there is an issue of unfairness or unjustness in the language classroom. Unjustness in this case would indicate an ethical issue in a classroom where inclusion is promoted. It often appears that MFL is a subject for middle-class pupils as the learning process involved functions in such a way that class inequalities are more noticeable (see Bourdieu, 1977b). French in particular, in British schools has been noted to be a subject for middle-class female students because students from working-class families are not as keen on the subject for many reasons including lack of required cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1977b) or literacy skills needed to succeed in studying a foreign language (see Court, 2001; Williams, Burden and Lanvers, 2002) and much preferred by middle-class parents for their children. Hence, in a diverse school community, where other foreign languages may be provided, be it, an eastern European language or Asian language, French could still be favoured, considered more beneficial and chosen by some parents for their children. As Van Zanten (2003: 108) asserts, for middle-class parents, 'schools are expected to contribute to the cognitive development and intellectual ranking of their children'. For MFL learning, one

reason would be that with French, middle-class families would be able to maintain connections to their social backgrounds. Middle-class parents rely on privileges associated with their social membership (Brown, 1990) and as learning French would provide more opportunities for future careers than any other language, middle-class parents would prefer French if given the choice. Vidal Rodeiro concurs that (2009), French continues to be one of the main languages taught in secondary schools in England and students who go to school in a deprived area are less likely to study a foreign language. Board and Tinsley (2013) also assert that despite the recommendations of the Languages for All policy, a small, and yet growing proportion of schools do not teach a foreign language to all pupils throughout key stage 3. This practice, they argue, is rare in the independent sector where most students come from middle-class families.

The term special educational needs (SEN) in general covers a variety of learning difficulties or disabilities ranging from medical disabilities to emotional and behavioural issues. The literature on foreign language learning and inclusion identifies little research on the experiences and perceptions of pupils who have been identified with SEN and indeed of the experiences of the teachers regarding teaching and learning a foreign language in a mixed-ability classroom settings. Instead, the literature provides guidance and support on how to effectively plan and deliver MFL to all learners (Edwards, 1998, McColl, 2000 and McKeown, 2004; Morgan and Neil, 2001; Ramage, 2012). When I mentioned my concerns regarding what I perceive to be 'exclusion' in the 'inclusive' classroom to other MFL teachers, I realised they also have similar experiences in their own classrooms. I decided then that this could be a valuable focus for a research project as the school endeavours to meet the requirements set out by the government for the entitlement of MFL at key stage 2 for all pupils. The concerns I expressed, which were confirmed by colleagues, coupled with my own day-to-day experiences guided my decision to find out more on the issue.

1.2 An overview of the school and its setting

Main Street School was founded in the early 1930s and is located in the suburb of a small town in the south east of England. It is a mainstream comprehensive co-educational school and when I joined it in 1994, two foreign languages were on the curriculum: French and German. Pupils were organised in bands of ability in the MFL department at the time and French was taught to the top bands only which included pupils who were identified as more academically able. Pupils who struggled with academic work and pupils who have been identified with special educational needs by the school were put in the bottom bands and taught German. These pupils were not allowed to learn French because it was decided by the school senior management team that they would find German more manageable due to

the belief in the school community that German sounds more like English. At this time, at Main Street School, not all year groups were allowed to learn MFL, and French or German were only taught to pupils in key stage 3, in year 7 and in year 8. Year 5 pupils did not have MFL at all on their time-table. Although similarly to year 5, year 6 pupils did not routinely learn MFL either, after the key stage 2 national tests (SATs⁶) in the summer term, one lesson of English out of the 8 lessons that year 6 pupils usually have per week was replaced by a taster course of French lesson. This went on for five weeks and gave the year 6 pupils the opportunity to have 50 minutes a week of introductory French course to learn the basics such as greetings, colours and numbers for instance. These lessons were designed to deliver mostly basic vocabulary and very simple sentences. The taster course was given in French only, not German and the lessons were one way to enable the languages teachers to select pupils for the bands of language teaching groups for the following year when the pupils start in year 7. As mentioned above, pupils did not have the choice in what language they learnt. Pupils who performed well in the taster course were allowed to learn French and the rest were taught German.

The band system had been discontinued a few years prior to the start of this study and pupils are since taught in mixed-ability groups. At Main Street School, pupils do not stay in one classroom for any of their lessons as it can be the case in primary school setting. Here, a bell rings to indicate the start or end of lessons and the pupils move on the bell to the classroom where their lessons are. They form a queue outside the classrooms and are only allowed in by an adult; a teacher or a teaching assistant. All the staff members at the school are specialists of their subjects but a few members are required to teach other subjects and thus undergo training for these as well. In the MFL department, all the teachers teach French as their main subject and also teach other subjects such as history, English, physical education and food technology.

My research began at the school in 2011 about ten years after the school had decided to discontinue teaching German to its pupils on the request of the parents and the reason given was that it was bringing back painful memories of the Second World War⁷. Main Street School lies in a community where there is a military base and several pupils have one or both parents or at least a relative, distant or close, in the army. Many pupils aspire to working in the army as their future careers and some display strong sentiments for the English subject, and express pride in wanting to learn English rather than French. Some

⁶ SAT stands for Standard Attainment Test and is for the core subjects only, English and Maths.

⁷ During the WW2, the school was hit by bombs and a large area of the building was damaged. The loss from this War was still felt and narrated in families and for this reason, there was a strong negative attitude toward learning German as a school subject. The school had to terminate the subject to avoid division between families and pupils.

pupils show reluctance to assimilate with the French subject and its culture as we will see later in chapter six. At this school, some pupils do not see the benefits of learning French despite provision and encouragement, and claim that they do not need it for their future career. French is thus considered a subject for the elite by the pupils and some parents, making it a class issue. MFL studies revealed that the subjects students choose to study are closely linked with career aspirations (Stables and Wikeley (1997); Clark (1998); and Bartram (2012)). Irwin (2009) also found that young people's orientations and expectations for the future relate to their family context and socio-economic backgrounds.

At the time of the start of the research the number of pupils on roll was approximately 300 and this has remained fairly steady for the subsequent years during the research. In 2011 only a small number of pupils (3 %) were from ethnic minority groups. These pupils had English as a second language, but their English acquisition was well advanced. The percentage of pupils from the Armed Forces families⁸ was 9% and the percentage of pupils on free school meals⁹ was also 9%. The total number of pupils on the SEN register represents the proportion of pupils who have been identified as having learning difficulties and disabilities and was 11%. Out of the 11%, 4% had a statement of SEN. All teaching and non-teaching members of staff take part three times a year in SEN training as part of the school development plan usually on professional development days.

Main Street School serves pupils from the local town and the surrounding rural areas that include a nearby Armed Forces base. Pupils from the Armed Forces families join the school at any time during the academic year from any part of the country and even from abroad. Standards on entry in year 5 are broadly average according to the reports by the Office for Standard Education (Ofsted) in 2010 and 2013. The school has a large and well-resourced special needs department which serves the diverse needs of the SEN pupils on the register. The school describes itself as a place where each individual is valued and encouraged to develop self-knowledge, make appropriate use of their talents and strive to achieve and to take pride in their achievements and those of others. In its 2011-2012 prospectus¹⁰ the school states that it aims to affect positively the lives of everyone with whom it comes into contact and thus seeks to do this by:

- Fostering a desire for knowledge

⁸ Armed Forces families include pupils who have one or both parents serving in her Majesty's Forces (see O'Neil, 2013). Research by Galton *et al.* (1999) found that many pupils experience a stall in their performances after they had been transferred to a new school due to their parents' deployment.

⁹ Free school meals are a statutory benefit allocated to pupils whose families receive other government benefits (such as income support or income-based job seekers allowance for example) and who have gone through the relevant registration process. Pupils on free school meals are classified as vulnerable at Main Street School.

¹⁰ Page numbers for the school prospectus and the Ofsted documents referred to are purposely withheld to further ensure anonymity.

- Giving every child access to a broad and balanced education which complies with the national curriculum
- Preparing pupils for the future
- Promoting the identified and shared values of the school.

Ofsted inspections in 2010 and 2013 praised the facilities of the school and the SEN department and concluded that the care and support offered to pupils in every aspect of the school and in every subject are the strengths of the school. On the latter inspection, Ofsted also commented that disabled pupils and those who have SEN have carefully planned and targeted support from teachers and teaching assistants. The Ofsted inspectors added that in the majority of lessons, learning activities are well-planned to meet the needs and abilities of different groups of pupils and this helps them make good progress and the achievement of pupils is overall good. Ofsted reports for the SEN and MFL departments have always been generally positive at this school.

1.3 Aims and research questions

In education, although the term inclusion itself seems to attract numerous debates, there appears to be some general agreement over the term's main principle which is about educating all children in mainstream settings. The debates however, intensify over how 'inclusive' education is to be realised in practice (Benjamin, 2002; Cole, 2004; Rogers, 2007). As a topic, 'inclusive' education represents a powerful lens through which to critically view social cultures, values and practices of mainstream education (Scruggs and Mastropieri, 1996). In this research, the 'inclusive' MFL classroom offers a lens through which to closely observe the Languages for All policy as it is practised and experienced by the participants.

Teaching French on a day-to-day basis to both key stage 2 and key stage 3 pupils means almost on a daily basis, I have to deal with a question that pupils feel strongly to ask: "Why do we have to learn French, Miss?" My response to this question hardly satisfies the pupils as they continuously demand to know why they have to learn French. The pupils are always ready to express and enact their thoughts as to why they do not want or need to learn the language. How this is negotiated in French lessons puts the Languages for All policy to the test and this guided the formulation of the main research question, "Is inclusion of all exclusion in disguise?", and this in turn generated the following questions:

- How is MFL experienced by pupils and teachers in the 'inclusive' classroom?
- How is inclusion of all demonstrated or denied in MFL?
- What impact does the Languages for All policy have in the 'inclusive' MFL classroom as well as around the school?

By posing these interrelated questions, I hope to identify a trend from the experiences of pupils, teachers and parents as to how and why including all pupils in foreign language

learning appears to be a complex enterprise. As briefly mentioned in this chapter and as we will see in chapter two, existing research on MFL teaching and learning provide guidance and strategies to apply in the classroom to ensure all pupils are included in lesson, by providing for the abilities of all pupils. To my knowledge, these studies have not to date addressed the complex issues surrounding the processes of the practices of inclusion in the 'inclusive' MFL classroom. This research therefore differs from existing studies as it takes into account social, cultural and structural factors that could impact the learning and teaching of a foreign language in a school setting.

1.4 Theoretical framework

The position I adopt in this research stems from the capabilities approach (Nussbaum, 2000; 2003; 2006; 2011) and from the theoretical work of Bourdieu (1977; 1986; 1987; 1990; 1998) both of which are informed by socially critical and post-structural understandings of society. Nussbaum's capabilities approach is characterised by the assumptions that society should guarantee to every individual a threshold level of central human capabilities. The approach goes beyond a focus on resources and seeks to capture other aspects of life such as well-being. The underlying epistemological assumption of this study is that pupils, teachers, parents with their own frames of reference and perspectives can drive the teaching and learning of French to reflect their interests, values and needs. People have different perspectives in constructing meaning which can enrich and contribute to solutions to human problems (Green, 2001). I therefore acknowledge and consider diverse reactions toward the practices of inclusion in the French classroom in my interpretations. Bourdieu's concepts of habitus, field and capital can enable us to 'make sense of the relationship between objective structures (institutions, discourse, fields, ideologies) and everyday practices, what people do and why they do it (Webb *et al.*, 2002: 1). Bourdieu (1993) uses the rugby game to illustrate the concept of field which he describes as a system of structured positions like schools for example. Hage (2009), explains that just like institutions, fields are not irreversible and do change as they reflect and respond to the games that shape them and to the other fields that they intersect and overlap. Taking part in the field depends on how each individual feels about the game, their habitus and their various forms of capital.

The aim of this research which is to explore the views and experiences of the pupils regarding foreign language learning is premised on the contention that the MFL classroom is a complex field bound up by structures and micro-politics (Benjamin, 2002). Thus by taking into consideration factors that could influence these practices in the language classroom, this study aims to make a worthwhile contribution to the body of literature on MFL learning and

teaching. My personal aim is the hope that this research will contribute to assisting with some of the difficulties that all of us, the pupils, the teachers and the parents have to face in the teaching and learning of foreign languages in a school environment. In this research, I use a theoretical framework drawn from Bourdieu's capital, habitus and field, and also from Nussbaum's capabilities approach as a lens to investigate and evaluate how pupils with SEN in particular perceive and experience the processes of learning French in the 'inclusive' MFL classroom. As we will see later in the data chapters, using the combination of these two theorists enabled me to highlight the encounters and how these are lived by the working-class and the middle-class SEN pupils in the language classroom.

1.5 Methodological overview

Ball (2006: 4) states that social research 'means that I work small. I am interested in events and specifics and locations, in contingencies, concatenations and contexts, in the odd as much as the typical. The case is a powerful analytical device'. Similar to Ball's research, this is a small scale study which examines a single school. It focuses on just one school in order to produce in-depth qualitative data about the experiences and views of the participants. Prior to starting this research, I was naive enough and assumed that there were facts out there to be discovered and I would discover them when I needed to. I changed my view soon enough at the early stages of data collection, when, faced with a situation involving two participants who produced two different views on the same thing. I then realised that all I could do was present what information I collect from the participants, reflect on the data and form some meaningful interpretations. My interpretations of the recordings thus involve a search for thematic patterns which emerged from the accounts themselves. My intention was that the participants' narratives and the processes of reflection, interpretation and discussion of the textual data would inform the conceptual and theoretical framework. The data collection processes were based within the natural setting of the school and French lessons were the primary source of observation although various other aspects of school life were also observed particularly where inclusion policy or equal opportunity is practised.

The initial themes that emerged from the data were descriptions of 'inclusive' classroom negotiations and experiences as discussed in chapter five, and, participants' views and identities in learning a foreign language as discussed in chapter six. These then represent the overarching themes from which the subsequent themes derived as I read and re-read the data. Using Bourdieu's (1977) concepts of capital, habitus and field as well as Nussbaum's (2006; 2011) capabilities approach, I went back and forth between the data and the theories to find any emerging new patterns. The combination of the two theories is

purposeful in highlighting the 'inclusive' classroom beyond the Languages for All policy rhetoric, and this is intended to be a contribution to research in the field of MFL.

1.6 Structure of the thesis

This chapter has provided an introduction to the study's background, focus and objectives and given a brief description of the methodology. Chapter two provides the review of the selected literature I considered most relevant to elucidate the research interests outlined here in this chapter. Chapter two thus gives a brief overview of MFL learning in England and discusses the Languages for All policy which entitles all key stage 2 pupils to study a foreign language. The discussion leads to special educational needs and through this some of the models of disability are briefly explored. Chapter two also looks at motivation to learn foreign languages and explores views and attitudes to learning French as well as the role of identity in learning a foreign language, and other factors that influence or contribute to these in the classroom.

Chapter three explores the theoretical areas the study draws upon which include Martha Nussbaum's capabilities approach and Pierre Bourdieu's concepts of capital, habitus and field. In chapter three, I outline the two theories and explore the extent to which they are useful and applicable in the 'inclusive' MFL classroom. I also highlight some of the critiques faced by the two theories. Chapter three thus provides the theoretical and analytic foundations to the study.

In chapter four, I present the research design and the methodology for the study and also the position I take in relation to research participants, the research purpose and the data collected. I discuss the struggles I faced when juggling the roles of a teacher and researcher. I make it clear that as a researcher I was part of the social phenomena being studied and the methods for data collection which involve participant observation, interview and documentary analysis. I also discuss the ethical considerations and the steps taken to ensure validity and reliability.

Chapters five and six represent the findings of the data collected and the recurrent themes that emerged from the analysis. These relate to the 'inclusive' MFL classroom as the learning environment, the provisions that are available for all pupils and how teaching and learning are negotiated. In order to consider the challenges of the 'inclusive' MFL classroom, chapter five draws on the fieldnotes from observation in classrooms and around the school, as well as interviews with the pupils, teachers and parents. Bourdieu's (1977) concepts of capital, habitus and field are used coupled with Nussbaum's (2006; 2011) capabilities approach in attempting to analyse sociologically, the complex procedures involved in the MFL learning process as well as inclusion practices in the classroom. I discuss the

challenges regarding learning French and argue that inclusion of all can create exclusion in the foreign language classroom, thus, the meaning of *all* in the rhetoric Languages for All is debatable, and raises concerns about the potential of the policy to positively deliver what it preaches with regard to pupils' abilities, interests and needs.

In chapter six, I explore how the participants perceive and experience learning a foreign language: I discuss motivation and the lack of it as well as other factors that relate to learning French in a classroom setting. Chapter six also examines how the pupils negotiate identities in the 'inclusive' MFL classroom, and draws on Bourdieu's (1977) and Nussbaum's (2006; 2011) theories to identify the complex role of difference in social class in reproducing, perpetuating inequalities and devaluing social justice. Both chapters five and six illustrate teachers' and parents' perceptions of certain pupils' performances in learning French. Using a theoretical framework based on the combination of Bourdieu and Nussbaum's theories, the analysis in both data chapters suggests that the practices of inclusion in foreign language learning are grounded in expectations of policy rhetoric in ways that are intricate for pupils, teachers and parents.

The final chapter seven evaluates the research findings in order to reach some conclusion regarding the phenomenon studied. Here, I argue that inclusion of all encourages and perpetuates exclusion in the MFL classroom. I suggest that a focus on Nussbaum's capabilities approach could enable a critical investigation of practices of inclusion, and concerns regarding equality, entitlements and rights of every pupil. Chapter seven also reiterates how the two theorists used in the research complement each other, and emphasises a situation where the main objective rests upon enabling every pupil's capabilities in order to expand their skills for the development of a valued plan for their future.

CHAPTER TWO: MFL IN THE CURRICULUM - INSIGHTS INTO THE 'INCLUSIVE' FOREIGN LANGUAGE CLASSROOM

2.0 Introduction

The term inclusion is used in various ways to discuss the situation of people with disabilities and impairments, and to describe educational practices for children and young people with disabilities. Debates about the meanings of inclusion and inclusive education are incessant, as, although it is recognised that pupils present a diverse range of strengths and needs that should be equally valued, the principles of inclusion conflict in practice (see Thomas and Loxley, 2001). The UNESCO Report (2002) assesses that education is development and a human right that adds meaning and value to everyone's lives without discrimination, therefore at least a basic level of education should be provided for all children and young people. It is thus a global imperative to include all students including those identified with special needs in all aspects of mainstream school life. In England, this involves ensuring all children have access to the full curriculum and this includes modern foreign languages (MFL) as well.

This chapter explores an overview of MFL and the situation of the subject leading up to the policy of 'Languages for All' policy which entitles all key stage 2 pupils to foreign language learning. In this chapter, I present the concept of inclusion and briefly discuss the medical and social models of disability. This chapter ends with a discussion on the concepts of motivation and identity and focuses on the part that language learning plays in shaping identity and cultural meaning.

2.1 Modern Foreign Languages in England: A brief historical overview

While MFL is a school subject like any other in the curriculum in England, it has a different history compared to many other school subjects. This is because the situation for MFL has been irregular over the years particularly in the 1970s and early 1980s¹¹. MFL has been compulsory for some key stages but it has been optional for some others¹². Unlike

¹¹ In September 1986, the first GCSE syllabus was introduced to replace two former national exams: GCE O level syllabus which placed an emphasis on grammar and translation and the CSE which was designed for the 'less' academic students. The new GCSE MFL syllabus was an attempt by the British government to respond to the growing international consensus that the objective of language learning was to communicate meaning. The GCSE MFL syllabus was based on the 1970s and 1980s learning programmes.

¹² **1992:** MFL learning for secondary students aged 11 to 16 is compulsory. **1994:** key stage 4 students for the first time are required to carry on studying MFL at key stage 4. **1996:** first GCSE results that can be linked to the National Curriculum and also to the 'Languages for All' policy. **2002:** first cohort of year 10 students allowed to make their own choice as to whether or not to continue to study and take MFL at GCSE. **2004:** free choice regarding MFL for year 11 students taking the GCSE exam.

other school subjects, MFL learning has only recently started at primary school (see sections 2.11 and 2.12), however, at secondary school level, national exams such as the General Certificate of Education – Ordinary level (GCE O level) and the Certificate of Secondary Education (CSE) were taken by the ‘more able’ students and the ‘lower’ achievers respectively. The first General Certificate of Secondary Education (GCSE) programme was introduced in 1986 to replace these two exams but it was not until 1988 that students were assessed in the new GCSE syllabus for the first time. The National Curriculum for MFL was launched two years later than for many other subjects in 1992 with the recommendation that all secondary school students must learn a foreign language from the age of eleven until they reach the age of sixteen (DES, 1992; see also Macaro, 2008). This age range consists of key stage 3 students in years 7, 8, 9 and key stage 4 students in years 10 and 11. This launch of the National Curriculum for MFL marked the starting point of the ‘Language for All’ policy. The inclusion of MFL in the National Curriculum emphasises the belief that all pupils can learn and benefit from a second language (Moon, 2001). This marked the start to extend foreign language provision to all pupils including those identified with SEN. The National Curriculum (1990) stated that all pupils should be given the opportunity to experience a modern foreign language. From 1992 onward, there have been reforms of MFL policies aimed at increasing foreign language learning in schools in England in the light of European directives and global changes (see European Commission, 2008; 2009). The most pertinent of the MFL policies include the December 2002 document published by the DfES as the Languages Strategy for England entitled Languages for All: Languages for Life, which stated:

Every child should have the opportunity throughout Key Stage 2 to study a foreign language and develop their interest in the culture of other nations. They should have access to high quality teaching and learning opportunities (...) by the age of 11 they should have the opportunity to reach a recognised level of competence (...) and for that achievement to be recognised through a national scheme.

(DfES, 2002: 15)

This policy then sets out a scheme for transforming the country’s ability in foreign language learning, promoting MFL for every pupil at key stage 2, to be implemented in primary schools by 2010. At the same time when the entitlement to study a foreign language was being highly recommended for younger pupils, the removal of MFL from the core curriculum for key stage 4 students was announced. MFL then became optional for students in year 10, having been a compulsory subject since 1994. By the end of 2002, 30% of schools intended to make MFL optional and a further 25% were also considering doing the same (CILT, 2003).

The key stage 2 programme recommended at least one of the working languages of the European Union to be delivered in class times. Primary MFL started with French being the language offered in many schools, although pupils only received at the most, 20 minutes a week of the subject (Driscoll, Jones and Macrory, 2004). The objective was for primary

languages in England to become compulsory by 2010 under the then New Labour government however, after the general election in 2010 no decisions were made regarding primary MFL under the new coalition government. The future for this policy thus appeared uncertain for a moment due to the change of government, and it was not until September 2013 that the new coalition government announced that primary languages are to become statutory with the implementation of the new MFL curriculum. The objective of the new programme of study is not dissimilar to that of the National Languages Strategy (DfES, 2002) for England:

Learning a foreign language is a liberation from insularity and provides an opening to other cultures. A high-quality languages education should foster pupils' curiosity and deepen their understanding of the world. The teaching should enable pupils to express their ideas and thoughts in another language and to understand and respond to its speakers, both in speech and in writing.

(DfE, 2013:1)

The two citations above promote the same goal which is learning a foreign language and learning about other cultures. Pupils are thus entitled to become familiar with the culture of the target language community as well as become proficient in the foreign language. With the launch of primary MFL, foreign languages are now part of the curriculum for all pupils aged 7 to 14. As this study is carried out in a school where MFL is taught to pupils in years 5 and 6, the key focus for this research is the 2002 Languages Strategy which marked the entitlement for all key stage 2 pupils to study a foreign European language.

2.1.1 Languages for All: A policy of many reforms

The 'Languages for All' policy introduced over two decades ago in 1992 brought about a change in the teaching and learning of MFL in secondary schools in England. This reform marked the end of the traditional Grammar-Translation (GT) teaching methods and the birth of the Communicative Language Teaching methods. The Grammar-Translation method promotes learning vocabulary and grammatical structures, and focuses on the rules of the grammar of the target language. The important goal of this method is to compare the target language to one's mother tongue and to translate one language into the other, thus mastery of the grammatical rules and vocabulary knowledge is significant. According to Larsen-Freeman (2000), the main aim of the Grammar-Translation method is to help student read and understand foreign language literature.

The Communicative Language Teaching methods focus on language use rather than language structure, emphasising communicative activities such as interactions between students through pair or group work thus allowing fluency (see Mitchell, 1994). With this teaching approach, 'traditional precepts of translation, comprehension and accuracy were replaced by the four skills [listening, speaking, reading and writing], authenticity of source

materials and error tolerance (...) in an attempt to 'get pupils talking' (Grenfell, 2000: 24). With this method, each learner completes tasks and activities by means of interaction with other learners and a focus is placed on communication with others rather than on the accurate use of grammar. It is argued that this method engages the learner in a meaningful and authentic language use¹³.

Both teaching approaches have faced criticisms over the years. The Grammar-Translation method has been criticised for being too rigid on what is taught to pupils (see for example Krashen, 1981; 1982). Among other items, Thornbury (2000) classifies the criticisms of this method under four main headings: knowledge, communication, acquisition, and learner expectation: Knowledge suggests that language learning is a skill and language is learned by experimenting with through speaking, however, the GT method prefers written language to spoken language. Communication suggests that knowing grammar is not enough and that knowing how to use the grammar to achieve communicative goals is more significant. The GT thus prefers conscious memorisation of grammar rules. Acquisition distinguishes between learning and acquisition as learning derives from formal instructions while acquisition is a more natural process. In the GT method, learners are not exposed much to the target language as communication between learners in the target language is not emphasised. Learner expectation suggests that while many learners value studying the target language grammar, others prefer to communicate in the language, but the GT puts emphasis on accumulation and accurate use of grammar prior to communication.

In contrast, the Communicative Language Teaching approach has been criticised for not taking into consideration the context in which language learning takes place. According to Bax (2003: 281) this approach gives the teacher the message that 'the Communicative Approach is the way to do it, no matter where you are, no matter what the context'. Bax (2003) explains that when the methodology stresses what the teacher needs to do, it suggests that the solution to pedagogical problems is not to do with the context in which the teacher happens to be working but a methodological issue. This means that the solution to classroom problems is in methods used therefore, the discourse of the Communicative Language Teaching sends out a message that it is paramount to generate communication and that this method works anywhere no matter what the context.

The Languages for All brought about a significant change to the curriculum in the early 1990s but despite this, debates about problems encountered in foreign language learning in schools in England continue to arise. Problems such as lack of motivation in learning a foreign language and the decrease in the numbers of students taking up MFL at national exam levels, to name just a few, have been documented (see Fisher, 2001;

¹³ See Bowen's articles 'Teaching Approaches: the Grammar-Translation method' Macmillan, 2000-2012.

Graham, 2002; Broady, 2006). Some researchers attribute some of these problems to the government's decision to make the subject optional for key stage 4 students in 2004 (see Coleman *et al.*, 2007; Evans, 2007). Nevertheless, the education policy makers continuously endeavour to deal with these issues through reports such as the Nuffield Languages Inquiry¹⁴, and strive to find new ways particularly of assisting learners to communicate in the target language. Reflecting on the Nuffield Languages Inquiry, Grenfell (2000) comments on the MFL situation and poses a few questions:

'all is not well in modern languages in this country. [The Nuffield document's] tone and content too shows some doubt as to what we are all about. Where are we going with languages? Do we still need to teach and learn modern foreign languages as we pass from one century and one millennium to another?'

Grenfell (2000: 27)

The government's responses to the issues raised by Grenfell are on-going and involve more curricular reforms including the launch of the 'Languages for All, Languages for Life' (DfES, 2002). As discussed in section 2.1, the main objective for this strategy is to transform the country's capability in languages which confirms Grenfell's (2000) statement that all is not well in the subject. This new strategy thus sets out the agenda for the coming decade and its three main goals are summarised as: 1) to improve the teaching and learning of languages; b) to introduce a recognition system to complement existing qualification framework; and, c) to increase the number of people studying languages (DfES, 2006).

2.1.2 Locating Modern Foreign Languages in the National Curriculum

The National Curriculum (NC) was revised under the Education Act 1996 to promote stability in schools and put emphasis on raising standards of pupils' attainment. The structure of the NC enables teachers to use the working document to inform the daily planning of teaching and learning. It contains in the general guidelines, a programme of study defined as 'the matters, skills and processes that should be taught to pupils of different abilities and maturities during the key stage' (DfES, 2003: 6). It also contains the attainment targets for all subjects. For MFL, a rationale for the importance of foreign language learning states that 'enriching the curriculum and releasing children's and young people's creative energy through (...) languages reinforces their understanding of the basics and helps [pupils] enjoy a broader, more balanced curriculum' (DfES, 2002: 10). MFL is a statutory subject at key stage 3 and following recent recommendations, it is now a statutory subject at primary school for children from the age of seven (DfE, 2013), one of the reasons being that:

¹⁴ The Nuffield Languages Inquiry is a research body set up in 1998 to review the United Kingdom's capability in modern languages. The Inquiry investigates foreign languages policy and practice in institutions and designs strategies to assist with methodological and teaching approaches issues regarding MFL.

The ability to understand and communicate in other languages is increasingly important in our society and in the global economy. Languages contribute to the cultural and linguistic richness of our society, to personal fulfilment, mutual understanding, trade and global citizenship.

(DfES, 2002: 4)

In the National Curriculum, the programme of study for MFL provides the background for schemes of work and establishes what pupils should be taught. The programme of study highlights ways to promote pupil motivation and the knowledge, skills and understanding. It also identifies the strands of MFL in which pupils make progress: acquiring knowledge and understanding of the target language; developing language skills; developing language-learning skills; and developing cultural awareness. The focus is on communicating in the target language in a range of contexts. The attainment targets for each of the four language skills (listening, speaking, reading and writing) consist of eight level descriptors which identify the type of performance pupils working at that level should demonstrate. The guidelines specify the importance of language across the curriculum and provide examples of links with other subjects such as art and design, mathematics and citizenship. The guidelines also specify that MFL can promote amongst many things cultural development, key personal transferable skills and thinking skills.

The NC places a strong emphasis on inclusion and outlines the principles for providing an inclusive curriculum for MFL to ensure effective learning opportunities for pupils of diverse learning needs and abilities and from different social and cultural backgrounds. Its three main goals include: a) setting suitable learning challenges; b) responding to the diverse needs of pupils; and c) overcoming potential barriers to learning and assessment for individuals and groups of pupils (QCA, 2000: 9). With this recommendation, the MFL classroom can thus be classified as 'inclusive'. An inclusive education system is arguably an ethical, moral, social as well as economic obligation as reflected in the Government's 14 -19 Green Paper:

More people need to be better educated than ever before if we are to be a successful high-skills economy. The decline in semi-skilled and unskilled jobs is irreversible. To make a significant impact on national competitiveness and productivity we need to focus on the full range of abilities and skills. All, not just some, young people need to continue their education and training beyond the compulsory years. There will be rapid changes in the knowledge and skills required for particular jobs, so everybody needs to be motivated to engage in lifelong learning.

(DfES, 2002: 7)

Literature on education however shows that fewer topics generate more provocation, more discussion or more confusion than the topic of inclusion, despite the intention to promote equality and eradicate marginalisation. Many scholars (see Slee, 2001a; Allan, 2005; 2010) argue that the concept of inclusion and the issues underpinning it continue to remain indefinite. What does inclusion actually mean and what does it entail for pupils?

2.2 ‘S’ is for special educational needs, ‘H’ is for high educational standard

There continues to be an interest in the way in which educational policies have gone through changes and developments over the years in the struggles for inclusion and ‘inclusive’ education (UNESCO, 1994; DfEE, 1997). These changes and developments guide and make significant, the struggles particularly for equality and inclusion of people who have a disability or who have been identified as having special educational needs. Disability is defined as a physical or mental impairment which has a substantial or long term adverse effect on a person’s ability to carry out normal day-to-day activities (Disability Discrimination Act, 1995). This definition is inextricably linked to the definition of special educational needs provided by the Department for Education and Skills (DES, 2001) which states that a child has special educational needs if he or she has a learning difficulty which calls for a special educational provision to be made for him or her.

Although the two definitions overlap, because many children and young people who have been identified with special educational needs (SEN) will also be defined under the Disability Discrimination Act (DDA) as being disabled, the difference between the DDA and SEN is worth noting. This is because not all children who are defined as disabled under the DDA will be identified as having special educational needs. For example, pupils with physical disabilities may not have SEN however they will have disabilities rights under the DDA. In addition, not all pupils with SEN will be defined as having a disability under the DDA. The provision for special education is supplied by the SEN framework and the SEN Code of Practice (DfEE, 1994; DfES, 2001). The SEN framework identifies and seeks to meet any additional educational needs that children and young people might have. The DDA seeks to promote equality of opportunity between disabled and non-disabled pupils and also ensures that disabled pupils are not discriminated against (see DfES, 2004b; DfES, 2006).

The amount of empirical evidence suggesting that society’s behaviour towards people with disability and impairments differs across time and culture (see Hanks and Hanks, 1948; Lemert, 1951), made no significant difference over the years as until recently, disability and impairments were viewed negatively as an individual personal medical problem. As a result, people with disabilities faced prejudice and discrimination (Finkelstein, 1980; Oliver, 1990; Barnes, 1990), were referred to as ‘useless eaters’ in the 1930s and 1940s and were massacred in Germany (see Burleigh, 1994). This horror prompted some leniency and more understanding of disability in the rest of Europe and in the United States of America, especially towards people who were injured in the Second World War. However, there was limited support available for disabled people and until the late 1960s, severely disabled people were either detained in residential homes or left to their own fate in society. This dire situation spurred the birth of groups and associations set up mostly by disabled people themselves to make society understand and change its views on disability and impairments

(see Barnes, 1991; Priestley, 1999). The significance of the changes and developments of disability is understood through the history of the models of disability. The models are tools used to define impairment for which strategies are put in place by society to help and support people with disabilities (Rieser and Mason, 1992; Clark, Dyson and Millward, 1998; Oliver, 1996; 2009).

Over many decades, various models have been introduced to assist people with disabilities and enable provision for them, but the models have been criticised for the way they portrayed people with disabilities (Oliver, 1992) and how the provision set up to assist led to exclusionary practices (Riddell, 2009; Allan, 2010). Despite the criticism, it is acknowledged that the models of disability provide some insights into the existence of certain attitudes in society. In educational matters in particular, two descriptive models known as the medical and the social models are predominant (Rieser and Mason, 1992; Tomlinson, 2005; Wedell, 2005). People with disabilities informed disability research and disabled academics, Mike Oliver, (1996; 1999), Carol Thomas (1999; 2007) and Tom Shakespeare (2006), to name just a few, have contributed to the definition of the social model and provided significant research which identified barriers faced by disabled people; barriers which are reinforced by structures and societal negative attitudes. The models are an attempt to address societal issues and assist people with disabilities to gain the entitlement and rights to flourish and achieve their potential (see Barnes and Mercer, 2004).

2.2.1 The medical model

Within the medical model, disability is viewed as a defect, a medical condition which lies within the individual (Oliver, 1992; 1996; 2009; Barton and Armstrong, 2001, Swain and French, 2000). This model seems to be at the root of most negative attitudes held towards people with disabilities or impairments (Oliver, 1996a; 1996b). The medical model focuses on how a disabled individual's medical condition restricts their ability to access a range of services. The medical model mainly takes the view that people with disabilities have a problem that makes them different from abled-bodied people. With this view, there is a tendency to separate people with disabilities from the rest of society and for many years, this shaped classifications and social roles, which explains the presence of difference and negative attitudes that are still encountered in society today (see Kaplan, 1998; Braddock and Parish, 2001). Additionally, with this model, the disabled person is seen as the problem and expected to change as well as adapt to circumstances that are presented to them with no acknowledgement that society needs to change its own view.

The medical model and issues within education

In the field of education and special education in particular, key concepts are deeply grounded on the 'psych-medical' paradigm or the 'individual gaze' (Dyson and Millward, 1997: 53), thus traditional models and thinking on learning difficulties were based on the medical model which tends to view the disabled child as sick, ill or deficient. Dyson and Millward (2000) state that with the traditional model, educational difficulties are defined in terms of pupil characteristics. This model also referred to disability as 'restriction or lack of ability to perform an activity in the way considered normal for a human being' (Wood 1981: 27-29). Studies (Barnes and Sheldon, 2007; Wood, 1981) argue that the medical model shaped and influenced exclusionary practices that have continued for decades in the field of education. Pupils who have a disability used to be educated in special isolated classrooms as disability and special educational needs have for many years been thought to be the individual's personal tragedy and the blame was often placed on the individual or their families (Cole, 2004). Criticisms of the medical model (see for example Skidmore, 2004; Brown, 2005; Slee, 2005) led to the social model developed by disabled people themselves.

2.2.2 The social model

As mentioned in the section above, the social model of disability arose in response to the critiques of the medical model by academics, theorists and activists many of whom have some disabilities themselves (see Barton and Oliver, 1992; Oliver, 1996). In Britain, the disabled people's movement viewed and redefined disability as a form of oppression on the same level as other groups experiencing barriers in society such as racism and sexism. They criticised its assumptions about the existence and nature of 'normality' and particularly its failure to recognise disabled people as the experts of their own situation (Oliver, 1996). Consequently, the social model of disability has been termed the big idea of the British disability movement (Hasler, 1993) and is mostly used by the disabled people's movement to distinguish between organisations and policies (Shakespeare and Watson, 2002).

The social model defines disability as a social construction which implies that society creates the problem by imposing hindrances to the full participation of people with different abilities. This suggests that an individual's impairment is not the cause of disability, but disability is the outcome of the way society is structured (Hughes and Patterson, 1997; Swain and French, 2000). Such hindrances include negative attitudes, physical impediments and social barriers. According to Booth, Ainscow, Black-Hawkins, Vaughan and Shaw (2000), the social model suggests that barriers to learning and participation are caused by the interaction between learners and their contexts. This model proposes that society creates barriers constructed to serve the interests of the social majority, hence limiting accessibility for people

with disabilities. McLaughlin and Jordan (2005) suggest that people with impairments and those who do not conform to the expectations of the social majority's expectations of appearance, behaviour and or economic performance still remain disadvantaged. The social model emphasises the need for society and environments to change in order to support the individual's needs (Armstrong *et al.*, 2000; Booth *et al.*, 2000).

Although the social model challenged society's understandings of disability and was credited for moving away from considering disability as the problem of the disabled person, it has also been criticised by some of the activists (see Crow, 1996; Watson, 2004; Thomas, 2007). Bury (1996) and Pinder (1996) both argue that the social model produces an over-socialised concept of the process involved in disability and accuse the model of introducing a fragmentary picture of the experiences of disability which is potentially just as damaging as the process of the medical model. Pinder (1996: 137) explains that the social model represents only a 'part of a much more complex multi-layered picture'. Similarly, Shakespeare and Watson (2002) also argue that the social model's success is its weakness as it risks being used to view the world in black and white.

The criticisms of the social model, Oliver (2004) explains come under many categories and a significant one is that the model either ignores the experiences of impairments and disability or is unable to deal with realities of disability. This is because the model tends to be more about personal experience of impairment rather than about collective experience of disablement. For example, some critics suggest that only certain 'types' of men in wheelchairs are able to ignore their disabilities, however, Oliver (1996b; 2004) argues that, that is not the case. Another significant criticism involves the issue that society still positions disabled people as 'other'. From this viewpoint, put aside the impairment and the physical barriers that people with disabilities have to face, the main hurdle could be the way society as a whole deals with the issue of 'otherness' (see also Allan, 2010). As a result, many disabled people continue to experience life threatening material deprivation. Finally, according to Oliver (2004), not enough effort is put into attempting to apply the social model in practice as too much time is spent on criticising the model. Disability studies thus refer to the social model in relation to identifying societal or material barriers or provide better services (Dowling and Dolan, 2001; Murray, 2002; Townsley *et al.*, 2004). In the education system, the social model accepts that society has an impact on the abilities of learners to perform and succeed (Armstrong, Armstrong and Barton, 2000).

Social model and issues within education

The social model is referred to in research about disabled children, usually to indicate social or resources barriers in order to identify and allocate appropriate provision. A few studies (Watson *et al.* (2000); Kelly (2005); Connors and Stalker (2003) stress the

importance of seeking children's perceptions and experiences of disability and impairment. Others (Benjamin, 2002) add the significance of seeking the voices of the students as well. Kenworthy and Whittaker (2000) explain that students should be consulted about educational decisions such as their choice of school or what their needs are. This perspective is concerned with the influence of educational institutions in creating special educational needs, but also with wider issues, such as the social function of special education and the way in which segregation may be maintained by professional and political interests, attitudes, structures and processes (Tomlinson, 1985). The social model thus serves several purposes. According to Barton (2003), it provides a framework through which disabled people can express their experiences and can question inequality and discrimination. It also allows disability to be better understood and viewed more positively in terms of wider socio-economic conditions.

Mary Warnock contributed to the emerging social model with her report of 1978 on special educational provision. The Warnock Report (DES, 1978) proposed that pupils with learning difficulties will be known as having special educational needs and that those pupils will be integrated as much as possible into mainstream schools where the emphasis will be on their achievements. The integration of pupils identified as having disabilities into the mainstream education marked a move away from the medical model of disability which categorised individuals as defective (Vlachou, 1997). According to Copeland (2002), this move contributed to the starting point¹⁵ of the firm rejection of the old medical model which focused more on pupils' disabilities rather than their educational needs. The social model arose thus in response to the critique of the medical model but can the medical model be totally eradicated from the education system?

Lack of motivation, interest and boredom represent some of the reasons the education journey for many students appears complex. Some of these reasons lead to some students being only 'partly' included in the learning process in the education system (see Benjamin, 2002; Gillies and Robinson, 2013). These issues which Rogers (2013: 989) refers to as 'exclusionary tactics' still prevail in schools despite government policies and society's changing response to segregation and the rights of children and young people (Kavale and Forness, 2000). The process of exclusion relates to the micro-cultures of the pupils and teachers and can be tactically played out in the classroom environment to suit whoever and whatever is taking place at a certain moment. Benjamin, Nind, Hall, Collins and Sheehy's (2003: 547) study report that 'children's and teachers' micro-cultural worlds, and the struggle for power and prestige within those worlds, were key in producing moments of (...) exclusion

¹⁵ The social model started with the publication of *The Fundamental Principles of Disability* by the Union of the Physically Impaired Against Segregation (UPAIS) in 1976.

for specific children and groups of children'. As I will argue later in chapter five, these moments of exclusion could be determined by social, personal, cultural and economic factors, therefore, to understand these micro-cultures, it is important to look beyond the classroom setting and explore the broader policy structures. In the context of foreign language learning, these processes are played out by pupils, teachers as well as parents and are usually the product of many factors including the pupils' attitudes and motivation (see Williams *et al.*, 2001; McQuillan, 2000; Williams *et al.* 2002), institutional structures, teachers' attitudes to the diverse needs and abilities of teaching groups and the micro-politics of inclusion (see Avramidis and Norwich, 2002; Benjamin, 2002). Additionally, parental interests and involvement in their children's schooling (see Harris and Goodall, 2008; Larocque *et al.*, 2011) also play a part.

2.3 Partly accepted once, nearly fully accepted now

Integration was launched in England by the Warnock Report in 1978 and mainstream education saw a rise in the integration of pupils with disabilities which acknowledged the benefits of the social model. However the social model is criticised for this because the term integration, Vlachou (1997: 13) explains, implies that the individuals to whom it refers was once perceived as different or inferior and segregated from mainstream practices. This is echoed by Goggin and Newell (2003) who argue that the term reinforces the dichotomy of disabled/ non-disabled labelling. Mittler (2000) also states that integration conveys a sense that pupils must adapt to school, with no assumption that the school will adapt to accommodate the greater diversity of pupils. It was on these premises that the reformation of the school system was launched with an emphasis on a more positive change in pedagogy (see Ainscow, 1999) to address the diverse needs of learners. Individual differences were then considered as opportunities for improving learning which allowed for a shift towards more integrated settings to accommodate and educate pupils with disabilities.

Despite the criticisms of the social model, it should be noted that the Warnock Report (DES, 1978) did anticipate that although the great majority of special needs learners' needs would be met in mainstream some disabled children would always attend or have their educational needs provided for them in segregated or special schools. This segregation led to the labelling of the students based on the severity of their disability (Kavale and Forness, 2000), however, following change of attitudes within society, disability was no longer seen to be intrinsic to the individual (DES, 1978). Integration, it could be argued, had a significant impact in society more broadly and in education in particular.

In education, integration thus developed into inclusion, a concept introduced by the Special Educational Needs Green Paper, Excellence for all Children in 1997. Inclusion is

seen as a reform that welcomes and supports diversity amongst learners of all abilities and as such aims to eliminate social exclusion (UNESCO, 2001). Inclusion implies that the teacher plans to cater for the needs of all pupils in order to improve the learning and participation of all (Florian and Rouse, 2009). As we hear of it today, inclusion has its origins in special education and is a developing concept (Booth and Ainscow, 2002) which continues to develop at different rates thus triggers numerous debates (Clough, 2000). As such, literature relating to SEN suggests that inclusion in general and inclusive education in particular have become the new orthodoxy of educational thinking (Allan, 1999). The process of inclusion is believed to reduce the exclusion of pupils from curricula and communities of their schools. Ainscow (1999: 219) claims that inclusion 'lays the foundations for an approach that could lead to the transformation of the system itself'. Dyson (2003: 125) supports this adding that 'systemic rather than individual interventions' would be more appropriate as it is the learning environment that should change and not the individual.

The government in England promotes the education of students learning together in the mainstream and declares inclusion as the keystone of its education policy. According to Slee (2003a), inclusive education is about listening to the voices in a school community and empowering all members to develop an approach to schooling that is committed to identifying and dismantling sources of exclusion. The concept is very much concerned with quality of education for all pupils (Farrell, 2000; Corbett, 2001), therefore, equal opportunities, human rights and social justice (Armstrong *et al.*, 2000) for all. It has been over three decades since the Warnock Report (DES, 1978) was published, requesting the abolition of segregation and encouraging integration, particularly in the educational field and as a result, the terms 'inclusion' and 'inclusive' education are persistently used in educational contexts to refer to the extent to which pupils identified as having 'special educational needs' (DES, 1978) are integrated and provided for in mainstream setting and learning environments. However, the reform continues to face criticisms as there seems to be a disjunction between its perspectives and its practices (see Barton, 2003; Rogers, 2007; Allan, 2010). It is argued that inclusion thus appears to be more rhetoric and less reformative (Evans and Lunt, 2002; Forlin, 2001). Cole (2004: 4) also argues that despite the development of inclusion, there 'still remains a real gap between theory and practice' as far as 'inclusive' education is concerned.

Society presents a rich and diverse range of strengths, differences and needs (both physical and cognitive) in people and this is acknowledged to a certain extent but differences and disability are not equally valued in our society, and as a result, disabled people are still subject to oppression and negative social attitudes (Oliver, 2004; Watson, 2004; Lang, 2007). This reality of social inequality, Bourdieu (1986; 1992) observes, can be exclusionary. If we consider Bourdieu's (1986; 1987) work on capital and habitus to be invaluable for

discourse within social inclusion more broadly and education in particular, then it is important to take into account Nussbaum's (2006; 2011) capabilities approach as well, because this approach respects differences and stresses giving all people dignity. Both Bourdieu and Nussbaum's theories are discussed in chapter three.

Inclusive education studies

Studies on inclusion and 'inclusive' education abound and examine the tension between policy and practice where children and young people identified with special needs or disabilities are concerned. The dispute advanced by such studies emphasises the difficulties of inclusion policies when put to practice. Studies by Benjamin (2002), Cole (2004), Rogers (2007; 2013) and Slee (2011) contribute to the underlying assumption of this research. In her ethnographic research entitled *The Micropolitics of Inclusive Education*, findings by Benjamin (2002) revealed that in a secondary school where inclusion is paramount, students who have been identified as having SEN are all excluded by the system. Cole (2004), in her *Mother-Teachers Insights into inclusion*, studied the experiences of mothers of children identified as having special educational needs, and who themselves teach children with SEN. She argued that government policies commit to supporting and raising the achievement of all children in mainstream schools but does not deliver this commitment in practice. In *Experiencing an 'Inclusive' Education: Parents and their Children with 'Special Educational Needs'*, Rogers (2007) explored the effect mainstream education has on children identified with special needs and their parents when the children cannot sustain their schooling. She found that aspirations and expectations that parents have for their children are frequently challenged in the education system. Like Benjamin and Cole, Rogers argued that many young people, although included in mainstream education, are intellectually, practically and emotionally excluded as they are often removed from their classmates to work on their own with a teaching assistant. The reason given is that they cannot access the learning activities, or cannot engage socially with their peers. Similarly, in his *Irregular School*, Slee (2011) argues that although inclusion is incorporated in education, inclusive education remains contested and continues to provoke vigorous debates among teachers, parents and researchers. Furthermore, in another work entitled *Inclusive Education and Intellectual Disability: a Sociological Engagement with Martha Nussbaum*, Rogers (2013) found that children with SEN are tactically excluded within mainstream education, due to their cognitive disability despite promising policy discourses and she notes that the education system disappoints in matters concerning difference and disability.

All of these studies have in common the investigation of pupils identified with SEN in 'inclusive' education. They considered the effects of policy forces that appear to facilitate the exclusion of the included, and they all highlight that what is experienced in mainstream

education is somewhat contrary to what is recommended by the policies. These studies share the same focus with this research as they each attempt to raise concerns regarding the disjunction between policy and practice where inclusion of pupils in mainstream schooling is concerned. Each scholar argues for a thorough understanding of policy practices at micro levels, and similarly, this research argues for awareness of what occurs in the 'inclusive' MFL classroom. The following sections discuss ways in which attempts are made in education to ensure inclusion and equality with a focus on how these are managed in the field of MFL.

2.4 Ways to provide for all pupils in the MFL classroom

Differentiation describes a philosophy that attempts to make education more meaningful for all students, from high achieving gifted and talented students to those who struggle with academic work (Tomlinson, 1999). This suggests that differentiation enables the students at the top end of the ability range to be pushed to do even better whereas students at the lower end attempt suitable work which is still challenging for them (Morgan and Neil, 2001). According to Ellis (1999), differentiation comprises of three key dimensions:

1. Targeting students' Zone of Proximal Development,
2. Capitalising on students' intellectual skills and talents, and
3. Fostering authentic motivations.

The Zone of Proximal Development is the range of instruction within which a student is appropriately challenged although not yet frustrated. In focusing on this key dimension, the teacher closely observes the students' progress and provides additional support when necessary but still makes the task or activity challenging for the student. To capitalise the student skills and talents, the teacher is expected to know the abilities of all the students and plan learning activities that support those areas of strength while at the same time develop areas of need. In fostering authentic motivations, the teacher assigns tasks and activities that address a true and meaningful audience. For example, pupils can perform to their peers or produce written work for an audience.

The National Curriculum Council (1989c) emphasises that within any group of pupils, there is a wide range of ability and experience which call for a flexible approach allowing for differentiation to provide success and challenges for them all. Differentiation therefore refers to a well-planned process of intervention in the inclusive classroom to increase the potential of individual learners based on their needs. The term comes in various sub-divisions which include:

Differentiation by content.

This is achieved when the content of a learning unit or topic is reduced or extended to suit the abilities of the individuals in the teaching group. Content refers to the knowledge or information that the students will learn. Planning different activities around the lesson starter, main activity and the extension work is an example of differentiation in MFL.

Differentiation by task or activity.

This takes place when pupils perform different tasks on the same topic or unit to accommodate their particular needs. For example, during listening activities where responses are needed from the pupils, particularly if these responses are single words, some pupils could write the responses while others could draw them or tick the correct responses from a list. Pupils could also be allowed to write the responses in English.

Differentiation by outcome:

This is illustrated by allowing all pupils to perform roughly the same task and then assess each pupil's response according to their ability. For example if all pupils are working on the same activity from a textbook, the outcome is differentiated by allowing for varying degrees of perfection through each pupil's response. The teacher can then use the pupils' responses to inform future planning.

Differentiation by strategy.

A teaching assistant can be assigned to work with a small group of pupils within the classroom. Another strategy involves allowing pupils who may need it, extra time to work on certain tasks or activities. The teacher could also use a cue card as a prompt to help pupils who struggle. Questioning may be at different levels to allow literal or inferential responses according to pupils' differing abilities.

Any of the dimensions of differentiation mentioned above is rarely carried out in isolation in the classroom. As Tomlinson and Strickland (2005: 6) point out, differentiation is 'a systematic approach to planning curriculum and instruction for academically diverse learners. It is a way of thinking about the classroom with the dual goal of honouring each student's learning needs and maximising each student's learning capacity'. For example, if pupils are working on different activities as a lead feature, the task and the strategy may well be different also. In the 'inclusive' classroom, pupils are grouped and regrouped according to their interests, needs, readiness and abilities. In these groups pupils work with appropriate content through the various differentiation processes to produce work that demonstrate the desired outcomes. It could be argued however that the very act of providing pupils with different activities when they are in the same classroom can cause segregation. And as we will see later in chapter five, differentiation of tasks and activities which sets to enable and ensure every pupil to experience the same in terms of teaching and learning, creates division within the classroom.

2.5 MFL Learning and Special Educational Needs

The inclusion of a modern foreign language in the National Curriculum at key stage 2 reinforces the government's determination to ensuring every pupil is given the opportunity to learn a foreign language in order to be able to speak the target language with appropriate pronunciation, express simple ideas with clarity and write phrases and short sentences from memory. Given that educational policies abound with good intentions and aim to provide the best for all pupils, it is ambiguous that the principles of 'inclusive' education do not always provide for all pupils (see Benjamin, 2002; Cole, 2004), or in some cases provide the opposite of what they promote. The foreign language policy set up by the National Languages Strategy (DfES, 2002: 15) which describes the key stage 2 entitlement to MFL stating that 'every child should have the opportunity to study a foreign language and develop their interest in the culture of other nations' can be described as contradictory. The contradiction here lies in the fact that on one hand, the importance of MFL is promoted with the entitlement for an early stage reinforced, and on the other hand, foreign languages are no more compulsory at key stage 4 which some scholars (Coleman *et al.*, 2007) believe causes a significant decline in the take-up of secondary school examinations in the subject. Coleman, Galaczi and Astruc (2007: 349) argue that 'making the subject optional damaged the perceived status of languages (...)'. The language policy is also ambiguous because the emphasis it places on the term 'study a foreign language' as the outcome of the study, which in this particular case is the development of the 'recognised level of competence', Macaro (2008) also argues is a naive suggestion. He explains that most students are reluctant to learn and '[w]e are not going to be able to increase our national language competence by forcing reluctant learners to learn a language' (Macaro, 2008: 106).

The Languages for All policy is set out as a strategy to transform the country's capability in languages and ever since integration developed into inclusion, educational policy makers have been trying to ensure that every child has the opportunity to have access to the full school curriculum (DfES, 2004a). This includes giving all pupils, including those identified with special educational needs, access to foreign language learning as well (McColl, 2005). To achieve this, schools are recommended to provide one hour a week for MFL (QCA, 2007), a competing demand (Allan, 2010) on an already crowded curriculum. It is worth noting here that schools in England are driven by imperatives to raise educational achievement and at the same time, they are driven by imperatives to support children with SEN in mainstream schooling (DfEE, 1997a; 1998; 1998/1999; 1999; 2000; DfES, 2001). These policy demands coupled with provision that is 'fragmented' (Allan, 2010: 206) threatens to undermine the process of inclusion. The situation also threatens the key objective of foreign language learning which is 'to reach a recognised level of competence' (DfES, 2002: 15) or proficiency. The one hour a week curriculum time recommended for

MFL was thus questioned by Macaro (2008: 106) who asks whether an hour a week would lead to proficiency in key stage 3 or rather lead to repetition, lack of progress and boredom. This therefore shows incongruity over whether MFL learning can lead to proficiency for all pupils in the 'inclusive' classroom.

In contemplating the principles of the Languages for All policy and those of inclusion policy, given the diverse abilities and needs of pupils, we could ask the question: do we really mean teaching all pupils a foreign language? (see McColl, 2005). In the 'inclusive' classroom, where the abilities and needs of pupils are understandably diverse, putting into practice the Languages for All policy is far from being straightforward as inclusion and exclusion are likely to be played out in the classroom (see Benjamin *et al.*, 2003) by all parties involved. In this situation, there appears to be conflict between the rhetoric and the practice of policy (see Benjamin, 2002; Cole, 2004). Many argue that what policies promote is in contrast with what is experienced in practice and that in the case of 'inclusive' education, 'there will inevitably be winners and losers' (Cole, 2004: 8). Who is likely to win and who is likely to lose in the MFL classroom? Including all in foreign language learning is every child's right. But is it right for every child?

There is a body of evidence in the literature (Coleman, 2009; Macaro, 2008; Bartram, 2012) that suggests that MFL is one of the least popular subjects amongst students for reasons I will discuss later in chapters five and six, which include lack of motivation and anxiety to name just a few here. And in an education system where the reality and the lived experiences around aspects of disability and special educational needs can tell conflicting stories despite the great emphasis put on inclusion, should we only concern ourselves about the ideology of inclusion policies and turn a blind eye on the reality experienced by different individuals, in different ways and on many different levels (Cole, 2004) in the French classroom? 'Languages for All' which involves everyone learning a foreign language is promoted and celebrated (see McColl, 2000; McKeown, 2004) and that is great. But whether or not meaningful learning can be ensured for all pupils when classes include a wide range of abilities is debatable. This is because, on the one hand, the education system hopes for a meaningful educational journey where the rights of all children is emphasised and the inclusion of all children promoted, and on the other, the system strives for performance in tests which aim at raising the educational standards (DfEE, 1997c; DfEE, 2000; DfES, 2001; DfES, 2002) and prioritise league tables.

Many educational professionals support SEN pupils learning MFL and there are a number of resources and materials that provide guidance for teachers to effectively teach such pupils. Considering what foreign language learning is really for and how its inclusion in the curriculum of all pupils including those identified as having learning difficulties or SEN whatever their ability can be justified, McColl (2000) suggests that all but a very small

percentage of pupils can perform well and enjoy their foreign language lessons. She argues that no child should be denied foreign language learning as 'if we cannot predict what advantages certain children might gain from exposure to foreign language learning, neither can we predict what advantages they might lose if we denied them the chance to even try' (McColl, 2000: 7). McColl (2000) further suggests that what pupils can achieve in their first language constitutes their potential and reflects what they can achieve in a foreign language, therefore, all pupils, irrespective of their abilities can study and excel in MFL. She states: 'since we can observe students of all abilities successfully learning foreign languages, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that *all* of our students have a potential for foreign language learning and that, given the right opportunity, conditions and motivation, they *can* succeed' (McColl, 2000: 5 *emphasis in original*)

According to McColl (2000) teachers should be aware that for successful foreign language learning, two basic concepts are important: community and communication¹⁶. She further states that for some pupils, communication and community can only be understood if the links between the two is made clear. McColl (2005) proposes that foreign language learning for all pupils would make sense if teachers use course books that are fit for purpose and also if learning is set within the context of the community that communicate in the target language. She also stresses that cultural studies¹⁷ should form part of the learning process and that communication is a key aspect of culture. McColl *et al.*'s (1997) earlier study concluded that all pupils benefit from modern foreign language learning experiences. She cites as benefits, to name just a few here, language development and conceptual development:

- *Language development* occurs when for example a pupil, particularly a special needs pupil spells a foreign language word in their English class. For instance a pupil might write the date or a number in the target language.
- *Conceptual development* occurs when opportunities to practise basic skills in MFL are enjoyed by pupils as the initial stages appeal to pupils and appear to them as more sophisticated than if they were doing the equivalent in English, their mother tongue.
- *Cultural awareness*: learning about other countries can enhance pupils' experiences of the target language as learning about other people's way of life can be an illuminating experience for some pupils.

(McColl 2000: 5- 6)

Similarly, McKeown's (2004) study emphasises the importance of making pupils aware of the target [language] community. She states that 'there are many children in many parts of the

¹⁶ McColl (2000; 2005) believes that children, particularly those who have been identified as having special educational needs need to have a clear sense of themselves with regard to their community. She explains that awareness of themselves and of their immediate environment and local communities in which they belong would enable them to understand the broader concept of a European community.

¹⁷ Cultural study is the study of foreign culture.

country- and not necessarily children with learning difficulties - who have little sense of the world outside their own particular community' (McKeown 2004: 44) and therefore this implies that learning about other cultures is 'an illuminating experience' McColl (2000: 6) for some learners. These aspects although understandable bear many questions: Should foreign language learning in a school setting be just about the culture of the community of the target language? What about 'ability' to learn or views and attitudes towards foreign language learning? McColl states that we 'need only look at what [the pupils] can achieve in their first language – *that is their potential*' (McColl, 2000: 5 (*Emphasis in original*)). If we take this statement into account, where then does this leave pupils who can only achieve very little linguistic skills in their first language?

There is therefore a need for caution in such suggestions as other studies (Bartram, 2012; Watts, 2003; Coleman, 2009) advance that many pupils do not see the importance of the opportunity to explore a foreign language and its culture for a number of reasons and as a result, they lack motivation to learn (Williams *et al.*, 2002; Bartram, 2012) and are disengaged and 'excluded' from the language learning process as we will see in chapter five. In this case, the language learning process appears meaningless thus, it is necessary to take the voices of the parties involved in the process into consideration. Coyle (2013: 244) points out that second language studies should aim 'to listen to learners, provide them with a 'voice' to analyse their perceptions of successful learning'. With regard to Languages for All and the key stage 2 languages entitlement, there is a need for critical, pedagogical, sociological and philosophical engagement with the policy at both macro and micro levels for a human rights approach to 'inclusive' education (Armstrong and Barton, 2007).

To support the teaching and learning of foreign languages, McKeown (2004) provides some guidance on how teachers can assist pupils with useful examples for specific learning difficulties from Asperger's to Tourette's syndromes. This links in with the policy document which provides assistance for teachers to implement foreign languages in their schools (DfES, 2004). These positive recommendations reinforce inclusion and 'inclusive' education principles, however less attention is paid to the 'micro politics of inclusive education' (Benjamin, 2002) and the pupils' and teachers' micro-cultural worlds which exist in educational institutions, although there is a body of empirical research which suggests they are significant (Cole, 2004; Benjamin, 2002; Benjamin *et al.*, 2003; Rogers, 2007; Allan, 2010). Rogers (2007: 56) claims that 'inclusive' education policy as a concept, process and an experienced reality, *denies* difficulty rather than embraces it (*emphasis in original*). Further concern is expressed by Allan (2010: 206) who reflects that 'the current educational climate is a particularly challenging one, and one in which inclusion appears to be all the more difficult to achieve'. Therefore, to achieve meaningful inclusion, we should consider the

effects of 'inclusive' education as well as the voices and experiences of all individuals involved (Cole, 2004).

The Languages for All policy and McColl's (2000) and McKeown's (2004) studies support and promote foreign language learning by all pupils, but appear to lack specific definitions to the key elements involved in the process, such as language proficiency for example. The language policy also recommends that pupils should have access to high quality teaching and learning and that by the age of eleven, pupils should gain a level of competence that is recognised through a national scheme DfES (2002), however, here too, there is no specific definitions to these where SEN pupils are concerned. McColl (2000: 17) also states that the 'inclusive modern languages classroom is one in which, regardless of the system of grouping used in the school, all the students within the teaching group follow the same course and are equal members of the class'. This statement lacks clarity as to what is meant by equal members when the 'inclusive' classroom is a setting where abilities and needs of pupils are diverse. A few questions should be considered here: where does such statement leave differentiation? If members are equal, does differentiation still apply? The understanding is that activities and tasks are differentiated so that pupils' diverse abilities and needs are catered for. The MFL teacher is required to plan lessons with differentiation in mind for the very reason that pupils in the same class do not have the same ability and therefore cannot be 'equal' members of the class in terms of ability and needs.

Explaining why all pupils regardless of their abilities should be given the opportunity to learn a foreign language, McKeown suggests:

French is a popular subject in the communication disorder unit... the pupils have many strengths in favour of language learning. Good rote memory, for example, is ideal for vocabulary learning. Youngsters are keen on routine and this, coupled with a lower level of self-consciousness about speaking out, works well with greetings and instructions in French classes. This lack of self-consciousness brings an added ability to repeat accurately and mimic speech, so a good French accent can develop naturally.

(McKeown, 2004: 44)

The fact that this statement does not mention anything about pupils who do not have 'rote memory' or about pupils who are 'self-conscious' about speaking aloud in the French classroom or indeed, those with whom French is not a popular subject, poses several questions: what about pupils who are reluctant to perform in lessons? Or pupils whose memory skills would only allow them to retain vocabulary in one lesson but not the next as they would have forgotten everything by the following lesson? In such cases, the teacher would have to repeat the learning content all over again and lessons might 'never progress beyond basic vocabulary' (Macaro, 2008: 105). It could be argued that differentiation would assist in such a classroom as giving pupils equal opportunity is the main goal. However, it is

important to recognise that as pupils are not all equal in terms of ability, including them all in foreign language learning and giving them equality of opportunity does not necessarily imply treating them all equally as Wilson argues:

If I am unable to play a musical instrument at all, it seems to make little sense to say that I can be included in an orchestra which is to play Beethoven or if I cannot even add up or subtract that I should be in a group learning quadratic equations. Of course, I can just sit there alongside others but this is hardly inclusion in any serious sense. But then, it could be argued, I ought not to be 'left out' of these activities, however incompetent I am.

Wilson (1999: 110)

Wilson's statement very well captures inclusion and demonstrates the inclusion/exclusion dichotomies. The possibility to include all in a classroom seems easy enough or at the very least straightforward, yet the possibility to provide appropriate and meaningful education to suit every pupil appears to be quite a struggle. Thus, when including all pupils and exposing all of them to an unmodified curriculum, we need to find a way to ensure that the dignity of all is well protected (Hedge and MacKenzie, 2012), and also to enable every pupil to flourish (Nussbaum, 2006; 2011).

Moreover, some pupils are very self-conscious in the French classroom and would not speak at all for fear of getting things wrong in front of their peers. As Bartram (2012) notes, some pupils explain that their negative attitudes in their foreign language lesson is associated with a general anti-school attitude and a peer culture that promotes such negative attitudes. It is worth noting that many other factors and not just MFL learning, contribute to pupils' withdrawal from school life and disaffection from school and these include lack of belief that their school experience has much bearing on their future (Willms, 2000), gender (Tett, 2000) and social class (Willis, 1977; Reay and Lucey, 2004; Reay, 2006). Although McKeown (2004) recognises that her study does not solve the dilemma that MFL teachers face in many schools (dilemma about whether or not pupils with SEN should be learning another language), it is worth noting that her study does not mention any other possible issues the teachers and indeed the pupils and parents could face either. Issues such as motivation (Dörnyei, 2001; 2005; Dörnyei and Schmidt, 2001; Ushioda, 2001), anxiety (Oxford, 2005) and identity (Lightbown and Spada, 2006; Ochs, 2008; Taylor *et al.*, 2013) are just a few.

There are similarities in McKeown's (2004) position regarding MFL and the objectives of the Languages for All policy (DfES, 2002) itself, as neither raises the issues that could affect motivation, an important factor in the learning process. In her study, McKeown (2004) explains that all pupils including those identified with special needs gain from their MFL lessons, therefore it is more beneficial to involve them. Here too, what is meant by the term 'gain' is questionable as it is reported in the Hobson Research for 2007-2008 that in general

pupils in England find foreign language learning difficult and irrelevant. An earlier study conducted by Burstall, Jamieson, Cohen and Hardgreaves (1974: 243) also reported that in relation to eventual attainment of foreign language, there was 'no substantial gain in mastery achieved by beginning French at the age of eight' in classroom settings.

McKeown (2004) states that SEN pupils are very indignant if they are removed from MFL lessons as they want to remain with their friends and enjoy what they see as a fun and practical activity. In contrast, other studies report that anxiety and embarrassment are more prevalent in MFL lessons (see Oxford, 2005; Bartram, 2012). One of the attainment targets in MFL is speaking which involves oral work but in the MFL 'inclusive' classroom, this could be affected by anxiety among other things. Anxiety, according to a number of researchers can be a major predictor of success in MFL learning performances (see Horwitz *et al.*, 1986; Horwitz, 2001; Oxford, 2005). Horwitz, Horwitz and Cope (1986) suggest that learners have an anxiety reaction which handicaps their ability to perform successfully in a foreign language classroom. They state suggest that '[j]ust as anxiety prevents some people from performing successfully in science or mathematics, many people find foreign language learning, especially in classroom situations, particularly stressful' (Horwitz *et al.*, 1986: 125).

ATLAS (2002) report that some pupils are embarrassed in front of their peers in the MFL classroom when asked to perform oral activities and are anxious to be fluent and pronounce words in the target language accurately. The study also revealed that pupils particularly dislike 'being put on the spot' when the MFL teacher asks them to speak in class (ATLAS, 2002: 3). Another study by Court (2001) explains that boys in particular feel embarrassed when taking part in speaking activities when girls are in the class and at the same time feel they sound foolish in the presence of their male peers, thus lack motivation. Embarrassment, anxiety and motivation are just some of the factors that make learning difficult in the MFL classroom compared to other subjects (see Horwitz, 2001; Hancock, 2001). Studies by Chambers (1999), Stables and Wikely (1999), and Rawlinson (2001) also revealed that, as a subject, MFL is commonly rated relatively unfavourably and ranked the most unpopular subject compared to other school subjects.

Inclusion as Cole (2004), amongst others argues represents a global policy imperative that promotes the rights of all children and young people (Kenworthy and Whittaker, 2000) and is above all in relation to the education of all pupils regardless of their ability or disability. 'Inclusive' education thus is concerned with challenging the ways in which inequality is produced and also reproduced (Bourdieu, 1977; Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977), particularly in the education system. 'Inclusive' education policies thus entail establishing the values and principles of social justice (Armstrong and Barton, 2007). This is linked to Nussbaum's (2006; 2011) work on human rights approach which emphasises basic entitlements for all. As far as modern foreign languages learning is concerned in a school

setting, I would suggest that for a meaningful 'languages for all', Nussbaum's capabilities approach needs to be considered, for, this approach proposes going beyond policy rhetoric to reflecting about 'what *real* opportunities are available' (Nussbaum, 2011: x, *emphasis added*) to each individual in the 'inclusive' MFL classroom. There is no denying that learning a foreign language can be beneficial but who really benefits from the experience should be considered and clarified.

2.6 Motivation and identity in the MFL classroom

The importance of motivation has long been recognised as the basis for learning and foreign language motivation has over the past decades been attributed to the performance of all learned responses. This suggests that a learned behaviour may not occur unless it is motivated (see Dörnyei, 2005 for a recent work on motivation theories). According to Gardner (1985), motivation consists of an external stimulus such as a goal; a desire to follow the goal; as well as favourable attitudes towards the goal.

2.6.1 Motivation and language learning

In academic terms, motivation can be defined as a learner's 'willingness, need, desire and compulsion to participate in, and be successful in the learning process' (Bomia *et al.*, 1997: 1). Accordingly, motivation is concerned with what drives students to regularly attend their classes, complete their work, and whether or not they are active participants and learners (Pintrich *et al.*, 1993). This section draws on social cognitive theory of motivation which sees learners as active in their education and skilful enough to interpret rather than solely respond to stimuli. The social cognitive theory focuses on three factors of motivation which have been linked to educational settings: the expectancy factor, the value factor and the affective factor. The expectancy factor highlights learners' beliefs about their ability to complete a task and their perceptions of responsibility for their learning. This factor specifically addresses the question: "can I do this task?" The value factor includes learners' goals, their beliefs about the importance of and their interest in required tasks. It addresses the question "why am I doing this task?" The affective factor of motivation refers to the emotional reactions to a learning task and addresses the question "how do I feel about this task?" (see Pintrich *et al.*, 1993; see also Schraw *et al.*, 1995).

Gardner (1985; 2001) further makes the distinction between integrative and instrumental orientations in language learning motivation and explains that:

- An integrative orientation is when the learner studies a language because of a wish to identify with the culture of the speakers of that language.

- An instrumental orientation however, involves motivation factors arising from external goals such as financial rewards, enhancing a career or passing an exam.

These classifications of attitudes have been meaningful and influential in foreign language learning situations although they have not remained uncontroversial (Bartram, 2012) thus have been criticised as being too superficial and equivocal. Baker (1992) questions the benefits of the classifications when they are applied to attitudes and argues that both classifications can indeed exist in one individual at the same time. Similarly, Young (1994b) also argues that the classifications were in any case ambiguous and over simplified as many other factors are involved in learner motivation. The methods of measuring motivation thus shifted in the early nineties as Dörnyei states:

While acknowledging unanimously the fundamental importance of the Gardnerian social-psychological model, researchers were also calling for a more pragmatic, education-centred approach to motivation research, which would be consistent with the perceptions of practising teachers and which would also be in line with the current results of mainstream educational psychological research.

(Dörnyei, 1994: 273)

Researchers acknowledge that Gardner's (1985) motivation theory includes an educational dimension as it pays particular attention to the learner's judgment of the learning situation. However the focus has now shifted from the learner's motivation to learn, to motivation in and resulting, positively or negatively, from varied changing learning situations. This confusion, Dörnyei (1996; 2003) asserts, lies in the abundance of its theories and models and also in that learners can increase or decrease their motivation when they please.

In foreign language learning, research on the role of motivation estimated that an interest in learning a foreign language develops because of emotional involvement with the target language community or because the learner has an interest in the language (Lambert, 1955). Findings by Lightbown and Spada (1993) show that positive attitudes and motivation both contribute to successful foreign language learning. Coleman *et al.* (2007) also note that motivation is one of the most significant indicators of success in foreign language learning. Bartram's (2012) comparative study examines issues relating to MFL in secondary education in England, Germany and the Netherlands and illustrates the role the choice of language plays in motivation and attitudes towards the target language and its culture.

Languages are according to Cook (1996: 1) 'the centre of human life'. They are one of the ways of communicating with people and expressing ourselves, but in a school environment, motivation and attitudes in the foreign language classroom is a concern and has been investigated by a number of researchers (Chambers, 1999; De Cecco and Shaw, 2008). Bartram (2012) argues that attitudes are a major constituent of the motivational process in the foreign languages classroom and Gardner and Lambert (1972: 193) asserts that learning of a foreign language is unlike learning any other subject because it 'involves

imposing elements of another culture into one's own life space'. It is also because foreign language learning is easily influenced either positively or negatively by a variety of social factors such as general attitudes toward the target language, geo-political considerations, and cultural stereotypes (Dörnyei, 2005). Due to the social nature of foreign language learning, which is concerned with the endorsement of a new cultural identity and new ways of communicating, many theories of language learning tend to be social-psychological in nature.

Beside motivation, parental involvement can play a crucial role in influencing children's positive thinking towards foreign language learning. Gardner (2010) suggests that parental attitudes towards foreign languages can positively impact their children's achievement in language learning. He explains that this is shown either actively, when parents encourage their children to do well in the target language, or passively, when parents support the use of the target language. He claims that parents may display positive or negative attitudes towards the target language community. Nevertheless, in general, parental involvement in their children's schooling, as discussed in the section below has been identified as a key predictor in children's academic success (see Harris and Goodall, 2008; Bodovski, 2010; Fan *et al.*, 2012).

2.6.2 Motivation depends on home support

The importance of engaging parents in raising the educational aspirations and achievement of children and young people is highlighted by a number of studies (Epstein and Sanders, 2000; Driessen *et al.*, 2005) and evidence of positive links between parental involvement in schooling and student achievement and attainment is abundant (see for example Desforges and Abouchaar, 2003). In England, the Department for Children, Schools and Families put parental involvement and participation as a key focus of its policy in an attempt to improve provision for children and young people (DCSF, 2007). During the past few years, initiatives such as the Children's Plan for example have been established to support parents and families and improve the well-being, safety as well as the educational performance and attainment of children and young people. The Children's Plan holds that parents are an important strategy for the advancement of the quality of education for their children.

One of the fundamental goals of parental involvement is to increase the social and cognitive capacities of pupils. The assumption underlying this is that where parents are involved in their children's schooling the advantages are significant (Lareau, 2003). These advantages include regular attendance at school, good performances in school subjects, better scores in examinations as well as participation in lessons and positive attitudes

towards school and learning. For example, findings by Sheldon and Epstein (2005) show that parental involvement resulted in students attaining higher in mathematics. Domina (2005) and Jeynes (2005) also suggest that some parental participation prevents behavioural problems and increases an improvement in standardised tests while Harris and Goodall (2008: 277) advance that parental engagement in children's learning 'in the home makes the greatest difference to student achievement'. In an educational climate where rote learning and formal assessment tests routinely dominate (Slee, 2011; Nussbaum, 2010), the need for parental participation in children schooling receives considerable attention.

In the process of MFL learning, among the many factors involved, support from family is one of the reasons to be successful according to language learners (see Williams *et al.*, 2004). Gardner (1985) also suggests that students' attainment in a second language depends on the feelings and behaviour in their home environment. Court (2001:36) reiterates this adding that in foreign language learning, parents can 'influence students' perceptions'. This echoes in (Griva and Chouvarda's statement:

Family can play a crucial role in terms of strengthening children's positive thinking towards foreign languages. Parental attitudes towards foreign languages affect their children's success in multilingual competence. Both the way in which parents feel about foreign languages and the way they behave affect the linguistic development of their children.

Griva and Chouvarda (2012: 2)

On reflection, what Griva and Chouvarda address here is the belief that in the learning domain, parental attitudes and encouragement motivate children and lead to higher level of performance in the classroom. Their study also revealed that some parents were positive in supporting their children learning a foreign language even if this has to be at a very young age. However, some other parents stated that children's time should be spent on consolidating their first language before getting involved in learning a foreign language. For Bourdieu and Passeron (1977), children's achievements in schooling are linked to the education of their parents particularly where cultural capital resources are available. Identity negotiation could also be a contributor to performance in MFL.

2.6.3 Identity and language learning

The focus here is on the self and identity in the broad sense of the term on identity development and identity negotiation process between pupils and between pupils and teachers in the 'inclusive' MFL classroom. As the purpose of this research is to investigate the 'inclusive' foreign language classroom, this part of the literature concentrates mainly on the identity of the pupils learning French and does not intend to cover the scientific process

devoted to studying second language acquisition, nor the language teacher's identity or that of any adult participants as they are not particularly relevant for this study.

2.6.3.1 Identity and culture in learning

One of the most complex concepts that many theorists, including sociologists spend a considerable amount of time studying is the structure of the self and identity. Researchers have suggested that identity is a multifaceted concept which is difficult to define thus it has been noted differently in various disciplines (Côté, 2006). For example identity is used to refer to social groups such as ethnicity, race, religion, age, personality traits, social class and so on. The concept of the self represents who we are to ourselves and in relation to others. Sociologists and applied linguists pay attention to societal context that is crucial in distinguishing the sociological approaches to the study of the self thus place a focus on sociological and cultural dimensions of language learning. For Wenger (1998), learning is a social practice through which every individual comes to be aware of and know themselves. Considering learning as a process that takes place within the individual, Lave and Wenger (1991) suggest that it is through social processes and shared experiences that individuals gain a sense of self and meaning. They add that identity is a function of participation in different communities and people have different identities that are more or less salient in different situations.

According to Stryker (1980), the sociological approach to self and identity begins with the assumption that there is a reciprocal relationship between the self and society. This means that the self impacts on society through the actions of individuals thereby generating groups, communities and institutions. Simultaneously, society affects the self through its shared language, patterns, culture and meanings, all of which enable an individual to take the role of the other, to take part in social interaction, and reflect upon oneself as an object. In other words, the self emerges in and is reflective of society. Because of this, understanding the self and identity involves taking into account the society in which the self acts, and keeping in mind that the self always acts in a social context in which other selves exist (Stryker, 1980)¹⁸.

Patterns of behaviour within and between individuals vary and this is crucial to understanding the link between self and society. The self incorporates the notions of self-concept (Byrne, 1996; Oyserman, 2001; Leary and Tangney, 2003), which represents people's beliefs about themselves and their relations to other people. The self also incorporates other notions: self-esteem (Harter, 1993; Crocker and Park, 2003) and self-

¹⁸ For an extensive reading on selfhood, see McCall and Simmons (1978); Lewis (1990)

worth (Harter *et al.*, 1998; Horberg and Chen, 2010). Self-esteem evaluates the self-knowledge and self-beliefs that represent an individual's self-concept. Self-worth defines a person's sense of personal values as a function of perceived ability with direct repercussions for one's attributions of success and failure.

To illustrate how students engage with learning groups, Wenger (1998) describes social learning as participation in groups which share a common purpose and which have their own meanings. Wenger (1998) suggests that such participation in a learning group involves identity transformation. For example, students move from being partly involved to being fully involved in the learning communities or groups. An individual who belongs to a community of doctors inevitably identifies as a doctor. However, no groups function in isolation from other groups and to engage fully with a group, individuals must reconcile group identities with wider social identities from different group memberships.

Although Wenger (1998) does not provide detail of how the reconciliation occurs within groups, he argues that the process of reconciling identities from different group memberships involves both the groups and the individuals. He explains that because an individual's membership within a group changes as the individual moves from being partly involved to fully involved, the individual adjusts while the group renegotiates meanings and practices. Belonging to a learning group thus requires reconciliation of conflicting identities of various status including social class and gender with educational communities and structures (Baxter and Britton, 2001; Ball *et al.*, 2002). Therefore, identity 'is always constrained' (Hughes, 2010: 49). How one is described by oneself or by others in a group is subjective and situation-dependent. People have a variety of characteristics and social roles that are not easily captured by categorising and labelling and the identities of pupils occur through interactions in and out of the classroom between the pupils and the teachers (see Norton, 2000). As mentioned above, the identity of the teachers is not being researched in this study.

2.6.3.2 Identity and culture in MFL

In language learning literature, second language acquisition studies relate identity to the choice of target language. Zuengler (1989) suggest that learners base their choice of target language learning on a variety of factors that suit their interests, needs and the target community they wish to identify with. This is seen in Beebe's (1980) work on style shifting where the social identification and status of learners influenced their language learning. Other studies (Williams *et al.*, 2004; Bartram, 2012) suggest that the identity of learners is shown when learners choose not to associate with certain features of the target language and its community. An example of this is reported in Siegal's (1994) study of non-native

women learning Japanese in Japan. The women refused to comply with certain feminine speech patterns as these were not compatible with their assertive Western women identities. Social theorists such as Bourdieu (1988) and Giddens (1991) for example suggest that identity construction is a process and not a fixed product. In this same vein, Wenger (2000: 239) points out that 'identity is not an abstract idea or a label, such as a title, an ethnic category, or a personality trait. It is a lived experience of belonging (or not belonging). A strong identity involves deep connections with others through shared histories and experiences, reciprocity, affection, and mutual commitments'.

Over the past decades, there has been a growth in the bulk of research on learner identity from two main perspectives: the first examines learners' identity construction through their interaction with others, and the second analyses learner identity through the learners' oral or written accounts of their experiences in learning a foreign language. This research attempts to pursue how the participants see themselves as language learners and how they are seen by their peers and by their teachers in relation to the target language and its culture through their negotiations and interactions in the 'inclusive' French classroom. Alluding to identity, McCool (2009: 6) suggests that 'everyone is faced with developing a sense of self, a process that begins in adolescence', and Joseph (2004) adds that the expression of self and emotions is one of the principal functions of language. This perspective sees the emotions as related to the body rather than to the mind, thus identity is not a static quality that an individual has, but it is a flexible and fluid representative of an individual's sense of self.

The study of identity includes the relationship between language and culture, communicative practices and cognitive models of language and thought (see Joseph, 2004) as language shapes the ways in which people relate to the world and also to one another. Kramsch (1998) defines culture as a phenomenon that is socially constructed and that is the results of human interventions within biological processes. These interventions seek to create order and meaning out of the biological processes in order to make sense of them. The meanings created are therefore transferred outside of the time and space in which these biological processes occur. Lantolf (2000) defines cultural identity as the totality of present and past cultural resources the individual has access to. Culture according to Lantolf is the past in the present. This thus places cultural identity at the intersection between our own experiences and our access to that which has been passed down to us. Our personal narratives are shaped by culturally conventional narratives so that we can make sense of our own and others' actions.

Taking a similar position to Kramsch (1998) on the definition of culture, Van Lier (2000) suggests that learning a language is an interaction between an individual's past cultures transferred onto the present and ecological opportunities or affordances. He explains that language itself is 'representational and ecological' and defines the ecological

perspective for language learning as the learner being 'immersed in an environment full of meanings' (Van Lier, 2000: 246-247). This confirms that learning is not restricted to the cognitive ability of the learner in relation to the contents of language as a fixed entity. Instead learning is present in the interaction between an active learner and an active environment. My definition of culture in this research is based on that of Kramsch (1998), where culture is shaped by language and exists both subjectively and objectively; subjectively in the individual as past and present identity, and objectively in social structures as a product. Our subjective experiences are connected to objective cultures to construct something we can call our own perception of the world therefore our own cultural identity.

As mentioned in the motivation section, although there are differences in opinions regarding the definition of language learning motivation, there is a general consensus on the role motivation plays in the language learning process. The consensus considers factors that have an impact on a learner's motivation to learn a language (Norton and Toohey, 2001; Laoire, 2010) as language is the main vehicle to express one's self, according to Ochs (2008). Learning a new language is therefore said to signify learning a new identity (Lightbown and Spada, 2006). This identity is constructed, negotiated and reworked in a meaningful interactions with relevant others (Blommaert, 2005). Therefore, learning a new language is seen as a 'gradual and neutral process of internalising the rules, structures, and vocabulary of a standard language' (Norton and Toohey, 2001: 312) as well as the appropriation of the learner's own voice in the target language. Referring to identity, Norton (1997) asserts that:

Every time language learners speak, they are not only exchanging information with their interlocutors; they are also constantly organizing and reorganizing a sense of who they are and how they relate to the social world. They are, in other words, engaged in identity construction and negotiation.

(Norton, 1997: 410)

Dörnyei (1998) shares this view, explaining that it highlights the need to take into account the identity of the language learner as the motivating factor that influences the learning process.

Bourdieu (1977) also adds:

Just as, at the level of relations between groups, a language is worth what those who speak it are worth, so too, at the level of interactions between individuals, speech always owes a major part of its value to the value of the person who utters it.

(Bourdieu, 1977: 652)

Speech, speakers and social relationships are interrelated thus, when language learners speak, they are exchanging information as well as organising and reorganising a sense of who they are and how they relate to the social world. This implies that language learners are constantly engaged in identity construction and negotiation. The motivation of pupils learning a language is thus socially constructed within the language as well as social relations in discourse with their peers. According to Dörnyei (1998), the identity of the learner can

influence the language learning process and therefore, could be a motivational factor in the language classroom.

Identity and nationalism

A notion held by social scientists (see for example Bhavnani *et al.*, 2005) is that national identities have characteristics that once acquired, be it at birth or in childhood, reside in us as a reality that cannot be changed. Gellner (1983), Smith (1991), and Anderson (1991), assert that the concept of nation or state emerged as a political category in Western Europe and North America as a result of the need for large scale economic and social government of peoples in these complex industrialised world regions. To create and maintain this state, some sort of collective solidarity is necessary to ensure a nation to which all citizens belong (Smith, 1991). According to Anderson (1991), members of the nation have in common, a shared culture and language which reinforce the sense of similarity felt between the members and create a sense of an imagined national identity.

Human beings construct categories of ideas to understand the world and this gains legitimacy and general acceptance by appearing as natural (Jackson and Penrose, 1993). Individuals draw on these category constructions to create a sense of identity that is to develop an understanding of what they themselves are in relation to the rest of the world. One of the categories of social identity is what is termed ethnic identity which constitutes 'an aspect of social relationship between agents who consider themselves as culturally distinctive from members of other groups with whom they have a minimum of regular interaction' (Eriksen, 1993: 12). Wigglesworth (2005) notes that language is a marker of ethnic identity and that, speakers who have strong group identification are likely to regard language as a symbol of identity and this identification may translate into greater use of the language itself. Identities are displayed in many ways in relation to ethnicity, race, religion, language and so on (Smith, 1991), however, as Hughes (2001) notes, national identity is usually expressed at the expense of other identities.

Nationalism conveys a love of country; the assertion of national identity as well as the xenophobic obsession to obtain these elements through violence or renouncing other nations (see Shaw and Wong, 1989). This definition suggests people's feelings of being loyal to and proud of their country with the belief that their own country is more important than other countries. Nationalism 'fosters pride, dignity and related sentiments among members of the in-group' (Shaw and Wong, 1989: 137). This research uses the term nationalism to refer to how the participants understand their relationship to the world and how that relationship is constructed in the 'inclusive' MFL classroom particularly by the pupils as they undergo the process of learning French, a subject they are not very keen on.

2.7 Conclusion

In contemplating the Languages for All policy which promotes inclusion and foreign language teaching and learning, it is important to acknowledge that as with any other school subject, positive learning outcomes are desired in the long term for every pupil. Education is essentially seen as being crucial to human development (UNESCO, 2005). However, the principles of 'inclusive' education are conflicted (Cole, 2004) and the diverse abilities of pupils can conflict with learners' achievements (Benjamin, 2002), an apparent situation in the 'inclusive' MFL classroom where attitudes to the target language for example play a part (Bartram, 2012).

A pupil who finds all aspects of school life difficult or a pupil who finds academic work difficult is likely to struggle further in foreign language learning (McColl, 2000) and yet educational policies require schools to ensure all children develop to their full potential (Blunkett, 2000) and this applies to MFL as well. To attempt to achieve that every learner develops to their full potential, there are guidelines and legal obligations which emphasise provision for all children and young people (see UNESCO, 2002; 2005). The 'inclusive' MFL classroom like any other classroom serves as a learning environment for all students to develop to their full potential. The diversity of abilities in the language classroom requires teachers to adapt their planning and teaching to meet the needs of all students, a process known as differentiation. But education is a complex process which Walker (2003: 169) argues 'produces justice and injustice, equity and inequity', and the 'inclusive' MFL classroom is no different. In the 'inclusive' foreign language classroom, the practices of inclusion are linked to negotiations of exclusion played out by pupils and teachers. Given that education is regarded as a human fundamental resource (UNESCO, 2002), it could be argued that education enables and structures effective opportunities for people to live a life they have reason to choose and value (Nussbaum, 2011). But does this happen for everybody? Motivation plays a significant part in language learning although in general, its concept proves complex as it takes a number of disciplines to arrive at a reasonable understanding of its multiple facets. The complexity of the concept of motivation, Dörnyei (2000; 2001) posits, resides in its endeavours to explain individuals' actions, attitudes and behaviour.

This chapter gave an insight into the key objectives of the Languages for All policy, explored the concept of inclusion and 'inclusive' practices regarding foreign language learning and then considered the key factors of students' attitudes and motivation to learn a foreign language. The final part of the chapter discussed the close relationship between identity and motivation in foreign language learning contexts. It could be argued that identity is the language learner's potential ability and it is the social environment that provides the learner with the opportunities to build and enhance this potential. The following chapter

builds on the two theorists I have drawn upon in an attempt to understand the negotiations with regard to the teaching and learning of French in the 'inclusive' classroom. Martha Nussbaum's human development theory as her theory emphasises the need to consider each and every individual as an end, and Bourdieu's capital, habitus and field concepts are drawn on to facilitate understanding of equality and to make sense of the relationship between social structures and everyday practices at school.

CHAPTER THREE: CAPABILITIES, CAPITALS AND FOREIGN LANGUAGE LEARNING

3.0 Introduction

Chapter two gave a brief overview of MFL and the national curriculum and stressed that although every pupil at key stage 2 is entitled to learn MFL, the study of a foreign language is a complex process that can conflict with many issues including needs, interests, motivation and identity. In reflecting on the negotiations in the French classroom, this chapter draws upon Nussbaum and Bourdieu's theories. Nussbaum's capabilities approach is invaluable for this research as it is concerned with the dignity of all people. The basic goal for the capabilities approach is to ensure an objective account of well-being and flourishing of all human beings. This approach offers a useful theoretical lens from which to critically examine the issues of the process of foreign language learning, in particular, issues involving equality, choice and rights as these relate to moral questions regarding the policies and practices of inclusion. As the MFL classroom presents a wide variety of abilities, the aim of this research as far as the capabilities approach is concerned is to identify what is needed for each pupil to function as a full participating learner of French in the 'inclusive' foreign language classroom. In the same vein, the theoretical tools offered through the works of Bourdieu (1977a; 1987; 1990), namely the concepts of capital, habitus and field, will also be useful in identifying inequality. Moreover, Bourdieu's (1977b; 1987) work on social differentiation and class reproduction in educational institutions will be useful in understanding pupils' negotiations of identity and the pressures faced by everyone involved in the classroom.

This chapter outlines how Nussbaum and Bourdieu's theories can be used to understand the practical and institutional issues in the MFL classroom. I begin with a brief overview of Nussbaum's capabilities approach before showing its relevance in education. I outline Bourdieu's concepts of habitus, field and capital to examine the extent to which they are useful and applicable in 'inclusive' education. I endorse some specific capabilities to explain their usefulness for this research and then highlight the critiques that both the capabilities approach and Bourdieu's work face.

3.1 Key concepts within the capabilities approach

The basic principle of the capabilities approach is to address 'human problems and unjustifiable human inequalities' (Nussbaum, 2011: xii), thus the approach aims at the struggles society faces in managing humanity, human development and human rights. There are several important concepts which emerge from an application of the

basic tenets of the capabilities approach to frame our understanding of humanity and political equality. The concept most pertinent to this study is the need for an education which must reflect what pupils are able to do and be (Nussbaum, 2011) and this is explored within the context of 'inclusive' education and MFL learning. Because the capabilities approach places great emphasis on humanity, there is a potentially strong and mutually enhancing relationship between the approach and education (Saito, 2003), as what the approach was initially designed to measure¹⁹, involves education or adult literacy among other items.

For Nussbaum (2010: 11), 'access to quality education [for all] is an urgent issue' that all nations need to address. This statement is emphasised by the UNESCO (2002: 32) report which states that education is important for a number of reasons, but most 'fundamentally, having the skills provided by basic education such as being able to read and write, is valuable in and of itself'. In this research, I explore the potential of Nussbaum's capabilities approach to offer such fundamental literacy skills, the ability to read and write, to current debates on 'inclusive' education. This research focuses on what the Languages for All policy might mean for all parties involved in the teaching and learning of MFL, particularly for pupils who have been identified as having special educational needs. This research also raises issues around the practices of inclusion in the French classroom and examines questions of justice for all pupils.

3.1.1 The capabilities approach

Martha Nussbaum is one of the two major originators of the capabilities approach. The other, Amartya Sen was first to propose the evaluative framework during the 1980s and 1990s. Both scholars base the approach centrally on the individual and regard progress or development as consisting of increasing the capabilities of people to be and to do a multiplicity of things. They both put great importance on human dignity, and explain that there is a variety of beneficial capabilities that are fundamentally distinctive and therefore any evaluation of progress should be diverse and cannot be cast into a single number. This suggests that any given society could progress in one or many areas but at the same time, could regress in many other areas. In other words, one society may be better than another in some fields but not in others.

Sen (1992) defines capability as a set of functionings which are the many various things that a person may value doing or being, such as being sufficiently nourished, being in good health, and being able to take part in the life of a community. Thus his writing promotes

¹⁹ The approach was initially designed to measure Human Development Index (HDI) to rank countries.

personal well-being, agency and freedom. In Sen's (1999) terminology, an individual's capability refers to the alternative combinations of functionings that are feasible to him or her to achieve. The main focus of progress thus develops into an increase of the individual's capability set, or his/her substantive freedoms to lead the life he/she values. In this approach, functionings represent the end result component while capabilities represent the freedom component. Therefore, functionings are the achieved outcomes a person is able to be or to do. Examples that highlight this approach in education would be, being able to read and write, and being able to pass a national examination. In the context of this research, being able to converse accurately in the target language would be an example among many.

Sen's (1992; 1999) approach was built on both Smith's (1776) analysis of human necessities and conditions of living and Marx's (1844) involvement with human freedom and emancipation. Sen's capability approach materialised as the better alternative to standard economic schemes for reflecting on poverty, inequality and human development (see Sen, 1999). The basic claim of the approach is to measure the well-being of a person taking into account what the person succeeds in being and in doing (Sen, 1985; 1992; 1999). Thus, the approach strives to compare the well-being of different people by considering how well people are able to function with the goods and services that are at their disposal. When discussing human well-being and development, Sen places more emphasis on capabilities (see Sen, 1999) than on functionings (see Sen, 1985; 1992). When challenged to provide a set of list of capabilities to remedy the situation, Sen (1993; 1997) declines and explained that a conclusive list could be deemed objectively correct for practical reasons, and specific lists of capabilities should only be drawn up for specific research or policy context. He added that the process of choosing capabilities should be left to the individual. He provided examples of essential capabilities which include being able to 'live long, escape avoidable morbidity, be well nourished, be able to read, write and communicate, take part in literary and scientific pursuits' (Sen, 1984: 493). Applying the capability approach in specific contexts in a meaningful way, while maintaining development results that do not presuppose the choices of the individual is however crucial. Sen himself asserts that the 'evaluative focus' of the capability approach 'can be either on the realized functionings (...) or on the capability set' (Sen, 1999: 75). This research explores both concepts of functionings and capability and although Sen's work is influential as it involves human development, this research focuses on Martha Nussbaum's version of the approach for its emphasis on the central list of capabilities, because some items from the list appear useful in the context of the Languages for All and inclusion policies.

3.1.2 Nussbaum's capabilities approach

There are some subtle distinctions between Martha Nussbaum and Amartya Sen in some of the details of this approach. While Sen terms it capability approach, using the singular form, and bases it solely on human beings, Nussbaum (2011) uses the plural, terming it capabilities approach and includes animals stressing that just like humans, animals also have rights of some sorts therefore their dignity should always be respected (Nussbaum, 2011). According to Sen the approach can be used as a tool for evaluating progress or development only as it does not represent a theory of justice. He thus argues that the prospect of an adequate theory of a just society (see Sen, 1999) is improbable. Sen's capability approach leaves it to the individuals and to societies to decide on the capabilities they consider worthy to evaluate and who should be in charge of evaluating them in whatever context. Nussbaum however, argues that the approach represents a theory of social justice as it indicates what a just society stands for. This is all critically important when appraising discourses within education and inclusion as the capabilities approach is based on an inclusive scheme for all citizens.

Building on Sen's work, Nussbaum (2006; 2011) adopts a philosophical point of view based on Aristotle's ideas of human being as a rational animal. In this sense, she defines both the body and reason in functional terms²⁰. She also takes up Kant's (1998) view of considering each and every person as an end. Nussbaum's approach differs from Rawls'²¹(1971) in that she strongly believes in developing an approach that involves everyone from the start. She argues that there is no reason to exclude any members of society from the field of justice or only include them after everyone else on the grounds that they are different or have a disability. Nussbaum's approach considers the diversity of human beings and is therefore influenced by the notion of inclusion. Similarly, the Languages for All policy entitles all pupils to learn a foreign language and inclusion of all is attempted through differentiation of tasks and activities in the classroom as discussed in section 2.4.

Nussbaum (2006: 76 - 77; 2011: 33 - 34) draws up a list of capabilities that she explains would enable human beings to function and to fulfil their potential in society. She

²⁰ Nussbaum's capabilities approach withdraws itself from Kant's conception which defines human beings in metaphysical terms. Nussbaum defines the body in terms of the capability to move and to use the senses, in other word, the capacity to engage in critical reflection. The background of the capabilities approach is located in Sen's critiques of traditional welfare economics which typically fails to differentiate well-being with either opulence (income, commodity command) or utility (happiness, desire fulfilment). See Crocker (1992) for detailed discussions of these critiques.

²¹ Rawls considers human beings as free and independent citizens of society with equal rights and equal power, and contributing to some social product. As such he develops a theory of justice that excludes certain members of society such as people with disabilities for example. He later acknowledges this and explains that he wants to develop a theory for able bodies and another for disabled people (see John Rawls - Political Liberalism: Expanded edition (New York: Columbia University Press, 2011).

acknowledges that although her list of capabilities is just a proposal and is continuously under review, it gives a good indication of the central capabilities that are essential to all human beings, therefore, society needs this list as guidance to ensure that every person's capabilities are protected at least up to the minimum threshold. The ten central capabilities are edited below:

1) *Life*: to live to the end of a human life of normal length; not living a life that is not worth living or dying prematurely. 2) *Bodily health*: to have good health including reproductive health. 3) *Bodily integrity*: to move around freely and be able to be secure against any types of assault and to have opportunities for sexual satisfaction and have choices in reproduction matters. 4) *Senses, imagination and thought*: to be able to use the senses to imagine, to think and to reason in a literate and developed way acquired by a suitable education. 5) *Emotions*: to be able to love, care, grieve and to experience longing, gratitude and justified anger. Not to have these emotions inhibited by fear, abuse, anxiety or neglect. 6) *Practical reason*: to be able to reflect on the good and engage in critical thinking about one's life. 7) *Affiliation*: a) to be able to live with and towards others and to engage in social interaction. To have compassion and be able to have the capability for justice and friendship, b) to have the social bases of self-respect and non-humiliation and be able to be treated in a non-discriminative way and as equal to others. 8) *Other species*: to be able to have affinity for all living species in our environment. 9) *Play*: to be able to laugh, play and enjoy leisure activities. 10) *Control over one's environment*: a) Political: to be able to partake in political choices about one's life. b) Material: to be able to have the opportunity to property rights and to have the right to seek employment on an equal basis with others.

Inclusion has been and continues to be one of the major strategies in education policy, nationally and globally and it is a legal obligation for society to educate all children (UNESCO, 1994). 'Inclusive' education is established as the principal policy imperative with regard to children and young people who have been identified as having special educational needs (Lindsay, 2003). A number of policies address education as a process of supporting inclusion and there is a global demand, moral imperative and legal obligations to provide educational opportunities for all children. Examples of these policies include the Education for All (UNESCO, 1994; 2005), the No Child Left Behind Act (NCLB, 2001) in the United States of America, and the Every Child Matters (DfES, 2003) in the UK and every single one of these look at education as a basic right and a vehicle that will furnish all children and young people with opportunities to experience more fulfilling lives. All these agencies are powerful advocates of inclusion as a key principle of schooling and education systems. The field of 'inclusive' education however, is complex due to ethical and political issues (Allan, 1999; 2005; Slee and Allan, 2001; Slee, 2011). In the UK, the education policy, promotes the extension of opportunities and raising standards to develop a coherent and flexible phase of

learning which meets the needs of all young people (DfES, 2002), however, there is a long way to go yet as the education system still appears to operate on one size fits all and gives priority to rote learning, thus supporting 'a pedagogy of force-feeding for standardized national examinations' (Nussbaum, 2010: 19).

The capabilities list has been used in education to address inclusion and exclusion, discrimination and inequality (see Hedge and MacKenzie, 2012). It has also been useful in addressing cognitive disability and 'inclusive' education (see Rogers, 2013) in an attempt to respond to the two simple yet intricate questions that the capabilities approach asks: 'What are people actually able to do and to be?' and most importantly 'What real opportunities are available to them?' (Nussbaum, 2011: x). For Nussbaum (2006), society urgently needs to do justice to people with physical or mental disabilities. Reflecting on this message, Kittay (2011: 49) stresses the need for 'an ethics that will both articulate the harms faced by people with disabilities –discrimination that threatens dignity as well as well-being –and offer moral resources for redress'. Rogers' (2013) work has also used items from the list to argue that although there are some provision for support in place, a large number of young people still do not have flourishing experiences and are failed by the education system because of their disabilities.

The capabilities approach considers each individual as 'a source of agency and worth in their own right, with their own plans to make and their own lives to live' (Nussbaum, 2000: 58). As far as education is concerned, this implies that every pupil is of moral worth in all their diversity and the educational system needs to ensure their human rights, although Nussbaum asserts that it is not assumed that the capabilities list is designed to solve all societal problems relating to inequality:

'[P]eople with mental impairments and disabilities pose a double challenge to Rawls's theory. The contract doctrine seems unable to accommodate their needs for special social attention, for the reasons of social productivity and cost that pertain to all people with impairments.'

(Nussbaum, 2006: 135)

The argument behind this quote stems from Rawls' (1996) definition of a person, which states that a person is a free and equal citizen, an individual who possesses 'the two moral powers' (see Nussbaum, 2006: 135). The two moral powers represent the capacity for a sense of justice and the capacity for a conception of the good. The capacity for a sense of justice requires having the ability to view others as equal members of society and to engage with others on terms they could envisage others could accept. The capacity for a conception of the good is the potential to form, to revise and to follow a conception of one's rational advantage or good (Rawls, 1996). Rawls (1971) stresses that individuals are rational beings that are capable to establish and choose the most useful steps towards their ends. For

Nussbaum however, some people with severe mental disabilities lack the two moral powers and therefore cannot be considered equal in the relevant sense. For this, she was criticised for the confusion over her approach for not including these people. She was also criticised for not providing a separate list for the people she excluded from her list. She responds to the criticisms of leaving out severely disabled people, clarifying that there should only be one capabilities list for all citizens including severely impaired people. Explaining her position regarding people with severe disabilities she states that depending on the severity of the impairment, some people will have to be excluded from the universal list because some capabilities have no value and are meaningless to them. Voting and freedom of press for example are capabilities that are meaningless to people with low level cognitive capacities (Nussbaum, 2006: 186-187).

In the MFL classroom, what pupils are 'actually able to do and to be' (Nussbaum, 2011: x) is a fundamental question that not only the learners should ponder over but also the teachers should reflect on regularly. Such a seemingly simple question secures complex and challenging responses if we dig deeper. For example, the quote by the National Languages Strategy (DfES, 2002: 15) that '[e]very child should have the opportunity throughout key stage 2 to study a foreign language and develop their interest in the culture of other nations' conflict with statements that some adults/children do not appreciate foreign language learning particularly if they happen to struggle with literacy skills (see McColl, 2000; McKeown, 2004). Nussbaum (2011: x) addresses the challenges of the 'complexities of human life and human striving' and suggests that the capabilities approach has the potential to address 'human problems and unjustifiable human inequalities' (Nussbaum 2011: xii). The main goal of Nussbaum's capabilities approach is to do justice to all people including people with physical and intellectual disabilities. Therefore I look at all pupils in the context of foreign language learning and consider Nussbaum's approach to provide such principled objectives to debates on special educational needs and more broadly on 'inclusive' education. I thus apply the fundamental principles of the capabilities approach to key features in policy and practice proposed and implemented with the view to 'positively' impact 'inclusive' education, with particular attention to the Languages for All policy.

The capabilities are useful here in that from one perspective, the 'inclusive' MFL classroom would seem to imply that all pupils have the same rights to learn regardless of their abilities. From another perspective, there are to a certain extent, the opportunities in terms of provision available to pupils in the 'inclusive' classroom to learn MFL which, in a sense is the message Martha Nussbaum attempts to get across when she states that opportunities should be available for people to enable them to flourish. As teachers endeavour to differentiate, and pupils attempt to learn, how differentiation allows for every

pupil's rights in the 'inclusive' MFL classroom is the question to ask. In other words, in such classrooms, are there real opportunities for each pupil's needs and rights to be met?

In the context of this research, provision for all children in the 'inclusive' MFL classroom is not the major concern. Many aspects or objectives of such provision (for example, to educate all children regardless of their abilities and needs in mainstream education; or, to ensure all children follow a broad and balanced curriculum) appear to be in most cases implemented at least theoretically as they are legally binding governmental obligations (Harnacke, 2013). This means that in the 'inclusive' MFL classroom for example, tasks and activities are planned to meet the needs of all pupils. Thus the concern rather involves making sure that each pupil's dignity is protected, meaning, making sure that each pupil is equipped with linguistic knowledge they value or need. This suggests that each pupil must be allowed in the 'inclusive' MFL classroom to do and to be as well as develop their potential on equal terms with their peers. Granting that such an apparently simple realisation belies its complications, Harnacke, (2013: 768) points to the challenge of ethical justification, suggesting that 'it will not be possible to realize all rights at once, and thus, some rights need to be given greater priority than others. But which rights should that be?' To this, I would add, whose rights is it to decide what to prioritise? It is in this light that we need to reflect much more deeply about what equality means in the MFL classroom and consider the meaning or usefulness of what 'equal' rights are given to each pupil when all are included in the foreign language learning process. We should thus ask: is the 'inclusive' MFL classroom well-equipped to allow every pupil their right to flourish?

3.1.3 Capabilities in the 'inclusive' MFL classroom

Given that the capabilities approach implies that society is not made up of people with the same abilities and needs, it provides a good starting point from which to examine the 'inclusive' MFL classroom. As mentioned above, the main goal of the approach is to take each person as an end and to consider the entitlements of every individual including people with disabilities. The ten capabilities form the basis of what society should provide for each and every individual. Every individual's needs vary from one person to the other and a person who needs more resources to achieve a certain capability should be provided with the rights to the development of that capability. What should be important is the outcome of achieving that capability, not just the means or resources needed to do so. What is also relevant in an educational setting with regard to the capabilities approach should be what each pupil can actually achieve in order to do and to be (Nussbaum, 2011).

If we take the capabilities into account, at least six of the ten items appear to be particularly significant and applicable in the 'inclusive' MFL classroom. They are *senses*,

imagination and thought; emotions; practical reason; affiliation; play; and control over one's environment. These six capabilities can be used to explore if in foreign language learning for example, pupils are able to reflect on their own life choices, enjoy the language learning experience while engaging in social interaction with peers, and enjoy recreational activities as well as participate in political choices that regulate their own life in the 'inclusive' MFL classroom. As mentioned in chapter one, pupils' constant question, "why do we have to learn French, Miss?" would demonstrate that the pupils are one way or another able to reflect and engage in critical thinking about the reasons behind foreign language learning. The goal of the capabilities approach however, is not to entirely match what the list provides but instead, to focus on 'ample threshold on each of the ten capabilities' (Nussbaum, 2009: 334).

The fourth in Nussbaum's (2011: 33) list of capabilities is *senses, imagination and thought*. 'being able to use the senses to imagine, think and reason'. As a school subject, the very nature of French being a foreign language can be seen by some pupils as a barrier to learning it (Williams *et al.*, 2002; Kissau, 2006; 2007; Bartram, 2012). This view could also be shared by some parents (McColl, 2000; McKeown, 2004). The capability to 'be cultivated by an adequate education' (Nussbaum, 2011: 33) might not exist for pupils who have poor literacy skills in English thus they could find various aspects of French learning difficult (McColl, 2000) and struggle with most tasks. To assist with this, as discussed in chapter two, lessons are planned to suit the diverse needs of pupils by differentiating tasks and activities (Morgan and Neil, 2001; Ramage, 2012). Hence, this capability could be used to examine if the differentiation of activities provides pupils with their functionings, which is what they will be able to do in the French classroom.

The fifth central human capability on Nussbaum's list is that of *emotions*: 'being able to have attachments to things and other people, to experience longing, gratitude and justified anger and not have any of these stifled by fear of anxiety' (Nussbaum, 2011: 33-34). This capability can be used to appraise the MFL classroom for emotions as well as investigate whether pupils experience apprehension and discomfort when attempting to acquire or speak the target language. MacIntyre and Gardner (1991a: 86) assert that 'anxiety poses several potential problems for the student in MFL, because it can interfere with the acquisition, retention, and production of the new language'.

The sixth, seventh, ninth and tenth capabilities (*practical reason; affiliation; play; and control over one's environment*) could be applied to foreign language learning. Evaluating the 'inclusive' MFL classroom against these capabilities, we could conclude that through pair and group work, pupils are encouraged to engage in critical thinking about the learning objectives and the tasks at hand (see Ramage, 2012). Some pupils may not be able to join in critical thinking about tasks and activities and in a case as such, 'functioning rather than capability will be an appropriate goal' (Nussbaum, 2006: 173). Participating in learning activities is a

functioning, and these capabilities could be used to appraise whether the opportunity to participate in the learning activities is available for pupils of all abilities and needs in the 'inclusive' classroom. Parents could also be capable of reasoning and making choices for their children in terms of their children's schooling and future development with regard to school subjects however, pupils' voices should be privileged and pupils should be 'left free to make their own choices as to what they would like to do with the provided real opportunities' (Harnacke, 2013: 771), if pupils are able to do so. In cases where pupils are not able to make certain choices regarding their central capabilities, Nussbaum (2006) suggests guardians or proxy representations should make the choices, particularly for people who are severely disabled. In the educational system, it could be argued that many choices are made for pupils regardless of their abilities or disabilities. For example, the entitlement to foreign language learning, although not statutory for key stage 2 pupils, it is not something pupils can choose not to have on their time-table if their school offers it.

As discussed in section 2.6.2, parents' attitudes and choices could influence pupils' motivation to learn a foreign language (see for example Bartram, 2006; Berthelsen and Walker, 2008). As Bartram (2012: 66) puts it 'parents are a most significant influence on the general development of their children attitudes'. In addition, according to Griva and Chouvarda (2012), parents' beliefs are important and their attitudes towards the target language influence either positively or negatively their children's performances. Parental influence however could conflict with a child's capability to be 'informed and cultivated by an adequate education' (Nussbaum, 2011:33) in case a parent chooses not to support their child learning French. It is worth noting that there is no single canonical view of what the capabilities approach is, thus it is, and continues to be subject to multiple interpretations. Alkire (2005: 122) suggests that the capability approach is a 'proposition', whereby 'social arrangements should be evaluated according to the extent of freedom people have to promote or achieve functionings they value'. This implies that the approach is limited to focusing on the background for ethical judgements. Ethical judgements are informed by the expansion of people's freedoms and would be applied in case of conflict.

The seventh item on Nussbaum's (2011) list is *affiliation*: 'being able to live with and toward others, to recognize and show concern for other human beings, to engage in various forms of social interaction; to be able to imagine the situation of another. To have the social bases of self-respect and make provisions for non-discrimination.' The 'inclusive' MFL classroom could be examined against this capability to consider whether the varied range of ability of pupils is taken into account and tasks and activities are differentiated to cater for all pupils' needs and abilities. This capability could also be used to examine if, when pupils work in pairs and groups they can be able to show consideration for their peers in the classroom.

Play is the ninth item on Nussbaum's list: 'being able to laugh, play and enjoy leisure'. This capability could be the most valued for any foreign language learner for its mention of leisure. Guidance for pedagogy recommends making the learning environment enjoyable for the learners through the use of role-plays, video clips, games and information technology (see Edwards, 1998; McKeown, 2004; Ramage, 2012). This capability could be used to evaluate the 'inclusive' French classroom for opportunities given to enjoy interactive and competitive games as well as role-plays.

Control over one's environment, the tenth item on the list is significant and could be used to appraise teaching and learning in relation to pupils' involvement in the decisions on the language topics and learning objectives which both teachers and pupils could reflect on (Ramage, 2012). It could also be used to examine if pupils' responses and abilities are taken into account to plan subsequent learning (DfEE, 2000; Morgan and Neil, 2001). This capability is intrinsically linked to two others; *senses, imagination and thought* as well as *practical reason* in that they all encourage critical thinking which an 'adequate education' entails (Nussbaum, 2011: 33).

The six capabilities described here focus to a certain extent on the individual person and consider each person worthy of equal respect and esteem. These would therefore be useful in the 'inclusive' MFL classroom where attempts are made to ensure equal opportunity for pupils. As Nussbaum suggests, the central human capabilities list is not intended to provide answers to all issues that society faces. Instead the list is founded on the idea that capabilities are needed as basic human rights for a quality of life and all 10 items are crucial prerequisite of social justice. For Nussbaum, the capabilities are significant for every human being, because our human needs are part of our human nature and form the basis of what we are as human beings, therefore one list of capabilities is sufficient for all human beings. Nussbaum stresses that although the capabilities can be adapted and realised in any cultures, and that the importance of the capabilities will vary from culture to culture, they are essential basic human rights for each and every individual. In education therefore, the capabilities could play a significant role in ensuring basic human rights for each young person and particularly in foreign language learning in a school setting where diverse abilities and needs ought to be catered for.

3.1.4 Critiques of the capabilities approach

Nussbaum's capabilities theory has not failed to attract critiques. Some of the criticisms of the capabilities approach relate to difficulty in defining well-being; difficulty defining functionings; and difficulty in evaluating capabilities (see Alkire, 2002; Deneulin, 2002; Unterhalter, Vaughan and Walker, 2007). These difficulties are linked to challenges in

conceptualising the terms. Well-being refers to commodities and includes income, pleasure or happiness. It is also considered in terms of utility or resources however, differing commodities can be found in differing cultures and societies (see Clark, 1999). As individuals differ in terms of cultures, Sen (1985) argues that a person's well-being is not really about and should not be based on how rich the person is. Another term that attracts debates over its definition is functioning and this is also because individuals differ in their ability to convert resources into functionings. A functioning is an achievement; what a person manages to be or do (see section 3.1.1 above). Achieving a functioning depends on two main factors: personal factors such as age, gender, body size or health for example, and social factors such as general knowledge or education. Functionings and well-being are linked in that functionings are referred to as the valuable activities and states that constitute an individual's well-being, such as being safe, being healthy or being happy. This being the case, evaluating an individual's valuable functionings is complex as it is difficult to work out whether people's desires are shaped by their social background or circumstances.

In considering children and young people in education in particular, there are issues regarding how to measure or evaluate what each child or young person really aspires to because children have different valued aspirations and needs. There is also conflict between choice or freedom and well-being, again, where children and young people are concerned. This involves how much of the children and young people's voices should be taken into account in matters regarding their schooling; what children may choose may not be considered ideal by adults. For example, if given the choice, a pupil may decide that it is essential to him/her to refuse to take part in certain learning activities in one school subject or another. This decision, it could be argued, may have a negative impact on the pupil's future capabilities. Therefore, an individual's definition of a valuable function may be determined by their educational encounters. Despite the criticisms, there is consensus that the capabilities approach takes individuals as ends not means. As education seeks to transmit values to each child and young person, its objectives reflect the main goal of the capabilities approach which is to enable what is of value to each child and young person.

According to Clark (2002) the most serious of the critiques relates to the list of central capabilities as it is arranged by a middle class American philosopher for other cultures and societies. Clark (*ibid.*) also argues that in theory, the capabilities approach sounds positive and optimistic however in practice there are times when one might want to challenge its practicalities. This is true of the tenth item as at school, pupils cannot control the entitlement to learn a foreign language. Nussbaum (2001:77) herself explains that her list is open to on-going review and needs to be tested against even the 'most secure of our intuitions' so that a 'type of reflective equilibrium for political purposes can be attained'. This emphasises the

function of the list, despite the criticisms, as an analysis of quality of life rather than a measure of basic needs.

Considering the capabilities approach in this research

Nussbaum's definitions of the capabilities have much to offer this research, in that they enable the possibility to locate what teachers, pupils and parents are capable to do and to be, what choices pupils, teachers and parents are able to make, and what provisions are available to each pupil in the context of MFL. The question of choice in foreign language learning, however, is debatable as the subject is taught to all pupils in both key stages 2 and 3. Nussbaum (2006: 184) states that '[c]hoice is good in part because of the fact of reasonable pluralism: other fellow citizens make different choices, and respecting them includes respecting the space within which those choices are made.' An individual who makes a positive or negative choice may believe that the particular choice is good for them. Nussbaum (2006) speaks of a person who chooses not to care for his own health as an example, stating that the person, despite their choice may still consider health care as an essential condition of a decent human life but at the same time, the person may support the space for choice in this domain. In MFL for example, a parent may choose not to support their child learning the target language. Similarly, a pupil may choose not to engage in any learning activities of the target language, and a teacher may choose to ignore a pupil who is being disruptive or who is preventing others from learning. The teacher may also choose to create learning opportunities for the difficult pupil despite the disruptions. In these examples, the parent, the pupil and the teacher may still believe that French is a valuable subject and learning it is important and essential for some employment in the future. However, they may all prefer the space to be able to choose. The definitions of Nussbaum's ten central capabilities also acknowledge the social and cultural factors which may influence the participants' choices and their identities.

In thinking about human development theory, the capabilities approach makes a suitable descriptive framework for exploring the practices of inclusion in the MFL classroom. As mentioned in 3.1.2, studies have already mapped it more broadly onto inclusion and intellectual disability (see, Hedge and MacKenzie, 2012; Rogers, 2013). To start with, a part of one of the basic questions that the theory asks, what each individual is able to do (Nussbaum, 2011) can be linked to what teachers and indeed pupils can reflect on in the 'inclusive' MFL classroom. The teachers can reflect on the process of differentiation and the pupils can reflect on the provision and their performances. As Unterhalter, Vaughan and Walker (2007) explain the principal idea of the approach is that social arrangements should focus on expanding people's capabilities; people's freedom to develop functionings which are of value to them. Nussbaum states:

The capabilities approach can be provisionally defined as an approach to comparative quality-of-life assessment and to theorizing about basic social justice. It holds that the key question to ask, when comparing societies and assessing them for their basic decency or justice, is, "What is each person able to do and to be?" in other words, the approach takes *each person as an end*, asking not just about the total or average well-being but about the opportunities available to each person. It is *focused on choice or freedom*, holding that the crucial good societies should be promoting for their people is a set of opportunities, or substantial freedoms, which people then may or may not exercise in action: the choice is theirs.

(Nussbaum, 2011: 18 – *emphasis in original*).

The capabilities represent a human being's life course viewpoint as the approach is significantly linked to human rights perspectives and fundamental entitlements. Hence, when dealing with a group of pupils where abilities are diverse such as the 'inclusive' MFL classroom, it is crucially important that lesson activities are prepared to cater for the needs and abilities of all the pupils (see Ramage, 2012; Morgan and Neil, 2001). Therefore, the capabilities approach suggests that for a good and flourishing life, it is essential for society to have the protection of the ten central capabilities. The approach also seeks to compare factors where equality is an issue because Nussbaum (2006: 199) believes that all 'modern societies have had gross inequalities in their treatment of children with unusual mental impairments'. Often, such children are rejected and more stigmatised than people with physical disabilities. Nussbaum adds that such children are abandoned to institutions that fail to develop their potential and are usually treated as though they have no rights to public space. The approach thus denounces these practices as they are similar to the medical model of disability (see 2.2.1) which considers some children to be uneducable. In the education system, for example, in order for all children and young people's capabilities to be accomplished as fully as possible, policy initiatives should seek to make inclusion in schools meaningful. The Index for Inclusion (Booth *et al.*, 2000) is a pertinent example.

Critically, in the MFL classroom, equality is likely to be an issue due to the diverse abilities and needs of pupils hence, differentiation is advised (Edwards, 1998; Morgan and Neil, 2001; Ramage, 2012). Nussbaum (2011: 69) states that 'equality is usually taken to be an important political value in at least some areas of life'. Therefore, the capabilities could be used to refer to 'a notion of basic justice' (*ibid.* p 70). Applying the capabilities approach to education and particularly to MFL learning in the 'inclusive' classroom would allow for critical thinking about issues relating to policy and practice. For this research, the capabilities approach could assist in assessing the inequalities in the 'inclusive' French classroom as it could provide significant information that might impact educational policies at macro levels as well as planning and teaching decisions at micro levels.

Like Martha Nussbaum, Pierre Bourdieu is intrigued by inequality issues in modern society, particularly the ways in which society is reproduced, and how the dominant classes

retain their position. He suggests that this cannot be explained by economics alone (Bourdieu, 1984) therefore he develops the concept of cultural capital, which is the way in which people use cultural knowledge to underpin their place in societal hierarchy. The following section begins with a brief outline of Bourdieu's (1977a) theory of practice with particular focus on the concepts of capital, habitus and field.

3.2 Bourdieu's capital, habitus and field

Bourdieu (1984) introduces and applies the terms capital, habitus and field to examine social class inequality that exists in society and considers differences in status (that is, of lifestyle) as manifestations of social class differences. Bourdieu (1984) defines class as a group of people who take up similar positions and who, when put in similar conditions usually display similar interests and adopt similar stances. Bourdieu offers a framework of class analysis which plays a significant role in the reproduction of social inequality in educational institutions. This section addresses the concepts of capital, habitus and field and focusses on their roles in the 'inclusive' MFL classroom where pupils are concerned.

For Bourdieu (1986), a capital is any resource effective in a given social field that allows the individual to seize the specific profits that arise out of participation in it. *La Distinction* (Bourdieu, 1984) explores the ways in which the features of middle class cultivation and taste are used by people as cultural signifiers as they seek to identify themselves with those who are 'above' them on the social ladder, and to show their difference from those who are 'below' them. *La Distinction* is a detailed study of the ways in which knowledge and cultural artefacts are brought into play, alongside basic economics, in the dynamics of social class relations. Bourdieu (1977b) asserts that cultural capital can be a significant resource where education is concerned as it contributes to individuals' educational success. In the educational system, this is recognised and rewarded by institutional gatekeepers. Contemplating this work, Bourdieu states:

A general science of the economy of practices that does not artificially limit itself to those practices that are socially recognised as economic must endeavour to grasp capital, that (...) in all its different forms (...) I have shown that capital presents itself under three fundamental species (each with its own subtypes), namely, economic capital, cultural capital, and social capital.

Bourdieu (1992: 118-119)

From the categories of capital stated in the quote above, Bourdieu defines social capital as 'the sum of the resources, actual or virtual, that accrue to an individual or a group by virtue of possessing a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition' (Bourdieu, 1992: 119). He explains that social capital consists of two dimensions: *social networks* and connections or relationships with people with social prestige, and *sociability* which represents recognition as a member of some social groups in

higher social strata (Bourdieu, 1984, *emphasis added*). This implies that just having relationships with others is not sufficient and that we must understand further how people's relationships work and how one can maintain and use them over time. Social networks must thus be constructed and then skilfully maintained in order for the resources to be used.

3.2.1 The concept of capital

Cultural and social capital can define the chances of success in a society as the more of these we possess, the more successful we could be in our field. Bourdieu (1986) uses this term to refer to information or knowledge about our specific cultural beliefs, traditions and standards of behaviour that promote success and accomplishment in life. He states that cultural capital is made up of familiarity with the dominant culture in a society, and especially the ability to understand and use educated language (Bourdieu, 1977b). Cultural capital is passed through the family from parents to their children. It is knowledge of high status ideas and artefacts that are 'worth' transmitting and is noticed when economic resources are spent on cultural valuables and specific items such as tickets to the museums or the theatre, books and other specific cultural artefacts. In foreign language learning, cultural capital could have an impact on many factors including pupils' interests in the target language, their motivation and their participation in the classroom. The ownership of cultural capital varies with social class and comes in three forms: objectified, embodied and institutionalised. Each form of cultural capital, Bourdieu (1977b) explains, serves as instruments for the appropriation of symbolic wealth socially designated as worthy of being sought and possessed. The objectified form manifests in such items such as qualifications and books; and the embodied form is demonstrated in the educated character of an individual such as learning dispositions and the institutionalised form represents the places of education such as types of schools, colleges or university attended. Bourdieu (1977b) further explains that the education system expects every learner to be equipped with cultural capital thus making it difficult for lower class learners to succeed at school. He posits that:

By doing away with giving explicitly to everyone what it implicitly demands of everyone, the education system demands of everyone alike that they have what it does not give. This consists mainly of linguistic and cultural competence and that relationship of familiarity with culture which can only be produced by family upbringing when it transmits the dominant culture.

(Bourdieu, 1977b: 494)

Bourdieu argues here that although the education system ignorantly assumes that every learner possesses cultural capital, only a few, higher class learners possess this which therefore could result in teaching and learning being inadequate. He suggests that some learners, the 'lower class' students, simply do not have the resources to understand what

their teachers are trying to get across. For Bourdieu (1977b), examples of these are evident particularly in higher education institutions such as universities where 'lower class' students cover up their lack of knowledge (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1990). Prior to Bourdieu and Passeron (1990), Bernstein's (1961; 1965) work, to which Bourdieu (1977a) refers in the earlier stages of his own theory, reports the importance of class differences in linguistic codes. Additionally, findings by Jackson and Marsden's (1963) research stress the challenges encountered by working-class children who were selected to attend traditional grammar school.

In considering the entitlement to MFL and inclusion of every pupil in the study of a foreign language, social class is a major factor at work in the classroom. In Britain, people's socio-economic situations can speculate success or failure in education (Office for National Statistics, 2005). Young people's identities therefore relate to social class (see Nayak, 2006; Shildrick and MacDonald, 2006), as their identities, Nayak (2003: 320) argues, are 'closely intertwined with family histories, gender, place, class, region and locality'. Cultural identities are classed and carry unequal value or worth, and class can be produced through people's identities and cultural practices (see Skeggs, 2004). Social class which constitutes middle-class and working-class, comprises of economic and different forms of capital, among other factors.

Bourdieu (1990: 163) notes that middle-class families are often able to 'move in their world as a fish in water' and this includes the world of MFL learning. Working-class people however are unknowing and tasteless (see Skeggs, 2000). I acknowledge that what constitutes working-class is difficult to operationalise (see Archer and Francis, 2006; Perry and Francis, 2010) and involves much more than the lack of economic capital and share Archer and Francis' (2006) view that the level of income only constitutes one aspect of class and does not provide the full picture. Beside economic capital, social class comprises cultural, social and symbolic capital, to name just a few. In this research, I use the terms middle-class and working-class to refer to the different economic and social backgrounds of the pupils in keeping with Bourdieu's concepts of capital, habitus and field. The reception of Free School Meal represents one of the predictors of educational attainment but working-class here describes pupils from families on low income whether or not they are allocated and receive Free School Meal (see Appendix A) at the school. At the time of this research, Free School Meal (FSM) is allocated to working-class and low income families who are eligible and have applied through the relevant process²². Research (Hutchison, 2003; Schagen and Schagen, 2005) show that FSM is used as a factor to indicate economic

²² For further reading on the government policy see www.gov.uk/government/implementing the free school meals.

disadvantage in educational attainment. Here I use working-class to represent pupils in receipt of FSM and acknowledge that not all working-class pupils claim or receive FSM. It is my contention that many pupils come to the school more or less prepared to manage the learning activities provided in the French classroom, therefore the field of MFL can be compared to a game with rules where some pupils have 'trump cards' (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992:98) and different amount of cultural capital with which to play. At Main Street School, pupils also have their mind set on the careers they aspire to and usually show more interest in the subjects they believe would equip them with the knowledge needed for any such careers. As we will see later in chapters five and six (sections 5.4.2, and 6.1.1) in the case of Leon and Clara, pupils whose future careers are in construction or driving for example, are disengaged in the language classroom because for them, French is not needed for these employments.

As discussed in chapter two, in section 2.6.2, there has been a considerable interest in the contexts of family life and the ways in which parental involvement impact on children's cognitive and behavioural developmental achievements in school. Research by DiMaggio (1982) and DiMaggio and Mohr (1985) reveal that parents' cultural capital has an impact on children's early and later educational attainment. They suggest that children from higher socio-economic background perform more successfully than those from lower socio-economic groups. More recent research findings on socio-economic gap in educational achievement by Norris (2011) reveal that students from low-income families experience among other things cultural barriers compared to students from higher-income backgrounds. She states that 'cultural, economic and institutional capital – or the lack of it – has a detrimental effect on young people from low-income backgrounds in the Further Education sector, and their progression into education or the workplace' (Norris, 2011: 3). Similarly, Irwin (2009) found that although emotional support and academic motivation are fairly constant across classes, educational achievements and successes are significantly shaped by class and family educational background.

Claiming there is a connection between social class and achievement in foreign language learning, Ellis (1994) asserts that social classes are based on levels of income, occupation and education. Ellis (1994) further notes that working class students usually quit foreign language learning earlier than middle-class students. Studies (see Cassen and Kingdon, 2007; Dyson, Goldrick, Jones and Kerr, 2010; Kerr and West, 2010) have stressed that social class is the strongest predictor of educational attainment in the United Kingdom. This was reiterated by the former Education Secretary Michael Gove, when he bluntly stated that "rich, thick kids achieve more than their poor clever peers, even before they start school" (Shepherd, 2010). Social background thus determines educational success. Children and young people from different social backgrounds have different experiences in school, get

different provision in terms of resources and arguably achieve different outcomes. These differences show during the early years, (see National Equality Panel, 2010), and by the time children reach three years of age, their assessment revealed children from poor backgrounds to be a whole year behind economically wealthy children in language and communication skills. This inequality is recognised as a problem by education professionals and policy makers, hence, attempts are made through a variety of initiatives and reforms to raise standards of performance of every pupil. It would be fair to claim that the Languages for All policy is one of such initiatives as its objective is to assist every pupil regardless of their background or ability to study and to benefit from learning a foreign language. As we will see in the data chapters, SEN pupils from different social backgrounds experience the foreign language learning process differently. SEN pupils from middle-class families are often at the top end of the special needs spectrum in MFL because of their ability or literacy skills, whereas for SEN pupils from working-class families, foreign language learning can be a daunting and challenging experience. It is also apparent as we will see in the data chapters that the encounters and actions played out in the language classroom can be seen as a classed practice, and, Bourdieu's concepts of capital, habitus and field enabled a more subtle understanding of social class than the definition offered as a result of wealth and occupation.

Bourdieu (1977b) explains that cultural capital is essential in the process of social reproduction because inequalities in cultural capital indicate inequalities in social class. Tzanakis (2011: 77-78) asserts that inequality is encouraged 'in schools where teachers' pedagogic actions promote the cultural capital of the dominant class by rewarding students who possess such capitals'. This suggests that cultural capital is instilled in the 'higher class' students and empowers them to gain higher educational credentials and higher class positions than 'lower class' students. This is because education is 'one of the most effective means of perpetuating the existing social pattern as it provides an apparent justification for social inequalities as well as gives recognition to the cultural heritage, that is, to a social gift treated as a natural one' (Bourdieu, 1974: 32) although some 'lower class' students do manage to succeed in the education system (see Sullivan, 2001). When the education system promotes inclusion of all and, at the same time, high quality learning, meaningful inclusion for some students appears to be lacking (Benjamin, 2002; Allan, 1999; 2010; Hedge and MacKenzie, 2012). On this ground, the capabilities approach which recognises inequalities in society and sets to place dignity at its foundation appears to be ideal as it considers people as ends rather than means. Given that in the education system some students are 'excluded' both socially and academically due to abilities or disabilities (Benjamin, 2002; Allan, 1999; Hedge and MacKenzie, 2012), it is necessary to reach out to an approach that lends itself to philosophical and ethical principles around the nature of

inclusion and 'inclusive' education. In education, we should consistently ask: what *real* opportunities are available to each pupil?

3.2.2 The concepts of habitus and field

Bourdieu's (1977) work on educational establishments focuses on social differentiation and class reproduction and hierarchies of power. He notes that the education systems of capitalised societies function in such a way as to legitimate class inequalities:

Every institutionalised education system owes the specific characteristics of its structure and functioning to the fact that, by the means proper to the institution, it has to produce and reproduce the institutional conditions whose existence and persistence (self-reproduction of the system) are necessary both to the exercise of its essential function of inculcation and to the fulfilment of its function of reproducing a cultural arbitrary which it does not produce (cultural reproduction), the reproduction of which contributes to the reproduction of relations between the groups or classes (social reproduction).

(Bourdieu, 1977b: 54)

This statement recognises that it is important to acknowledge schools as institutions of education that are structured by the social, political, economic and cultural systems of society. As a result, schools reproduce the dominant structures, knowledge and practices by naturalising them and training pupils to engage with and embody them. It is, according to Bourdieu (1977b: 95), these structures, knowledge and practices that construct a 'habitus' which is an 'acquired system of generative schemes objectively adjusted to the particular conditions in which it is constituted'. Put simply, habitus means individuals are what they are as human beings and the term describes a person based on their upbringing and the people and situations that influence him or her.

Using Bourdieu's work enables me to explore what cultural capital the pupils could bring to the MFL classroom and how they could deploy it in learning French in the 'inclusive' MFL classroom to secure their habitus. According to Bourdieu (1977b), success in the education system is facilitated by the possession of cultural capital. 'Working class' pupils do not possess these traits, so the failure of the majority of these pupils is deemed inevitable (see Willis, 1977; Reay, 1998; 2004), which explains class inequalities in educational attainment. However, it is believed that success and failure in the education system are seen as being due to the individual gifts or the lack of them. As mentioned in 3.2.1, for Bourdieu, educational credentials help to reproduce and legitimate social inequalities, as 'higher class' individuals are seen to deserve their place in the social structure. Bourdieu (1990) notes that practice is guided by an objective structure which he terms field. The concept of field in turn is linked to both our habitus and our capital. Practice is also affected by our position in the field. Therefore, the link between habitus, capital and field constructs social practice.

Bourdieu (1977a; 1990; 1993) develops the concept of field to explain social reality and to assist in the analysis of cultural products in relation to an identifiable network of relationships that take into consideration institutions as well as social agents and therefore impact upon the habitus of individuals. A field is a network, structure or a set of relationships which may be intellectual, religious, cultural or educational. Education is thus regarded as a field since it sets its own rules and regulations for behaviour. Bourdieu (1977a) suggests that as we enter the field, we are more or less aware of the rules of the game and/or have great capacity to manipulate these rules through our established capital appropriation. In the context of this research, the field represents foreign language learning. Within this field, there are structures that govern every day practices in the classroom and position the pupils and the teachers within such practices in a way to constitute a habitus that is likely to predispose them to think and act in particular styles. In the ideal case, the main objective of MFL learning in a school setting will be to expose the pupils to practices that will equip them with linguistic knowledge and enable them to be successful participants in this field.

Due to habitus, social structures become installed within each one of us, at the same time as we contribute to their reproduction. We are simultaneously products of, and productive of the societies in which we live and it is impossible to separate us from our society. Habitus refers to the way we are and the way we act. We, as social agents, Bourdieu (2000) explains, are endowed with habitus, inscribed in our bodies by past experiences. Bourdieu adds that for social agents,

[t]hese systems of schemes of perception, appreciation and action enable them to perform acts of practical knowledge, based on the identification and recognition of conditional, conventional stimuli to which they are predisposed to react; and without any explicit definition of ends or rational calculation of means, to generate appropriate and endlessly renewed strategies, but within the limits of the structural constraints of which they are the product and which define them.

(Bourdieu, 2000: 138).

For Bourdieu, habitus is acquired. It is not just the maker of actions and reactions, but it is a product of the environmental conditions that the individual encounters in their development. In essence, our habitus supplies action with a certainty that is innate in practice and only materialises after the fact as if it had been planned beforehand. One of the key features of habitus is that it is not composed entirely of mental attitudes and perceptions, it is embodied (Reay, 2004). To illustrate the importance of habitus, one might think for example of how certain social groups are more capable of mobilising their own deeply held beliefs on the value of education (O'Brien and Ó Fathaigh, 2004). The concepts of capital, habitus and field can facilitate understanding of the relationships between the school (its structures and policies), the MFL classroom itself, and the negotiations and practices undertaken by pupils and teachers.

3.2.3 Habitus and forms of capital in the ‘inclusive’ MFL classroom

If we contemplate both concepts of habitus and capital, where MFL learning is concerned, there appears to be a connection²³ between the two and their definitions suggest that they play an important role in the ‘inclusive’ MFL classroom where forms of capital are particularly essential for success. The habitus generated by pupils within their homes and families is likely to have a significant impact on the cultural capital that they can gather throughout the foreign language learning process. Due to habitus, an individual could have a feeling in certain practices or places like a ‘fish in water’ (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992: 127). In the ‘inclusive’ MFL classroom, the opposite could be experienced by some pupils and this could imply a feeling of alienation. Bourdieu (1977a) explains that the dominant habitus is transformed into a form of cultural capital that schools take for granted and which acts as a filter in the reproductive process of hierarchical society.

If we consider capitals to be essential in MFL, then it makes sense to look at findings on attitudes and motivation (Dörnyei, 1998; Bartram, 2012), and findings on parental involvement (Bartram, 2012; Gardner, 1975). For example, Dörnyei (1998) suggests that motivation bestows the principal driving force to initiate the learning of the foreign language and later the impetus to continue the long and often tedious learning process. He goes on to say that without sufficient motivation, even individuals with the most exceptional abilities cannot accomplish long-term goals. He adds that appropriate curricula and good teaching are not enough on their own to ensure student achievement. Both Bartram’s (2012) and Gardner’s (1975) studies reveal that positive atmosphere in the home play a part in language learning as parents would readily encourage and support their children if they themselves have some background in language learning.

3.2.4 Critiques of Bourdieu’s concepts

There are indeed numerous critiques of Bourdieu’s work and the concepts of habitus and capital in particular when it comes to the sociology of education (Nash, 1990; Sullivan, 2001; Goldthorpe, 2007). Goldthorpe (2007) for example argues that Bourdieu draws from the social reproduction practice to explain social class inequalities in educational attainment. However, this is believed to be challenging, mostly because it is demonstrated that inequalities in children’s educational performance, according to their social class and background ‘could not be explained simply in terms of individual variation in cognitive ability,

²³ Bourdieu himself considers habitus and capitals as separate concepts. He explains the relationship between the two concepts in *La Distinction* where he depicts a formula to clarify the connection: ‘(habitus x Capital) + Field = Practice’ (Bourdieu, 1984: 101).

as measure, by IQ' (Goldthorpe, 2007: 2) for instance. There are other factors involved and, as Goldthorpe (*ibid.*) posits, these 'could not be limited to purely economic ones'.

Jenkins (1992) particularly states that the most crucial weakness in Bourdieu's work is his inability to cope with subjectivity. He argues that Bourdieu's (1977a) concept of habitus and disposition is paradoxical as there is no clear distinction between disposition and choice. It is not explicit where a disposition ends and choice begins, which bears the question, to what extent are we inclined towards certain practices? Jenkins (1992) further argues that Bourdieu fails to consider the degree of freedom of choice for individuals hence he is often linked to the concept of reproduction as his habitus tends to reproduce the existing social conditions rather than producing new ones. These critiques have in turn been denounced. Atkinson (2012) for example argues that what the critiques consider to be ambiguous and counterproductive in Bourdieu's theory is actually understandable when further details of life situations are taken into account. He explains that Bourdieu's (1986) theory is relevant when considered as a whole and developed in reasonable ways appropriate to the context. In unpicking these critiques, I seek to make a more nuanced reading by focusing on the pupils and the teachers and how their habitus and capitals are portrayed in the 'inclusive' MFL classroom in order to gain insights into their experiences. From Bourdieu's concept of cultural capital, I put emphasis on cultural resources, which on one hand enable pupils to enter the educational system already well-prepared to succeed within it, and on the other can cause pupils to feel alienated within the educational system. In the MFL classroom, this could enable pupils to feel positive about the language and its community and show willingness to participate or, it could cause pupils to be reluctant to take part at all.

Behaviour in school appears to be influenced by factors such as what the pupils and teachers are capable to do (Nussbaum, 2011), the school itself as an institution of education, and the pupils' habitus and capital (Bourdieu, 1977a). I recognise that the capabilities and the forms of capital cannot be expected to account for all behaviour or all situations observed during field work, they nevertheless enabled me to consider how and why the participants act the way they do in the MFL classroom. As I focus on inclusion and foreign language learning, it is crucially important to reflect on the characteristics of human life, hence, the capabilities approach coupled with habitus and capital constitute a large theoretical lens through which I approach the research field and the magnifying glass I point to the social situations I observe and hear about from all my participants.

3.3 Engaging with Nussbaum and Bourdieu in the 'inclusive' MFL classroom

The capabilities approach emphasises normative understandings of freedom or capability and overlooks the role of culture in shaping the choices that people make and

perceive as reasonable. A key element of this research is an investigation of experiences perceptions and motivations of people involved in foreign language learning. I reflect on my use of Bourdieu's concepts in analysing how the participants in the study make sense of and respond to their experiences of MFL. I explain that both Nussbaum and Bourdieu complement each other as far as this research is concerned because while Nussbaum's (2006; 2011) capabilities approach is useful in evaluating what people involved in this research are able to do and be and what real opportunities are available to them in the 'inclusive' MFL classroom, Bourdieu's (1977a) concepts of field, capital and habitus enhance this by enabling a deeper understanding of the practices of inclusion, micro-negotiations in the classroom, experiences of inequality and how the pupils view themselves as language learners.

As a teacher and researcher, I am interested in the processes and patterns of desirable and undesirable outcomes of pedagogic policies and practices particularly where inclusion is concerned, and I am also interested in how this research can raise awareness of these. Nussbaum and Bourdieu both attempt to expand on the boundaries of their disciplines and their theories have much in common as they both allow understanding of the importance of resources beyond the economic. The conceptual frameworks of Bourdieu and of Nussbaum have been influential in sociology, economics and anthropology and now in education as well (see Sullivan, 2001; Reay, 2004; Reay *et al.*, 2009; Rogers, 2013; Hedge and MacKenzie, 2012).

In the context of this research, the capabilities approach is used as an attempt to identify the aspects of language learning that constitute the capability sets for the individual pupils, and measure the extent to which they have the 'freedom' to lead the kind of life each individual has reason to value (Nussbaum, 2006) in the language classroom in particular. This approach is useful in indicating and measuring what needs to change to enable such freedom of choice. However, it is a limited analysis as it does not sufficiently address the social and cultural nature of choice. This is noted by Skeggs (2004: 139) who suggests that choice is 'a particularly middle-class way of operating in the world, dependent on access to resources' and a sense of entitlement. For many of the pupils at Main Street School, given the nature of education in a school setting, choice is not an entitlement. As a school subject, MFL is not optional for any pupil. It is on the time-table and pupils do not get the choice of opting out of it no matter what reasons they may have.

The capabilities approach is significantly related to education as education is intrinsically valuable and an end in itself (UNESCO, 2002). Education also enables the accumulation of human capital (Sen, 1993) as well as broadens human capabilities which include human capacities. The human capital theory sees education as a means to create skills and gain knowledge relevant to the individual. In the context of schooling at key stages

2 and 3, for most of the parents in this research, a 'decent' education or some relevant useful skills can make a difference to their children's cultural capital. Thus these parents would rather pursue for their children, an education that they perceive to be intrinsically important and that can have instrumental value for future purposes, as Robeyns (2006) asserts:

The *instrumental personal economic role* of education is that it can help a person to find a job, to be less vulnerable on the labour market, to be better informed as a consumer, to be more able to find information on economic opportunities, and so forth.

(Robeyns, 2006: 70-71 *emphasis in original*).

In turn, human capabilities impact both intrinsic and instrumental values which stand for the role education plays (see Saito, 2003). According to Terzi (2004), the broadening of human capabilities generated by education promotes more capabilities which frame the valued beings and doings that the individual has reason to value. On the subject of education Nussbaum (2006) stresses that it is essential for an individual to have a flourishing life with the focus on personal and interpersonal development. In the education system, schools embrace diversity and attempts to respond positively to the differing needs of all learners. In the context of foreign language learning, differentiation represents one of the means of ensuring participation by all pupils in the 'inclusive' classroom.

Bourdieu posits that middle class families produce and reproduce the knowledge, language and culture that would facilitate educational success and appropriate educational choices (see Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977; Bourdieu, 2000). The capitals accumulated by middle class parents are invested in effort and material resources to develop appropriate networks, insider knowledge and useful contacts for their children. This situation thus widens the gap between 'lower' class children and 'middle' class children in the educational system where human flourishing is recognisable across differences of class, and, social class shapes social identities and influences societal actions and attitudes (Reay, 1998). In foreign language learning, the concepts described here are seen as any skills, knowledge and experiences with the target language or the target community that the pupils are likely to demonstrate in the classroom.

Using both Bourdieu and Nussbaum provide a framework that best evaluates the processes of inclusion in the school setting. On the one hand, Bourdieu's concepts can enable us to identify inequalities in the education system and on the other, Nussbaum's capabilities approach can help to distinguish and design a just pedagogy which would allow capability development under social conditions of learning in which students would be valued agents who are able to and allowed to participate in learning activities and determine their own actions and educational journeys (see Walker, 2003). If we seek to practise inclusion, which we endeavour to do in the education system, and most importantly, if we want to

exercise the principles of inclusion for justice for all children and young people, we should consider that inclusion should mean more than just placing learners under the same roof and should rather signify *involving all* learners 'in a common enterprise of learning (Warnock, 2005: 35 – *emphasis added*).

The complex nature of inclusion particularly where education is concerned renders inadequate or imperfect the best efforts to exercise justice (Walker, 2003). The capabilities approach can thus be used to appraise the 'inclusive' MFL classroom and assess the Languages for All policy to identify which items of inequalities are present and which items of social justice are missing. Items of inequalities are indicated in pupils' involvement or lack of it and items of social justice represent 'real' opportunities made available for all pupils. As discussed in sections 3.1.1 and 3.1.2, capabilities differ from functionings and Nussbaum's approach stresses capabilities more so than functionings. This is because whilst capabilities can be predetermined, functionings, what people decide to do with their capabilities, cannot. Therefore, students should be 'enabled to develop their capabilities, especially those of practical reason and affiliation' (Walker, 2003: 177). Foreign language learning can facilitate pupils' development of their practical reason and affiliation capabilities as well as many more as discussed in 3.1.3. These include play; control over one's environment; emotions; and senses, imagination and thought. Thus the 'inclusive' classroom provides the capabilities for 'all' pupils through differentiation of tasks and activities for example thus the issue here is what the pupils choose to do with these capabilities.

Nussbaum suggests that the list of capabilities could be used as performance indicators of justice as the capabilities represent a minimum threshold of justice, although these do not themselves constitute justice. Promoting the capabilities, Nussbaum (2006: 2011) emphasises that they enable people to choose to live their lives according to what they value. This is important and should be taken into account as it places the focus on the development of each individual. Without providing each and every individual these basic entitlements, a society cannot lay claim to justice. It is also important to recognise that no individual should be made to choose between their valued capabilities. Harnacke (2013) illustrates this with two valuable opportunities: ensuring one's financial freedom by holding a job and at the same time, caring for one's children are entitlements that no individual should be made to choose between. There is however a limit to the capabilities approach as it is a 'partial theory of justice' (Harnacke, 2013: 771) when it comes to considering the choices people make. In the 'inclusive' MFL classroom for example, pupils could choose to get involved in lessons or could choose not to take part. In either case, pupils could act according to their conceptions of the life they choose to value. These choices could also be shaped by the social and cultural constraints of their habitus.

As we will see in chapters five and six, the 'choices' that the pupils make in the 'inclusive' MFL classroom are shaped by their abilities, their interests and their needs. It could be argued that these pupils are able to exercise the capability of practical reason. The capabilities list can allow an analysis that highlights, where education is concerned, understanding of and practices to develop practical reason, senses and imagination, affiliation and so on (Walker. 2003). Choice is also framed by what both the pupils and teachers view as reasonable to them in the classroom, and this in turn is shaped by their individual habitus. For example teachers could 'choose' to give accessible differentiated activities to pupils, and some pupils could choose to either perform well or not. For the parents, choice is restricted as their habitus and forms of capital (Bourdieu, 1977a; 1977b) could frame what they have reason to value for their children. The importance of habitus and identity of pupils and parents in relation to the meaning of language learning is a significant part of this research.

Bourdieu's (1977a; 1986) concepts are useful in identifying inequality in the 'inclusive' MFL classroom and they enable an analysis that demonstrate how structures are imposed on and incorporated in every individual (Bowman, 2010) involved in the teaching and learning of the subject. The capabilities approach is useful in measuring and evaluating inequality and moreover, it promotes self-development as a key element to social justice. The issue for this research is that the capabilities approach has a limited role where MFL is concerned because it puts the emphasis on the individual and enables each individual to choose their life in accordance with their own thinking and decision, therefore, it will be a struggle to enable pupils in a school environment where they are bound by structures of the institution to freely opt for their conceptions of the 'good life', the life they are likely to choose to value. The main question for this research which is "is inclusion of all exclusion in disguise?" can be answered positively with the application of both Bourdieu's concepts and Nussbaum's capabilities approach which, as discussed in this chapter, enable to identify and evaluate inequality in society. Therefore, the two theories have been used as a theoretical lens through which issues around inclusion and exclusion in MFL are considered.

3.4 Conclusion

The focus for this research is not on how to make the MFL classroom effective or more inclusive, it is neither an evaluation of the school's provision for special educational needs pupils. Instead, this study's purpose is to identify and understand how the policy experts, the teachers, the pupils and the parents construct meaning with regard to foreign language learning and how inclusion is practised in the MFL classroom. The emphasis is upon the individuals, the social and cultural factors within the school in general and the

'inclusive' MFL classroom in particular, that are in interplay with the social structure of the institution. It is hoped that Bourdieu's concepts will enable understanding of what occurs in the process of MFL learning, and Nussbaum's capabilities approach will enable identification and evaluation of what individuals involved in the MFL learning process are able to do and be. Both theories complement each other: looking at the 'inclusive' MFL classroom through the lenses of Bourdieu's work will facilitate further understanding of the negotiations and actions that occur in the classroom. And looking at the 'inclusive' MFL classroom through the lenses of Nussbaum's work will assist in evaluating the structures and will enable a deeper focus not just on the provision but also on the nature of what is provided and its lasting effect on the pupils.

Whilst the debates around inclusion in education continue, I suggest that as education is important for all citizens (UNESCO, 2002), a focus on Nussbaum's capabilities approach is taken into account because this can assist with 'necessary conditions for a decently just society, in the form of a set of fundamental entitlements of all citizens' (Nussbaum, 2006: 155). Educational policies need to pay attention to these entitlements as they are necessary and needed for basic justice. After all, 'policies are judged to be successful if they have enhanced people's capabilities (UNESCO, 2002: 32). In considering the capabilities approach, where learning a foreign language is concerned, including all pupils would mean that every pupil is considered as an end in their own right, and entitled to an education in which dignity is thought of and linked with their capabilities to convert into functionings.

In this chapter I have argued that the capabilities approach can be usefully applied to complement the concepts of capital, habitus and field to provide clearer insights into the experiences of the participants as well as into the practices of inclusion in MFL where attempts are made to cater for the diverse needs of all of the pupils. For this research, the approach would seek to examine the available provision that constitutes the capabilities for each pupil and evaluate the extent to which the pupils are enabled to participate in what they have reason to value in the 'inclusive' MFL classroom. What each pupil can actually do in the foreign language classroom is likely to be shaped by many things including their interests, beliefs and values. The next chapter engages with the research design and methodology. It discusses the research approach, the ethical considerations and the data collection methods.

CHAPTER FOUR: RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

4.0 Introduction

This chapter maps out the specific methods used to conduct the research. Here, I explore my role as a reflexive researcher and discuss the ethical issues that were taken into consideration as the study involves young people, and in this chapter, I emphasise the belief that ethics go beyond form-filling conventions. I discuss the methods I used to report on the sources of data collected and explore the method of analysis of the data. This chapter also discusses my struggles when juggling two roles, that of a teacher and a researcher.

In this chapter, I address the purpose and design of the research, discuss the philosophical paradigm on which the research is based, and outline how I accessed the research field. I then describe my journey as a teacher-researcher as well as the population sample, and discuss the ethical considerations in terms of consent, confidentiality and issues of potential distress. I also introduce the research methodology and data collection methods which focus on participant observation, interview and documentary analysis. In the final sections of this chapter, the methods of data analysis and reflexivity are discussed.

4.1 Research purpose and design

As discussed in chapter one, this research started from a consistent issue I always experience as a secondary school teacher of foreign languages in England. The issue was that in MFL, pupils appear to be less convinced by the utility or benefit of learning in the classroom and always question the reason for having to learn a foreign language at all. My main goal for this research was therefore to immerse myself in the daily routine and activities of the school and to investigate in particular the MFL classroom in order to better understand the experiences of the pupils and teachers as well as the views of the parents. This research is thus qualitative and ethnographically informed.

4.1.1 Research purpose

In the social sciences there are two types of research: quantitative and qualitative research. The former involves quantifiable data and the later involves the collection and analysis of data that focuses on the meaning of words, people's actions and their behaviours, referred to as their lived experiences (see Denzin, 2009). In attempting to define educational research, Pratt and Swann (2003: 182) state that it is 'a means by which we can generate testable and tested knowledge about how students learn in classrooms, what promotes and what inhibits learning, the consequences of policy and so on'. According to Bassey (2003: 111) it is a 'critical and systematic enquiry aimed at informing educational judgements and

decisions in order to improve educational action'. Bassey (2003) further explains the purpose of such research stating that with educational research the focus is 'on what happens in learning situations – that is educational action – and on a value-orientation towards improvement of the action'. The driving force of educational research therefore, Pratt and Swann (2003: 179) argue is the benefit to society thus, some researchers attempt 'to improve classroom practice' and others are more concerned 'with the policy content within which practice takes place'. Many educationalists they continue, 'argue that educational research should be directed in some way or other towards the improvement of educational practice'. This research focuses on the complex issues of 'inclusion' and 'inclusive schooling' at a micro level with particular focus on learning French. This research investigates how the provision of every pupil is ensured and demonstrated in the 'inclusive' foreign language classroom. It also examines the views and experiences of the foreign language learning process, of both the pupil and adult participants in order to understand the participants' roles in managing the factors, structures and conditions that they have control or no control over. It is hoped that the findings will raise awareness of issues regarding 'inclusion' and 'exclusion' in school in general and in particular in the 'inclusive' MFL classroom.

4.1.2 Research design

This research design was conceived to investigate the less explored areas of foreign language learning in the 'inclusive' MFL classroom. As the research seeks to capture an in-depth account of both the pupils and teachers' experiences in such classrooms with regard to inclusion and the Languages for All policy, it was necessary to devise a research plan which could amass enough evidence to examine all relevant factors. Having formulated the research question based on personal involvement in the field, I then decided on the most appropriate research methods and techniques for the investigation. According to Seliger and Shohamy (1989), when planning a research design, it is important to select the most appropriate objectives and approach. For this reason, choosing the research paradigm, methods and techniques to use in order to gather data that would reflect the context under study, requires much consideration. The decision of using a qualitative approach with elements of ethnography in this research depended on the nature of the inquiry and the research objectives, and I used the ethnographic elements for participant observation. My position as a teacher in the field also contributed to the decision of the approach.

4.1.3 Selecting the ethnographic elements

Ethnography as an approach can enhance existing research by interpreting the shared beliefs and experiences of the people being studied (LeCompte and Preissle, 1993).

Ethnographic studies provide an opportunity for specific voices to be heard; something quantitative studies often do not. According to Woods (1986: 4-5), ethnography is particularly well-suited for educational research as the ethnographer collects data through various methods whilst in the field, paying attention to the surface and particularly what lies beneath it: 'the subjects' view'. My purpose for this study is to explore what occurs in the 'inclusive' MFL classroom with regard to inclusion and the languages for all policy.

Ethnographers have over the years investigated school life in various areas such as pupil behaviour (see Beynon, 1994); pupil culture (see Willis, 1977); pupils' views on the meaning of success (see Benjamin, 2002), to list just a few. These studies have uncovered issues through detailed observation (Woods, 1986). To conduct his ethnographic research, Willis (1977) spent three years studying 12 boys through their last 2 years of secondary school in an English industrial city, and their first year of employment in order to understand the reasons why the reproduction of the working class as subsumed under capital continues to exist from a social psychological point of view. He worked alongside the boys in the workshop and examined various aspects of cultural development among the young people and provided thick descriptions (Bryman, 2004) of their environment, their habits and their determination to dislike school and its structure of power. Benjamin (2002) also conducted her study in a secondary school while working with students identified as having learning difficulties. Like Benjamin (2002), I examined the practices of inclusion at the micro level in order to locate the voices of the participants and the policy and practices that influence them, in a wider national policy context. To investigate and represent the experiences of the participants, I observed the pupil participants in my lessons and recorded anything relevant to the study. I also observed both pupils and teachers in other classrooms as a participant observer. On several occasions, I directly took part in lesson activities during observation, with the aim of understanding the view point of the research participants (Brewer, 2000) and to better explore the field. After all, ethnography involves 'the researcher participating, overtly or covertly in people's daily lives' (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007: 3).

4.2 Gaining access and recruiting

I chose Main Street School for the study because I work there teaching 3 subjects as well as carrying out the duties and responsibilities of a form tutor and I anticipated that getting the pupils' and the teachers' permission would not be too difficult. Gaining access at least partially for the research did not cause problems as my diary entry shows:

I wasn't quite sure how to approach Mr Jay, my headteacher about the research idea. In fact, I was apprehensive about the whole thing for a while now but know I had to do it today. And when I left him a memo asking to see him, I knew I couldn't back off. So I went in his office to explain the research objectives and methods of data collection. To my surprise he sounded pleased and told me his own research story about how

he found doing his MA time-consuming but rewarding. He had time off the school time-table for it and was allowed because the school had funded his studies. How unfair? We talked for a very long time about this and he added that if there's any way he could be of assistance I should not hesitate to ask. Glad this went well.

(01/10/10)

Although I already worked at the school on a daily basis as a full time teacher, I was apprehensive about asking for permission to carry out the research as the above diary entry shows. Nevertheless, it was pleasing that the first encounter with the headteacher regarding the research went well, and taking into account the BERA (2011) and BSA (2009) guidelines, I proceeded to apply for a formal ethics clearance from the university's ethics committee and successfully received approval. A week after I had the headteacher's permission, during our staff meeting I was announced as a researcher doing research at the school alongside my teaching. This gave me the opportunity to explain my intentions and talk about my role and expectations of the research. The silence in the room when I was talking about the research tools was noticeable and my colleagues' eyes in my direction were intense, except for the two foreign languages teachers I had casually briefed prior to the staff meeting. For the research tools, I mentioned lesson observations but had to quickly add that it is not intended to appraise the teaching of any individual but an opportunity for me to watch and live what is experienced in classrooms from the pupils' point of view and from the teachers'.

To my advantage, the headteacher introduced the research in the last part of the staff meeting during the AOB (Any Other Business) session as the last item of the AOB. This meant I could quickly leave the room because the meeting had ended but I chose to stay although it felt uncomfortable. Teachers wanted to know why I "would put myself through something like that when I have a busy full-time time-table". I carried on explaining the research to any staff members who wanted to know more. Many people had one word question: "why"? I took the single word question to mean 'what is the reason for this study?' and explained the gap in knowledge that I believe exists in the 'inclusive' foreign languages classroom despite the collection of research on MFL learning. Some people nodded or responded to show their understanding, some remained quiet and pensive. It felt like I was not a staff member but some white coat inspector, like I was one of them but an outsider at the same time. It was clear that my new role was threatening which felt rather strange. I asked myself: did I not explain my objectives clearly enough? Or did I forget to, as Foucault (1994: 288) would state, 'take care not to dictate how things should be'? I was sure however, that I did not dictate how the research will be carried out but explained as much as possible the research intentions and tools.

I acknowledged that although the headteacher gave me 'access to the school' to carry out the research, he was only one of many who would provide such access (Burgess, 1991) and access to teachers' classrooms also had to be negotiated continuously. This

research was more about the pupils thus, the pupils were central however, I had to get permission from the headteacher prior to approaching the pupils for two reasons: one was to get permission from the school and the other, for ethical reasons. When the headteacher announced the research at the end of the staff meeting, I had no choice but to officially introduce the research to the teachers first. This is discussed further in detail in 4.3, the section about ethical considerations. As the research is particularly looking into experiences in MFL classrooms, only teachers of MFL were invited to participate. MFL teaching assistants and non-teaching staff members whose children were taking part were also invited to participate. The selected pupils' parents were also invited. According to LeCompte and Preissle (1993: 69) '[e]thnographers use a sequence of selection strategies throughout the research because their studies customarily are exploratory and open ended... a variety of selection process is used fruitfully throughout the stages of problem identification'. After a briefing about the study, all participants were given the research information sheets and consent forms²⁴ to keep.

The total number of participants who volunteered to take part after the initial introduction and explanation of the research objectives and data collection tools amounted to 42 boys and 47 girls, 89 pupils in total (see Appendix A for detail on pupils background), 3 teaching assistants, 2 MFL teachers. The age of the pupils ranged from 10 to 12. The teaching assistants support pupils identified with special needs and who have a statement and the teachers teach MFL mostly but teach English and history as well. Once I had the list of in-school participants drawn and ready, I decided to invite parents as well. I contacted at the start, two parents whose children are on the school's special needs register. These parents were first briefed over the telephone and invited for a meeting about the research. This soon took the form of snowball sampling and one parent suggested another (Miles and Huberman, 1994) giving a total of five parents. Three other parents also offered to take part in interviews should I need them to.

In order to immerse myself, as Bryman (2004: 539) puts it, in 'a social setting for an extended period of time observing behavior, listening to what is said ... and asking question', I opted for some ethnographic elements in my approach. While for some researchers, ethnography is about gathering empirical data within specific situations (Spradley, 1979), for others like myself, it is about participating in participants' activities for an extended period of time with different degrees of interaction (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1995). The initial stage involved discussing the research projects with the participants and then asking for volunteers during our whole school assembly to take part (this is discussed further in the participant and

²⁴ All participants, teachers, pupils and their parents were given the form to sign and a copy was handed to them to keep.

sample section). My intention was to have as participants, pupils who were identified by the school as having special educational needs only because these pupils' active roles in the MFL classroom inspired the research, but at the first meeting, some of these pupils came with their friends and I had many more pupils than I had anticipated. After just a few minutes of discussions and explanations, their friends asked to take part as well. Many formal and informal meetings followed during which, I was available to answer any queries the pupils wanted clarifying. The news spread very quickly and many more pupils, even pupils who were not on the school's SEN register, pleaded to take part in the research. I ended up calling another meeting inviting anyone who wished to take part to join. In the end, I decided to allow a diverse multitude of pupils to take part, as after all, they all learn French at the school and their views and experiences will be of value to the research. The rationale for broadening the selection of pupils is discussed later in section 4.2.2.

The pupils were all given a leaflet detailing information about the research (Appendix B1), a letter asking for permission with a return slip (Appendix B), a consent form (Appendix C) requesting signature from pupil and parent. I gave the pupils a week to return the signed slips and I was surprised by the amount of signed consent forms that were returned promptly. Two pupils returned the slip on the same day at the end of school. It turned out that when their parents came to take them home they decided to fill the form in, sign and hand it in there and then. This was rather unusual as normally pupils at this school have to be chased for 'important' replied slips to be returned. It made me wonder why they were taking the research so seriously. Could it be that even at their young age they are able to see the importance or relevance of it? Young people, according to Heath, Brooks, Cleaver and Ireland (2009: 59) are indeed not 'human becomings' but 'human beings' and are able to make their own choices. Omitting the pupils from this situation of basic choice could be taken as 'a defect from the point of view of justice' (Nussbaum, 2006: 15).

4.2.1 My personal journey in 'the field'

As a teacher, I was a familiar face at the school thus, when I switched roles people around me did not appear uncomfortable, at least at face value, it was not noticeable. However, they could have felt a little uneasy at the start of interviews as, sometimes, it took a little while for participants to look relaxed. As I was familiar with the school, how it functioned, and knew everybody, I could easily find my way around without any help. Prior to the start of the research, I did not take much notice of the familiar surroundings and I did not think too critically about pupils' positive or negative attitudes, although, generally, I found their attitudes very pleasing when pupils displayed positive attitudes to learning. Thus, at times, when some parents complain about classwork or homework tasks or when they make

excuses for their children, because they make it clear that they do not see the point in them being taught a foreign language, I avoided dwelling on their excuses, but since I started this research, I found myself paying careful attention to these as well as everything else in order to record anything that was to do with MFL.

After briefing the participants on the research, things returned to 'normal' in terms of usual school life and I carried out my teaching daily routine. I already had a classroom which I used at break times as my base for getting ideas together for the research. Accessing the teaching staffroom was not a problem either although at the onset of the research, there were the occasional teases from colleagues when they saw me approach or when I entered the staffroom. These ranged from "here comes the eagle eye" to "watch out, she's got her notepad!" I was pleased that this tease mostly happened in the staffroom, away from pupils and usually, it happened with staff members that I never needed to observe anyway as they were not directly involved in the research. This is because I would have worried that they would find my presence in their classroom even more uncomfortable. But after all, the non-participant staff had every right to be wary because whether I carried a notepad or not, I had explained to them that whenever I was on the school premises, this research was going on. On occasions, when the teacher participants joined in the tease, I did my best to change the subject quickly as I could sense my position of power over them, something I tried hard to avoid particularly when observing others' lessons. To avoid or at the very least reduce the uneasiness of the situation, I hid my notepad inside my mark book but got it out and used it in full view when needed. I believed it was up to the staff members, as Benjamin (2002: 28) notes to 'make their own decisions about what to say' when I get my notepad out.

Why on earth did I think things would be easy? I've waited very eagerly for a long time to start collecting data and now that permission has been granted, I face this problem from colleagues! To collect data, I have to write things down when I see or hear them. And to do this, I have to carry my notepad! I wish I didn't have to hide it as seeing it reminds me of the research. It makes me more conscious of my thoughts...

(28/01/11)

The teachers' comments, although they were just the occasional tease, they sounded odd and made me feel as though I was considered as the other (Mead, 1934; Goffman, 1959; 1989), as an outsider when actually, I was still one of them, still a member of the team. It felt unjust to be treated like an outsider. I had many questions I could not find answers to as my diary entry shows:

Surely they know that I'm not operating like an Ofsted inspector? Or even the headteacher? I'm not even in the SMT²⁵ so why do they act like this? Why do they feel threatened by my presence? It's not that I'm inspecting them. What's now bugging me is how colleague participants feel? I mean really feel? They've not said

²⁵ Senior Management Team

anything but who knows? Brings Foucault to mind! I guess I just have to grin and bear it.

(28/01/11)

Data gathering at every opportunity was not an easy task however, I endeavoured to keep any disruption to the usual school routine for both pupils and teachers, and indeed for myself, to the minimum. Despite this, I was constantly mindful that whenever I entered a classroom for a lesson observation, my presence caused some disruption to the teaching group and possibly some distress to the teacher. This made me feel a little uneasy for intruding in other people's spaces. I felt for the teachers, as I could only imagine what effect my constant presence in their classroom might be having on them and their pupils. Although they agreed to take part in the research and given their consent, and, they are also informed in advance before every observation, a classroom is a teacher's private domain and having it 'invaded', even if this should occur only once in a while can be stressful for the teacher. The teachers were reminded on many occasions that they could refuse to be observed but none of them did, as Burgess (1991: 197) observes, 'even when individuals are given the option to refuse to be observed or interviewed it is seldom taken up'. I also felt sorry for the headteacher, as again, although he gave permission for the research to go ahead, during casual conversations with him about the research, he always appeared alarmed on occasions when I mentioned inclusion or special educational needs. It was as if he felt that the school's SEN department was under scrutiny. He was however aware that the data was only for this research.

Every half term, at Main Street School, the Senior Management Team (SMT) always carries out whole school and individual teachers' appraisals and these include a number of lesson observations. This is part of our professional development but, understandably, no one looks forward to these stressful times. But, with all of these concerns in mind, I surprised myself as I still felt very excited about carrying out the research, possibly because I was not the one who had the 'intruder' in my space, or who was being observed, and I always looked forward to observing teachers and pupils in their domain while at the same time, I tried not to disturb any of their activities too much. Johnson (1975) describes the feeling as: 'trying to be busy without hassling any one worker too much is like playing Chinese checkers, hopping to and fro, from here to there, with no place to hide' (cited in Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007: 89). At the early stages of field work, I noted in my diary:

It's official! I love observing. Well, not observing- observing as in the formal way, but I never thought I would. This kind of observation feels different. I never feel bored. I see more and can hear more of the things I would normally just overlook. Could it be that it's because the teacher was more relaxed? Was I more relaxed? I can't be sure. Nevertheless, it's an illuminating experience. I took a lot of notes in Miss Paul's lesson today. I sat in and year 7 class are learning prepositions. They had a carousel activity which involved leaving the classroom and going around school to find Charlie (Wally). It was very interesting.

(09/03/11)

As a teacher, without doubt, I occupy a position of power over my pupils. This position coupled with my new role, that of a researcher put me in a position of even higher power in the eyes of the participants, not just the pupils but also the teachers and the teaching assistants. This new position of power was not something I had anticipated and I could only hope that it would not damage the relationships we had. At the early stages, during observations, pupils' eyes were constantly on my notepad as they were curious and wanted to see what I was recording. This made me feel awkward as I wanted them to concentrate on their learning activities instead of paying attention to me or my notes. To try to remedy the uneasy feeling, I arrived in the classrooms a lot earlier before the lesson started and had a quick talk with the teacher about my goals for the observation. This gave me the chance to find a seat in order to keep out of the way as much as possible. On many occasions I found it easier to take part in the lesson to avoid the pupils demanding to know or see my notes.

4.2.2 Participants and sample

Before I started the research I established a set of ideas that I needed for the study and also decided on the recruitment of the group of pupils I wanted to research with. I intended to work with a small sample of pupils identified with SEN, because these particular pupils at Main Street School do not seem keen on French as a school subject, although studies such as McColl (2000) and McKeown (2004) state that all pupils enjoy and excel in foreign language learning. LeCompte and Preissle (1993: 69) suggest sampling 'requires that the researcher establish in advance (...) a list of attributes that the units for study must possess. The investigator then searches for exemplars that match the specified array of characteristics'. Having decided on my group, I announced in school assembly one afternoon in the school hall that I would like to meet with these pupils²⁶ straight after the assembly²⁷. At the end of the assembly, I met in a quiet room with the group and talked briefly about my research intentions. At this stage, I still refrained from pointing out that I needed pupils who are on the SEN register for this research to avoid any uncomfortable feelings and particularly for ethical reasons. I then set a meeting for further discussions on the following day.

At the meeting, some pupils asked to be selected because they thought that the research was something very important and to be part of it meant "you could be famous" I heard some of them saying to their peers. The note in my dairy read:

²⁶ These pupils are on the school special educational needs register.

²⁷ Messages or notices are usually given to pupils during assembly time and teachers take turn during this. When I took the floor, I read out the names of the pupils I wanted to see and added that they are not in trouble for reassurance. For ethical reasons, I did not reveal the reasons I needed to meet with them at this stage as we were in public.

Oh dear! Famous? I couldn't help but chuckle a little at this. If only taking part in a research could make one famous! Well maybe it could, I don't know. I'm glad I heard this as it gave me the opportunity to burst their 'bubble'. Their little faces... anyway, it's all good as I explained again that anything that I record will be confidential and no names will be mentioned. I felt bad when their little faces dropped, thankfully, this didn't last...hmmm.

(07/02/11)

I took the opportunity to call a short meeting in order to explain again that real names would never be written on anything recorded and only university assessors could see the notes. Ethical principles have to be followed in an institution such as a school anyway, and for a research purposes, they have to be maintained throughout the research in order to safeguard all participants' interests and anonymity (Burgess, 1991). Although it could be argued that the pupils' response in the diary entry above appear to reflect a lack of understanding from their part of the research purposes, I discovered whilst explaining the process and reasons of confidentiality once more to the particular pupils that it was not quite the case:

ED: Girls, you know that this cannot make anyone famous, right?

Carlie: We know Miss, I mean we understand you don't want names on. But I don't mind my name to show on the document, Miss. I don't really care (*and addressing her friend Carlie asked*) do you, Moll?

Mollie: *shook her head.*

(08/02/11)

Critically, in considering children and young people's involvement in research, it is essential that the researcher engages with issues surrounding diversity and difference (Rogers and Ludhra, 2012). The final sample comprised of pupils of all abilities including pupils on the SEN register who were at different stages²⁸ of 'special needs' ranging from mild to severe cases. Cases of 'special needs' at Main Street School at the time of this research included dyslexia, dyspraxia, mild Tourette, and emotional and behaviour problems. Some pupils had additional physical or sensory disabilities such as hearing or visual impairment and a number of the pupils demonstrated some cases of autistic spectrum disorder, such as Asperger's.

I kept my initial intention of recruiting pupils identified with SEN to myself, to exercise my duty of care towards the pupils and by avoiding to draw too much unwanted attention to them. I was concerned that a focus on these particular pupils could mark them out and tag them as 'inferior' among their peers and within the school; critically, doing ethnographically-based research solely with pupils identified as having special educational needs particularly in this field risks making them more noticeable to everyone in the school and this could negatively affect their confidence and also undermine their image among their peers. With this in mind, I decided to widen the sample of the participants to include any pupil willing to

²⁸ Individual pupils occupy different stages according to the school's SEN department.

take part, as after all, the phenomenon under study affects pupils of all abilities. However, I kept my eyes on boys and girls identified with SEN, in years 4, 6 and 7 to examine the differences, if any, between the MFL experiences as lived by middle-class and working-class pupils (see section 3.2.1) as theorised in Bourdieu's (1987) work.

Thirty of the pupils invited were in my tutor group and although I did not teach them French, I saw and talked to them every day. As their form tutor I was responsible for their pastoral care, registering them in the morning and ensuring that they had all the equipment they needed for the day's lessons. The other fifty-nine pupils were not in my form but I taught all of them 3 subjects: Food Technology, twice a week, History, twice a week and French, once a week. The pupils in my form were also in my History and Food Technology classes but just not in my French class. Some of the pupils were friends and some were not but in general as a group, they all appeared to have good relationships with each other possibly because they were in the same year group. As the pupils enjoyed good relationships with each other, I believed this slightly 'softened' the position of power that I had as a teacher and now a teacher-researcher particularly during interviews; the atmosphere was more relaxed.

The number of pupils who took part stayed fairly steady throughout the data collection process during which I concentrated on pupils 'from which I could learn the most' (Walsh, 2005:74). I purposefully interviewed up to four times, a sample of 9 pupils with SEN from the invited participants and many of the other participants who were available for interview. The interviews were both individual and in groups. I made sure that the interviews did not cause much disruption to pupils' daily routine. Although it was not possible to interview every pupil, they were all observed in lessons on several occasions. The interviews questions were based on what I observed in lessons and involved groups of pupils of all abilities and from diverse backgrounds. On some occasions, pupils requested and initiated the interviews themselves. In total, I observed 98 lessons and conducted 102 interviews with pupils and 31 interviews with adult participants.

4.3 Ethical considerations and informed consent

Ethics deals with the distinction between what is morally right or wrong and what should be avoided when carrying out research with people. The researcher is required to 'act properly in all circumstances' (Cribb, 2004: 55). As this research is concerned with young people, ethics principles were considered and ethical clearance was sought from the university ethics committee. According to Edwards and Alldred (1999),

No abstract or universal prescriptive ethical rules can unthinkingly be followed in social research with children, only guidelines for thoughtful considerations with and about the specific contexts... It is not just children and your people's competence to consent that is dependent on context and substance, but that context and substance

also inform how they understand the research and make decisions about whether or not to participate.

(Edwards and Alldred, 1999: 266)

Edward and Alldred's quote identifies the major points to consider when undertaking social research such as the guidelines to follow and the importance of ensuring that the participants understand the research objectives, what is involved, the role they have to play in the research and their right to agree to take part or withdraw at any stage. These major points are discussed in some detail in the sections below.

As a teacher working with young people, the issues in the citation above echo some of the formalities I deal with on a regular basis at school. When carrying out certain extra-curricular activities for example, I usually seek not just the consent of the pupils who would take part in the activities but also the consent of their parents, guardians or carers. The teaching profession itself, it could be argued, is mostly concerned with the morality and should act with respect and due care towards all pupils. But to compare the school's usual duty of care with research ethics would be naive as the ethical issues related with research are more challenging and need careful planning and continuous follow-up and sanctions are not part of the research process. Teachers can apply sanctions when pupils do not cooperate in school and pupils know that they cannot just opt out of school activities without a valid reason. However, pupils can opt out of a research activity and there will be no sanctions. Just like everything else about the research, I explained this carefully so the pupils could understand the difference between my two roles.

As a researcher, I made my research objectives clear to all participants and checked their signed informed consent prior to the start of data collection. I was aware that participants could consent but should also be allowed to withdraw at any stage without penalty, even if they decide to withdraw at a most crucial stage of the research, and even if their withdrawal could mess up plans for the researcher. Moreover, the participants have the right to be made aware of this as the researcher is accountable to all of these and much more (Burgess, 1991; Farrell, 2005; Heath *et al.*, 2009). At the initial stage, all participants were encouraged to ask any questions they had about the research during the briefing, I explained the research objectives, the need for participants and the data collection methods such as observation and interviews. I then handed out leaflets about the research and consent forms for them to sign and return. Critically, in thinking about informed consent for research where children and young people are concerned, a consent form represents much more than authorship (Smythe and Murray, 2000) thus it would be simplistic to assume that making the research aims and objectives clear and understood by the young participants was sufficient for ethical considerations (David *et al.*, 2001). For this reason, consent was regularly negotiated with both the young people and the adults.

I was aware of the shyness of some pupils and put them more at ease in a pair or group during interviews. Woods (1986: 67) states that among other things such as the form of the interview itself, the venue and the way it is set up, the relationships between the people concerned are a critical issue. If pupils feel relaxed during interviews, Cassell (1980) also explains, they might be more responsive and the power may shift in which case the pupils may have power over the researcher. It seemed sometimes that pupils looked forward to the interviews after seeing me in their lessons as they always had a lot to say. I endeavoured to enable the pupils to understand that I respected their choice about taking part or not in the research and ensured to create safe spaces (MacNaughton and Smith, 2005) particularly during interviews for them to be able to share their ideas and perceptions. The decision to include any pupils willing to take part was a desire to take seriously the views of the pupils. I hoped that if the pupil-teacher power relation is at least 'reduced' then I might get their honest responses about their experiences. MacNaughton and Smith (2005: 114) suggest that like adults, 'children are more likely to share their ideas, feelings and perspectives if they feel that those ideas will be treated with respect and this entails ensuring that children have the expectation that they will be listened to carefully and be given time to think and respond'. To further reduce the power imbalance between us and to 'empower' the pupils, I enabled them the freedom to choose the methods by which they would prefer to take part in the research. Pupils who were not comfortable with interviews were able to opt out of these. As mentioned above, I understood that in this situation, power could not totally be eliminated and allowing young participants to be involved in research, Heath *et al.* (2009) argue, does not lead to more equal relations between researcher and participant. It is then necessary for the researcher Kellet (2010: 7) explains, to shift their thinking from doing research 'on' children to doing research 'with' children. Pupils who opted to be taken out of interviews were reassured that it was fine to do so. Some pupils asked if they could produce on paper what they wanted to say instead of having their voices recorded and were permitted to do so.

4.3.1 Informed consent

What the pupils were given to sign and return represented the consent forms for pupils and parents (Appendix C and Appendix E respectively). The ethical guidelines of the British Education Research Association (BERA, 2004) define informed consent as the condition in which the research participants understand and agree to their participation without any constraints, prior to the start of the research. I was aware that a signed consent form is not synonymous of the whole ethics process (Rogers and Ludhra, 2012), nor is it sufficient (Heath *et al.*, 2009). It is not so forthright either, (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007)

as it only represents a provisional step in the whole ethics process. For this reason, from the outset of the research, I negotiated and continued to negotiate consent in order to ensure an ethic of care (Miller and Bell, 2002) with all the participants particularly before an interview. I sought consent from the teacher participants at least a week before I observed their lessons but reminded them a couple of days before the observation and also just before I entered their classroom.

Teachers taking part in the research were briefed, issued with a consent form (Appendix D) and the research information sheet which is also given to parents (Appendix D1). They were also and reassured that their names or the school's would not be disclosed. Most importantly, they were reassured that unlike formal observations, my note taking in classrooms was for the purpose of the research only. To conform further to ethical issues, my contact number and e-mail address²⁹ were also included in the information for participants for reporting any queries or concerns. I was already a practitioner of ethics in my professional position as a teacher, but certain aspects of my new role, that of a researcher did not appear simple due to the many responsibilities and issues involved. For example, as a researcher, I needed to take extra care with information collected and reflect on my own on these, whereas as a teacher, I could always share information with other teachers and could get assistance with anything when needed. As a researcher, I was on my own. I could share my research goals with anyone interested, but that was about it. Doing research appeared to be a solitary business.

Crucially the ethical process for this research was on-going thus, for example, before interviews, participants were reminded of their 'rights' and asked for their consent as it was important that they were fully informed about the nature of the research in which they were partaking as well as the uses to which their participation might be put (Alderson and Morrow, 2004). The pupil participants, as mentioned in 4.3, were aware they could choose which elements to be involved in so that they had some degree of 'control' over their participation. For example, two year 6 girls who returned their consent slip asked if they could be participants but not take part in interviews and I consented and made a note to remind myself not to involve them in interviews. Other pupils asked to "write down the answer" to the interview questions rather than "talk it" on the recorder because "it's embarrassing" and one girl added "I think it might make me giggle, Miss. I giggle a lot. You know me, Miss. You know what I'm like". Again, I consented to this. During a group interview which started with four boys, things were going well and the discussion was about the benefits of learning modern languages at school. However, half way through the discussion, one of the boys

²⁹ My contact number and e-mail address were removed from the letter and the forms in the appendix.

changed his mind and decided not to take part in the research anymore. He left the room but the discussion carried on with the three remaining boys. I recorded in my diary:

Today's group discussion with Sean, Matt, Luca and the fourth pupil was interesting. Some valuable points they all made. But the discussion drifted out of context for a while when the fourth pupil recalled what his father thinks of learning French. Sean then talked about his aunt who was mugged at a metro station in France, "my aunt said one minute she had everything in her handbag and the next her purse had gone missing. Like someone had put their hand in it and taken it. Since then I've decided never to go to there. It's horrible." This led to another story of misfortune counted by Luca. I'm not sure what made them get back to the discussion about MFL, possibly the departure of the fourth pupil who withdrew, but when they got back to what we were talking about, they didn't drift away until the end. But Sean remained negative in his view of MFL. Interesting!

(08/05/12)

I took out the pseudonym of the fourth pupil to remind myself that he was no longer a participant and when two days after this group discussion, Sean asked if he could withdraw his participation from the research, I acquiesced and removed him from my list. A couple of weeks later however, Sean pleaded to be part of the research again and I let him but I never interviewed him again as I gathered he opted out because he was uncomfortable about what he disclosed about his father's views on learning French. Unfortunately, I had already deleted his recordings, so it was back to square one in this particular case, but it was his choice and rights and I had to respect these. This experience demonstrated that there are no simple answers to problems encountered in research and that ethics is 'about helping researchers to become aware of hidden problems and questions in research, and ways of dealing with these' (Alderson, 2005: 29). What Sean said would have made a valuable contribution to the data chapters but had to be deleted.

4.3.2 What did I and the participants consent to?

Before the consent forms were distributed, I discussed with the participants the research purpose and we came to an agreement together that the research was worth doing (Alderson, 2005). I explained the research objectives a lot of times to ensure the pupils also understood the purpose of the study and their involvement in it. Consent to taking part in this research equated to:

- Understanding what the research is about
- Understanding your role as a participant
- Understanding that school routines will still be 'normal'
- Knowing that as a participant, you can opt out at any time without penalty
- Understanding that pseudonyms are used and anything recorded is confidential
- Signing the agreement form and returning it by the due date

The parents of the pupils taking part were also invited to the briefings at the initial stages and given a copy of the research information. The pupil consent forms required not just the signature of the pupil-participant but also their parent, guardian or carer's even though the adult were not 'directly' part of the research. On my part as a researcher, I consented to considering ethics as essential and consented to applying it with due care and respect to all participants at every stage of the research (Farrell, 2005). I also consented to continuing to check for pupils' consent, to check that they were still willing to take part in the research (Alderson, 2005) particularly before and after interviews. After interviews, I checked to ensure the participants still consented to their data to be used (MacNaughton and Smith, 2005).

The teacher-pupil relationship was a constraint in this situation and I was aware that the pupils might sometimes be afraid to withdraw even though I made it clear to them that there would be no penalty if they refused to participate. Heath *et al.* (2009: 33) argue that '[e]ven where young people are given a choice as to whether or not to participate, it can be a brave act on their part to say 'no' within an institutional context'. As a teacher-researcher, I could only endeavour to 'minimise' such issues. For example, I watched³⁰ the pupils closely for indications of reluctance or anxiety and constantly checked how the young participants feel especially during interviews, but at the same time, I tried not to overdo this constant checking for fear of overwhelming them. I also watched the teachers closely for indication of anxiety that could be caused by my presence in their classroom.

4.3.3 Confidentiality

Although the information about the research contained statements about confidentiality, I still informed the participants verbally and reminded them about this, particularly before interviews. Participants were aware that only pseudonyms will be used on my recorded notes. I am aware of the complexity of the concept of confidentiality and shared the view that the line between what is public and what is private would always be unclear (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007). I informed the participants that my research supervisors are involved in the supervision and assessment of my work and could have access to the anonymised transcripts of their recordings. I also informed all participants that at the end of the study, examiners could have access to what I have recorded. I made this clear to all participants to bear in mind in case they chose to disclose anything they perceived to be confidential (Burgess, 1988). At the time of writing this section, all participants were happy for

³⁰ As a teacher and a form tutor my pastoral role enables me to watch pupils for cues of anxiety or anything that may make them feel uneasy or unhappy about school or life in general. So as a researcher, this role just came naturally and I can say that my teaching skills provide me with insights in this domain.

their anonymised data to be archived. Some adults said they would not mind if their names were used or their recording were made public. Obviously, if any other participant chose to opt out of the research, any of their previously recorded data would be removed and destroyed. My research materials and transcripts were kept securely at my home address. I also informed the whole school about the research so that every individual in the school was aware that research was taking place at all times whether I carried a notepad or not.

4.3.4 Potential distress

Whilst some of the pupils were 'competent' in their own right and willing to take part and also felt at ease to open the conversation during interviews (Danby and Farrell, 2005: 50), I was aware of the possibility that the pupils might become distressed when describing upsetting issues for example experiences where they might feel different to their peers for thinking they were not as good in French lessons. In the same vein as the pupils, there was a possibility that teachers could also feel distressed when I sat in their classroom observing. For example, they could take me for an appraiser in their classroom on a mission to find them out (see Benjamin, 2002). As discussed in 4.2.2, all participants were assured in the information pack and reassured as an on-going process prior to observation and interviews. Fortunately, there had not been any case of distress reported throughout the research. However, it could be argued that the participants decided not to report distress due to the power relations between teacher and pupil, between researcher and pupil, and between teacher-researcher and teachers.

4.4 Research methods and data collection

Commenting on features of field work and the tasks carried out by the researcher, Pole and Morrison (2003) note that researchers are required:

... to get up close in order to describe and interpret meanings, behaviours, events, institutions and locations. Getting up close has specific implications for the ethnographer. These include particular types of association between researcher and research informant, data collection methods that prioritize 'rich' and 'deep' understandings of, and immersion in, the educational 'field' or setting that is the topic of interest.

(Pole and Morrison, 2003: 18)

Such a perspective from Pole and Morrison suggests that data collection involves some challenges for the researcher doing ethnography. As ethnographic research deals with the complexity of lived experiences, each and every case is different and just as cases are particular and not the same the individual response of the researcher is also different. Stenhouse (1979: 5) notes that in qualitative research, the phrase 'all things are equal' should never be used because they never are. This particular study represents a pursuit of

knowledge where I believe there is a gap. The aim was to investigate and describe experiences of foreign language learning of the participants and to explore inclusion practices with regard to MFL in order to provide insights at both school and classroom level within the context of pupil and teacher perspectives on the Languages for All policy.

I filed the data into three categories: observation and field notes, interviews and various archives. For Burns and Grove (2003), data collection is a precise and systematic gathering of information relevant to the research questions. The observations recordings allowed for points of discussion at the interviews.

4.4.1 Interviewing

During interviews, I encouraged the participants to give honest responses and reassured them that I aimed 'to listen to what they have to say' about their MFL experiences and to 'incorporate their views' into my understanding (Roberts, 2008: 270). Although I already briefed and given the participants information about the research objectives, as part of the on-going ethical considerations, I still reassured them at the start of interviews particularly, that their names or our school's will not be used on any of the research documents. I carried out this research in one school only because I believe the participants could provide me with a good 'opportunity to learn' (Stake, 2000: 446) more about the practices of inclusion as well as their experiences in the foreign language classroom.

Interviewing refers to structured or unstructured verbal communication between the researcher and the participants. It is a method largely used by researchers and is useful for gaining insight, understanding and to capture people's individual views and experiences (Clarke, 1999). With the interviews, I found that factors such as the time and the venue were more significant than I first imagined. I therefore used a classroom free from disturbances for the participants to feel at ease and relaxed throughout the interview process. Most of the time, I short-handed the pupil interviews because the recorder could be a distraction and I conducted interviews usually in pairs or group for up to 15 minutes maximum during lunch break with the pupils so they did not miss any lessons. I purposely did not to keep the pupils for longer than that to allow them to have some break time on the days of interviews. On some occasions, I joined the pupils at play and took part in their game whilst I conducted the interview. This did not happen during ball games or anything involving running around for practical reasons. With each interview, I followed the steps below:

- I chose a suitable time with each participant and reminded them on the day.
- I arranged the tables and chairs in the chosen venue, usually a quiet room.
- I had some light refreshments for the pupils.

I always thanked the participants for being present and reminded them they could stop the interview any time they wanted to. I started each interview with a general question and encouraged the participants to give honest responses. Mostly, the interviews were unstructured or semi-structured (Pole and Morrison, 2003) and I encouraged them to talk and say as much as they wanted to. I nodded or gestured to induce probes when necessary to urge them to continue talking or to expand on their points. I attempted to be neutral in my responses to avoid biasing their answers. I asked open-ended questions to give them the opportunity to express their feelings (De Vos, 2002). Polit and Hungler (2004) also state that open-ended questions allow interviewees to respond in their own words. I targeted the research questions using what I heard or saw in lessons.

Generally, I noticed that some pupils did not express all that they wanted to, although I encouraged them to be open in their responses and reassured them that everything they say would be confidential. Some pupils said very little but some others said quite a lot and made some insightful comments. During interviews, I responded mostly by nodding in agreement to their answers but sometimes a pupil would change their answer or contradict themselves so some interviews are as Hollway and Jefferson (2000: 2) put it, 'littered with contradictions and inconsistencies'. My main issue here was to produce data which would give an authentic insight into the participants' experiences (Pole and Morrison, 2003). I trusted that the information I gathered are invaluable sources of data as they displayed the participants' experiences. I compiled themes I needed and used these as a guide to sequence the interview questions and to decide on what to follow in depth.

The interviews helped me focus on pupils' responses 'while allowing individual perspectives and experiences to emerge' Patton (2002: 344). An example of an interview extract with a pupil is below. Myra is in year 7, not on the SEN register and works generally well in all lessons. On that day, Myra sat in my history lesson which was the fourth lesson of the day before lunch. During the lesson, I noticed that she was unusually quiet but took part in the tasks. This interview was during lunch time and Myra ate her lunch before we started and was offered light refreshments as customary.

ED: Myra you didn't look happy in lesson today.

Myra: No, we had French first thing. I don't like French so don't like it at start of the day. It spoils the day (*pause*). Because it can confuse you.

ED: Mm I see.

Myra: Yeah. All that listening to Mrs Anderson (*supply teacher in school to cover some lessons where the usual teachers were absent*) talking French and, and um and then we had to listen to the CD. And we were asked to (*pause*) we had to talk in pairs and make our own sentences in French as well. I don't like that stuff.

ED: Do you mean you don't like hearing the French language or speaking it?

Myra: Yeah I don't like it at all because you have to try and understand what they're talking about and it's hard. Don't like hearing it or speaking it, end of.

(06/10/11)

Talking to Myra, I was able to understand her position more. The interviews with the pupils were as informal as possible to enable the participants to feel relaxed. On occasions, pupils paid more attention to the refreshments on the table than to the questions and sometimes they asked me to play or read out their responses to the questions back to them. I obliged to this and it gave them the opportunity to add to or change anything they wanted. At times, I felt that some of my interviewees simply said what they thought I wanted to hear. A typical example was when pupils whose Individual Educational Plans³¹ (IEP) showed negative statements such as “French is the only subject I hate at school” and then these particular pupils declared at interview that they liked me as their teacher and French was their favourite subject. Nevertheless, I paid attention and recorded what they said even if they did not say much because I shared Altheide and Johnson’s (1994) view that participants always know and can see a lot more than the researcher.

At an interview which I carried out straight after observing a year 7 French lesson in which they played games to reinforce ‘*what I did last weekend*’ learning objectives, I observed closely the pupil participants in the room and they all appeared, from my point of view, to be enjoying the interactions and particularly the interactive games. However, what one of the participants felt, was different to what I thought I saw. The following is an extract of the recording of the interview.

ED: You played the games quite well. Did you enjoy the activity?

Scotty: No not really. (*Scotty changed the subject*) Hey Miss, do you know that French is contributing to global warming?

ED: (*unsure where this was going but played along*) Emm. Wh How? What do you mean?

Scotty: (*looking pleased that I was showing an interest*) Well, cutting down trees causes global warming, right?

ED: Right.

Scotty: and trees are used to make paper, right?

ED: Right.

Scotty: Well, in French, we have books, textbooks, exercise books, worksheets and yeah. So so learning French cuts down trees. Many many many trees.

ED: Mmm. Isn’t it the same with learning other subjects? Maths, geography and...

Scotty: Ww ye yeah but other subjects are useful cos you can remember what you learn but French is hard and pointless really.

(30/09/12)

Scotty’s emotions and body language during the interactive games, at least what I saw were ‘positive’ and yet his response at the interview displayed the opposite. It was interesting to hear from him that learning French is equivalent to causing global warming whereas learning other subjects is not although he mentioned the use of books in both cases. Scotty’s

³¹ IEPs represent Individual Education Plans and are the cornerstone of a quality education for each child with a disability.

response demonstrated the limitations of my observation as it appeared that I could not fully capture everything that was going on with him in the classroom, therefore his interview was needed as it clarified things for me. Like Scotty's, all interviews in this study provided a more in-depth look at the pupils' experiences.

4.4.2 Observation and fieldnotes

At the onset of this study, I thought I would find data collecting easy and would be able to relax through the process. Instead, I was always on the look-out and consequently, I paid careful attention to everything at school and habitually carried my notebook and a pen ready for recording. Delamont (1992) notes that alertness should constantly be a part of the ethnographer's world and explains that:

[T]he time of day, the weather, the room, the teacher's dress or demeanour, what Mr Evans did for forty minutes, the number of pupils present, their seating arrangements, what they wrote with or on, whether the board was used, if dictionaries were available and so on.

(Delamont 1992: 41)

In considering this statement, I endeavoured to record relevant materials not just in classrooms, but all around the school. Some days, I recorded a lot in my notebook but other days, I wrote very little. It was possible that I missed things of importance but I wrote down as much as possible anything relevant to the research main question.

Reflecting on data collection, Delamont (1992) advises turning field notes into full written accounts as soon as they are collected. Taking this on board, at the end of every school day, I typed up my notes in order to have full written accounts filed and ready for analysis. This was time consuming but I persevered in order to have a neat copy of the events soon after they occurred when they were still fresh in my mind. I was mindful that my notes could be read in various ways as Delamont (1998: 15) points out: 'They are not just inert and cold. They are texts, or other forms of representation, that we create in order to think with'. On average, I spent twelve hours a week observing lessons. On some occasions, I observed lessons for the whole teaching hour and on others, I observed the first, the middle or the last part depending on what arrangement I made beforehand with the teacher. I also observed and paid attention to responses around the school.

4.4.3 Documentary scrutiny

It is common for ethnographers to overlook documentary sources and material artefacts (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007), although, Woods (1986) suggests that these can at times provide the main body of data, particularly if they accord, and point to an interesting problem that demands attention (Woods, 1986: 91). What I collected comprised of

school policy, pupil perception interviews, school prospectus, newsletters which were published fortnightly, Ofsted inspection reports, staff notices, meetings minutes, SEN policy, Individual Education Plans (IEP) local newsletters which feature articles on the school and articles on the school website. From all these documents, matters pertaining to foreign language learning were a particular focus and were scrutinised, but at the same time the absence of information regarding MFL on many documents was also relevant to the research main question. The school prospectuses for example showed many subjects, mostly the practical ones but MFL does not feature on any of the photographs displayed on these documents which the school had been producing for many years to date. Similarly, the school website which gave a video tour showing subject areas did not show MFL. I found it frustrating that what really concerned this research seemed absent from most of the documents but it was useful to compare the written quotes from the school policies on inclusion and equal opportunities to the practices that I encountered on a daily basis.

4.5 Methods of data analysis

The research title, “Modern Foreign Languages classroom: is inclusion of all exclusion in disguise?” provided the focal point for the data collected with regard to the Languages for All policy and the practices of inclusion particularly in the classroom. Both policy and practice, coupled with my own teaching experiences, framed the areas of observation as well as the interview questions for this research. The initial themes that emerged from the data were descriptions of the ‘inclusive’ classroom negotiations and the challenges experienced by pupils and teachers as analysed in chapter five. These are followed by the views of the participants regarding MFL and their identities as language learners as analysed in chapter six. These initial themes then represent the overarching topics from which the subsequent themes derived.

For chapter five, the fieldnotes were read and re-read to identify the patterns in the data. I already established some themes from what I collected particularly during participant observation, for example, the reasons why exclusion exists and how it is portrayed in the ‘inclusive’ MFL classroom. Other themes emerged as I went back and forth through the data, and, I was able to identify and group the actors in the exclusionary situations. Once the actors were identified, I had to distinguish the reasons or the factors involved in their exclusionary acts. Using Bourdieu’s (1977b) capital, habitus and field, I scoured the data to find any new emergent patterns. I repeated this process to explore the status of MFL in the school. For chapter six, the main theme, the views of the participants, was identified in response to interview questions during which the participants expressed their likes and dislikes of the target language. Again, as I went back and forth through the data I located the

subsequent themes which I put into categories. The process of analysis is discussed in some detail below.

Looking at the bulk of data that I managed to collect almost every day and wondering how to tidy everything up, I had to share Robson's (1993) view that qualitative data is an attractive nuisance. Here I was with a huge pile of paper which I was pleased with, and yet, I was not sure how to handle it all. Suddenly, the task of sorting out the data appeared very difficult to deal with. I had to agree with Delamont (1992) who warns that there are no short cuts and one must allow plenty of time and energy for the task. For this research, analysis started at the onset of field work as soon as I got into the habit of noticing and collecting data. At the end of the school day, every day, I reflected on what I collected and doing this enabled me to notice more things which then led to more data collection. Hammersley and Atkinson indicate that:

Fieldwork is a very demanding activity, and the processing of data is equally time-consuming. As a result, engaging in sustained data analysis alongside data collection is often very difficult in practice.

(Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007: 160)

Being qualitative, this research could not be measured in the same way as a quantitative study as it is not 'objective'. As mentioned in the section above, my analysis emerged from themes and patterns that I discovered when reading through, sorting and reflecting on the data. The task was challenging as my recordings kept piling up but I was still collecting data when anything interesting was noticeable. To simplify the task, I typed out the data as soon as possible for easy reading and to allow my reflective notes to clearly show on the sides of the pages where appropriate. Maykut and Morehouse (1999: 127) suggest that 'making sense out of a quickly accumulating pile of field notes, audio-tapes, and documents is facilitated by the quick and efficient transfer of this raw data into clearly readable form for data analysis.' I transcribed audio recordings and filed the documents I collected into categories. I labelled each page of data according to their sources and I put at the top of the pages, labels such as Observation/Pupil, Observation/Teacher, Interview/Pupil, Interview/Adult and so on to have a name for each pile of paper. This helped for a quick identification of the sources of data. I then photocopied all of the pages in order to work on the photocopied sheets and to keep the master copies tidy and handy. The copies of the labelled pile were then re-read and grouped under a suitable heading. Where a pattern emerged with the headings, a sub-heading was given. These sub-headings were read, cross-referenced and then given a new label which became the theme. Seidel and Kelle (1995) view the role of coding as noticing relevant phenomena, collecting examples of those phenomena and analysing them in order to find commonalities, differences, patterns and structures. I created tables for the themes and cut sections of data to put in the relevant

columns in the table. Throughout the analysis process, I gained a deeper understanding of what I was researching and had on many occasions refined my interpretations. I then evaluated the data to find where there were agreements between pupil and adult participants as well as between sources.

When the findings that emerged reflected the themes focused on in the literature, an appropriate coding or label was used. An example of the primary theme I coded was labelled 'Exclusion' which I broke down into 'Voluntary Exclusion' and 'Involuntary Exclusion' in order to identify recurrent trends. These were further broken down into 'Teachers' and 'Pupils', although as we will see in the data chapters, themes under other labels or headings intersect with these first themes. Moving backwards and forwards through the data and tallying manually was time consuming, however, I did not believe that any electronic software could efficiently and adequately perform the coding task for my data or tell the story reflectively or indeed give intuitive elements. Where participant responses indicated multiple themes, the responses were given more than one code. On many occasions, some participants used gestures or body language to convey their information or sometimes made allusions to some concerns. With such data, I could not use an electronic package effectively with silent yet meaningful responses. For example, when discussing foreign language learning with a year 7 pupil about an hour after I had sat in a lesson where the pupil was supported by a teaching assistant, I asked:

ED: How did the French lesson go for you today?

Rowena: "... well I'm bad at English innit, Miss? Yeah I'm really really bad so...um French...I fink ...well ...I don't fink is good cos it ... in English I'm bad in all lessons I'm just bad..." (*Rowena did 2 long shrugs and sighs*) It's bad real bad I mean I'm bad at it. Cos I can't do English, Miss, so I can't do French.

A few themes were of interest in Rowena's response. Her repetition of the phrase '*bad at English*', I classified under themes such as disaffection, lack of interest and motivation. She stated that she did not think French was good. This went under the theme usefulness of the subject, and her last utterance, '*I can't do English... so I can't do French*' displayed her attitude toward the subject as well as how she sees herself as a language learner. This was put under the theme of identity. It is worth noting that some responses overlap in themes. These were highlighted and a note was made in the margin to indicate.

Having taught at the school for many years, I have come to understand certain terms used by pupils do not have their literal meaning. For example, the term "*it's boring*" when used by certain pupils to describe a school subject, or a learning activity usually means "*I find it difficult*" or "*I just don't like it*". Similarly, a positive statement such as "*it's fun*" usually means "*it involves playing games, and not doing much or very little work*". Thus in the conversation above, Rowena saying "*bad*" could translate as something else. This

emphasises the importance of qualitative research in an educational institution as I had to ask Rowena for clarification to get: “*I don’t care about it*”, “*it doesn’t bother me*”, which is what she meant in the first place.

4.6 Reflexivity

In qualitative research, the researcher cannot be divorced from the phenomenon under study as he or she plays two roles, that of a researcher and of a participant. According to Spencer, Ritchie, Lewis and Dillon (2003), reflexivity refers to awareness of how the researcher and the research process may have influenced the analysis and data. Parahoo (2006) states that reflexivity is a continuous process whereby researchers reflect on their preconceived values and those of the participants such as reflecting on how data collected will be influenced by the way the participants perceive the researcher. Similarly, Holloway and Wheeler (2002) add that researchers should reflect on their own actions, feelings and conflicts experienced during research.

Reflexivity was a large part of this research and through reflections, I was able to notice more, what allowed me to see and hear as well as what obstructed my seeing and hearing (see Russell and Kelly, 2002). For example, in section 4.4.1, Scotty and I had different views over his experience in the French lesson. What I did not see, which Scotty made me aware of during his interview, was an eye opener and allowed me to focus more during observations. Reflecting on and asking myself questions about interactions in the classroom during participant observation and paying careful attention to what is revealed during interviews made me more aware of how my own assumptions could impact the research. This personal memory reminder became a way of finding out about my own position and my research. In the ethical considerations section, when Sean took part in the group discussion and then changed his mind a couple of days later about taking part in the research due to what he had revealed about his family member, I reflected:

Never mind what is recommended by ethics, it is not right to record anything about anyone on something that they would find sensitive or embarrassing. It would not be in the child’s or the family member’s interest for this to come out anyway. (08/05/12)

The reflection process was continuous throughout the research and led to an increased recognition of the differences between my two roles, that of as a teacher and a researcher. I reflected on my research role at every moment during and straight after data collection and the reflection process enabled a deeper understanding and my appreciation of the experiences of the participants.

4.7 Validity and reliability

The assumption underlying this research is that reality can be interpreted in many ways and the understanding is dependent on subjective interpretation. With qualitative data, reliability involves a 'fit' between data collected and what occurs in the context examined, 'i.e. a degree of accuracy and comprehensive coverage' (Cohen *et al.*, 2000: 119). Validity and reliability, in this research relate to prolonged engagement and observation; member checks; thick description; progressive subjectivity; and triangulation (Woods, 1986; Delamont, 1992):

- a) Prolonged engagement and observation: I was able to observe the participants in language classrooms when the opportunity arose for many months.
- b) Member checks: I offered and gave the teachers the opportunity to check the transcripts of their interviews. I enabled them to add or delete anything they felt they did not want on record anymore or anything they felt was not relevant.
- c) Thick descriptions: I described in some detail the research context, place and participants and provided accounts of my role as a teacher and a researcher.
- d) Progressive subjectivity: I kept a journal throughout the data collection stage and during the data analysis. My reflective notes in the journal enabled me to 'track my emerging constructions of the participants' experience' (Raymond, 1999: 76)
- e) Triangulation: I cross-checked the data as soon as I collected it and always word-processed it at the end of school. I coded and created patterns across the data and highlighted anything that appeared unique to a specific data set.

4.8 Conclusion

The number of pupils who volunteered to participate and brought back their signed consent form was overwhelming and showed among other things, that they were committed to share their experiences of foreign language learning. Gaining access to the school did not cause problems probably because I already work in the field. Equally, access to the classrooms was easily granted although I negotiated this and reminded the teachers prior to the observations. What I observed made a starting point for discussion at interviews. The whole school was also informed of the research thus my presence in the school grounds equated to research being undertaken.

In this chapter, I presented the research design and discussed ethical issues and my role and position as a teacher and a researcher in the field. I also explained the steps I took to ensure access gaining and trustworthiness of the study and included some reflective notes. The next two chapters present the findings and discussion of the themes that have emerged from the data.

CHAPTER FIVE: THE CHALLENGES THAT EXIST IN THE ‘INCLUSIVE’ MFL CLASSROOM

5.0 Introduction

Since the Department for Education and Science (2002)'s recommendation that every pupil in key stage 2 should have the opportunity to study a second language, MFL has been on the curriculum for pupils of this age range in many primary schools. The main goal of the Languages for All policy (DfES, 2002) is to include pupils of all abilities in good quality language teaching and learning and for all pupils to achieve a level of competence in the target language (see chapter two, section 2.1). This goal emphasises three issues, all of which this chapter focuses on: the issue of inclusion; the issue of good quality language teaching and learning; and the issue of competence in the language. These issues have in common inequalities arising from the ways in which structures and practices are experienced or lived in the French classroom. This chapter gives a brief description of the ‘inclusive’ MFL classroom and provides an insight into the teaching and learning of the subject with a focus on the practices of inclusion. It also provides an overview of some of the tasks and activities that are differentiated to cater for the diverse abilities of all pupils. In this chapter, I have drawn on Bourdieu's (1977) concepts of capital, habitus and field combined with Nussbaum's (2006; 2011) capabilities approach as theoretical tools to analyse classroom negotiations and causes of inequality in MFL learning. Using a theoretical framework based on the combination of these two theories, the analysis of the qualitative data generated through participant observation and interviews suggests that ‘inclusive’ MFL classroom practices are grounded in expectations mainly about pupils' abilities to process the learning activities in ways that result in the pupils excluding themselves or, being excluded from meaningful and desired learning opportunities. I argue here that the Languages for All policy's practices in the classroom reinforce two main concerns: the pupils' pre-existing statement that French is a waste of time, and their recurrent question, “why do we have to learn French”.

My starting point for this data chapter stems from two of the research questions: “how is MFL experienced by pupils and teachers in the inclusive classroom?” and “how is inclusion demonstrated or denied in MFL?” The data in this chapter highlights a focus on policy ideology and pedagogical practices as discussed in chapter two, where I argued that the actions, encounters or negotiations that occur in the MFL classroom are, among other things, the product of difference, motivation or lack of it, identity, needs and also the product of the structure of the education system itself. I also argue in this chapter that although the Languages for All policy suggests, and studies by McColl (2000) and McKeown (2004) echo and emphasise that all pupils, regardless of their abilities can learn a foreign language and enjoy the experience, the negotiations in the ‘inclusive’ MFL classroom portray different

things. As a result, exclusion occurs as some pupils find the learning of French challenging, but above all, useless and irrelevant, thus show no interest in studying the language. In addition, the exclusion phenomenon relates to practices of inclusion as well as issues involving factors such as cultural capital, habitus and social class. In the last part of this chapter, I discuss theoretical evidence to support the findings that some pupils are tactically excluded by the system while some others, exclude themselves for various reasons. This chapter thus concentrates on the complexities of the Languages for All policy, the challenges of the 'inclusive' languages classroom and the struggles faced by all stakeholders in the learning process. The tactics of exclusion come in two parts which I have named voluntary and involuntary exclusion as presented by pupils, teachers, parents as well as the structures of the school.

5.1 The 'inclusive' MFL classroom

The MFL department at Main Street School attempts to follow the school's inclusion policy and ensures that activities are designed to suit every pupil's needs and ability. Differentiation, as discussed in section 2.4, is paramount as a whole school policy and is one of the ways the school ensures and promotes inclusion. At this school, activities and tasks in lessons are grouped in two sets, top and bottom in some subjects and in others they are grouped in three, top middle and bottom. However, in French lessons, learning activities are always put in four groups because the languages department strives to meet not only the abilities but also the needs and interests of all of the pupils. The four groups are 'nominated' as follows:

- 'More able'
- 'Able'
- 'Less able'
- 'SEN'³²

In a typical classroom where, within the 'SEN' group, some pupils' abilities appear to be lower still, then differentiation of activities is done at least in 5 ways instead of the usual 4 listed above. The term used for the fifth is usually decided by the teacher. The following extract is an example of a whole class task in which a four-way differentiated reading task was set. The classroom finally went quiet after the loud chanting and singing when they were

³² In the French department, SEN refers to pupils who have been identified as having learning disabilities or difficulties and who are on the school's current SEN register. In French, some of these pupils get support such as extra help from the teacher but pupils who can manage do not get this help and are encouraged to work independently. Pupils who have a special educational needs statement are assigned a teaching assistant who works on a one to one out of the class with the particular pupils or sits in lessons to assist the pupil. Support in French in terms of pupils being allocated a teaching assistant is a decision made by the special needs coordinator and depends on the severity of the individual pupil's learning disabilities.

practising vocabulary on classroom objects, pencil case and school bag items. All 14 girls and 17 boys chanted energetically and some were now out of breath. The room was now stuffy as the washing line game they played in teams required running to and from the line to add or remove items that the teacher called out. There were a lot of giggles and shouting during this. The teacher opened the four large windows and called for silence. The reading activity started:

Different tasks were distributed to different groups of pupils. Each pupil in each group had a work sheet. The teacher indicated to the pupils to read the instructions carefully before they start. The teacher then went around each group to explain and check on their work. The 'SEN' pupils had pictures to match to words. The words are on the worksheet and they were instructed to either draw arrows or lines from the pictures to the words or copy the words next to each picture. The 'less able' pupils had a similar task but they were not allowed to draw arrows or lines and the words they were given had gaps for missing letters so the pupils had to fill in the missing letters in the gaps. The letters were provided on the worksheet. The 'able' pupils had a gap-fill paragraph. A short paragraph on classroom items with missing words to use to fill the gaps. The missing words were provided on the sheet. The 'more able' pupils had a reading comprehension task, a text on classroom objects with questions to answer. They had to write some of the answers in English and some in French. The teacher moved around each group and discussed the work with some individuals. Many pupils, though not all, seemed content and appeared to be working hard on their tasks.

(Fieldnotes -15/09/11)

Inclusion is promoted in this classroom thus the situation seen here adheres to the Languages for All policy, the objectives of which include the participation of all pupils in learning a foreign language. In the extract above, every pupil was given the opportunity to study what was planned and what was provided for them in their study of the target language. Differentiation by task or activity in the 'inclusive' MFL classroom was applied in four ways, and although the pupils were working on the same topic, they all had different tasks designed to suit their abilities. The teacher in this classroom considered issues around equality, rights and entitlements and, as well as providing differentiated tasks, she moves around each group to explain the tasks further. The tasks were judged to be what the pupils were 'actually able to do' (Nussbaum, 2011: x) in their particular social and political contexts thus the pupils in this classroom could be described as 'fish in water' (Bourdieu, 1989:43). The teacher's capability, the opportunity to achieve her plans and objectives she has reason to value, it could be argued, was fulfilled in this lesson, if we consider her main goal which was to provide for the pupils' abilities. Pupils who finished the reading task shared the answers with their peers, showed it to the teacher to check and moved on to a conversation task in pairs.

Then the room became noisy again. Some girls were shouting out words to help their peers. The 2 girls at the front kept laughing at each other's "funny" accent as they were trying to add drama to their conversation. Three boys near my table were having a chat in English, something to do with football fixtures. They had not worked on their

speaking task yet. The teacher was listening to girls who were working in a three because one of them did not want to pair up with a boy. The speaking activity is also differentiated and graded in four ways to suit pupils in each ability group:

- Words with either '*oui*' or '*non*' as answers for the 'SEN' pupils. They have cue cards.
- Short questions beginning with '*tu*' as in for example '*tu as ..?*' are for the 'less able' pupils. These require short answers such as '*oui*' or '*non*' as well. Cue cards are also provided.
- The 'able' pupils have questions in '*as tu ...?*' construction form with longer answers such as '*oui, j'ai ...*' etc.
- The 'more able' pupils also have longer questions using the '*as-tu...?*' construction form and have to stretch their answers to '*oui, j'ai ... et j'ai aussi...*' or '*oui, j'ai... mais, euh... je n'ai pas de ...*'³³

(Fieldnotes -15/09/11)

This differentiation of learning activities is in line with the National Curriculum (DfES, 2002) and guidance by Ramage (2012); and Morgan and Neil (2001). Ramage (2012) states that teachers plan for differentiation as they have in mind expectations and learning outcomes of the different abilities of their pupils. According to Morgan and Neil (2001: 49), differentiation is the provision of different levels of activities for students of varying ability and interest level. The type of differentiation of tasks and activities described above is frequent in the MFL lessons I observed, and positions the classroom as 'inclusive' as the process is meant to cater for each pupil in the classroom. It could be argued that this conforms with the capabilities approach as this approach considers every pupil and takes '*each person as an end*' (Nussbaum, 2011: 18). On a social level, the pupils in this classroom cooperated with each other (Nussbaum, 2011) and accepted that each one of them in the classroom has different needs (Nussbaum, 2006) and pupils helped one another on the reading as well as the speaking before checking with the teacher. Social inclusion, at least at face value did not appear to be a problem in this classroom despite the differences in the pupils' abilities. It could be argued that each pupil in this classroom had the 'sense of [their] place', to borrow from Bourdieu (1987: 5).

On top of the differentiated activities, teachers in the MFL department all seemed loud and lively when teaching to keep all learners active and engaged thus, the lessons involved various activities including sing-along, dancing, role-plays and various active games. The argument could go that good quality teaching and learning as discussed in chapter two (see section 2.1) is observed in this classroom. In evaluating such creative classrooms against the capabilities, we could conclude that the pupils experience to a certain degree, some elements particularly of '*senses, imagination and thought*', which is the fourth of Nussbaum's ten central capabilities as this capability includes the ability 'to have pleasurable experiences' (Nussbaum, 2011: 33). Moreover, learning should not be limited to

³³ *Oui* = yes; *non* = no; *tu* = you; *tu as* = you have; *do you have*; *as-tu* = have you; *do you have*; *j'ai* = I have; *aussi* = also; *mais* = but; *je n'ai pas de* = I do not have.

rote learning and literacy skills if we aim to meet every pupil's abilities and needs. And this is within the context of studies by McKeown (2004) who suggests supporting the pupils with special needs in particular by making the curriculum accessible to them. McColl (2000: 34) also suggests that 'where language learners are fortunate enough to be offered appropriate courses and effective teaching, they enjoy the experience and are keen to demonstrate their skills'. Out of the 72 French lessons I observed, 58 were generally loud, lively and energetic throughout. For the rest, parts of the lessons were spent chanting loudly and parts were fairly quiet because they were carrying out an assessment test of some sort. This would explain why some pupils said during interviews that "French is fun" even if some aspects of their learning experiences were quite difficult. It is significant that on one level, the pupils appear excited and stimulated but this is far from enough to get them to remain as such with every aspect of foreign language learning, to really engage with the target language in order to become proficient, or reach the level of competence that the Languages for All policy recommends. As we will see in the data chapters, cultural capital and habitus (Bourdieu, 1977) play a part in the engagement or lack of engagement in language learning.

5.2 What does it mean to sit in the 'inclusive' MFL class as a pupil?

As described above, the MFL classroom is committed to working towards inclusion, and endeavours to meet the needs and ability of all of the pupils. Many pupils in the following extract come from working-class backgrounds and are on the school Free School Meal list.

I'm sitting in the middle of the room on my own (I like it this way!) but there's a ton of resources on my table. There's no seat free at the back. I'm behind Suzie, Catherine and Taylor. Taylor is the only boy at their table but he does not seem to mind. Everyone seems busy in the class. There are many activities going on at the same time and it's quite noisy. I gather that the whole class is revising what they have so far studied and are allowed to work on any topic or unit of their choice and to decide what activity table to join. The tables are joined, 3 or 4 in places to allow for many seats. The reading comprehension area has 8 pupils and the speaking area also has 8 pupils. The writing area has 10 pupils. The teacher is sitting at the edge of one of the tables with this writing group. She is leaning over and talking to one of the boys. She then moves and kneels down to listen to the pupils at the speaking table. Taylor whispers something to me and waves and then beckons me to join their table. I oblige. He explains the activity he and the girls are working on. There's some colouring, some cutting out, some gluing and arranging words and pictures under the appropriate heading. Suzie asks to borrow my "pretty coloured felt pens" and Taylor asks what I think of their work. Catherine interrupts him and says it's not quite finished, but he insists on my opinion on how he has enlarged the headings and is now going to colour them in. Suzie smiles and says "after this, our group is going to make a board game". To this, her team members proudly nod.

(Fieldnotes -15/11/11)

At face value, all the pupils in this extract above appeared included during the revision activities in this classroom and the tasks were differentiated to suit the diverse abilities of the pupils. It could thus be argued that diversity is routinely considered and appreciated (see for example Thomas and Loxley, 2001) and this classroom could be seen as 'an example of valuing diversity in a classroom context' (Benjamin *et al.*, 2003: 549) which forms the basis of the Languages for All policy (see section 2.1). The pupils were allowed to choose the activities they desired to work on and they appeared engaged and participated in their small groups, discussing ideas with each other, and this is in line with the principles of 'inclusive' education and its proponents would stress that 'approaches to inclusive practices (...) are about all children' and 'increasing participation of children in mainstream school' (Allan, 2010: 206).

The situation in the classroom above appeared positive and optimistic however, questions about what inclusion actually means and entails still cause children, parents and teachers to be pessimistic about its practices (see Allan, 2010). The 'inclusive' education ideology sounds positive and is constantly being evaluated and revised by the government of the day, but it is a different story in practice. For example, the entitlement to MFL learning at key stage 2 and everything associated with it, promotes inclusion of all and recommends the participation of every pupil in learning and to become competent in a foreign language but as we will see in this data chapter, what occurs in the language classroom does not match the policy rhetoric. Provision is available to all pupils to study and with the objective of becoming proficient in the language, but as the data shows, this does not mean much to many pupils. The pupils at the table where I sat, are not on the SEN register but struggle in this subject. Bourdieu (1977a) would argue that the pupils from middle-class backgrounds are advantaged over their working-class peers, in that they enter the French classroom already prepared to succeed within it. There is therefore much to recommend an argument that more work on inclusion could still be done and in the classroom described above, as an examination of all the activities and negotiations beyond simplistic face value, portrays instances of exclusion as well. For example, the 'less' able pupils in the classroom did not attempt any of the challenging activities and similarly the 'more' able pupils did not get the opportunity to colour and cut and paste in this particular lesson therefore, some pupils were excluded from some activities. The teacher also spent more time with the 'more' able pupils, assisting them with spelling or pronunciation and thus, it could be argued that she excluded the 'less' able as the 'less' able did not get much of her time. That the teacher made provisions for all pupils in her classroom was apparent, and that the pupils were participating was also apparent. But were all pupils really catered for in this classroom situation, where they did not all manage the same activities? Explaining these issues of exclusion would require theories that would enable us to ask questions about inequality (Bourdieu, 1977;

1986) which led to the differentiation of tasks in this classroom to be the norm. We have to be able to ask what practices were rooted in this inequality and what the outcomes of these practices were for the individuals. And more importantly, we must find out if and indeed how the interests of all pupils are really served in this 'inclusive' classroom.

Nussbaum (2006; 2010; 2011) argues that human beings should be allowed to do and to be who they want to be (see section 3.1.1). This argument is necessary for thinking about a meaningful education for all pupils as compulsory education is essential to prepare children for adult capabilities (Nussbaum, 2011). Evaluating the activities in this classroom against the central capabilities of *affiliation; play; and control over one's environment*, suggests that the pupils had the opportunity to contribute and control the resources and the outcomes for themselves. As they joined in the activities with their peers and cooperated with each other, they appeared to be having pleasurable experiences with the tasks. In this classroom, the children who could not manage the speaking and writing tasks were satisfied with the less challenging activities, such as cutting and colouring which, to a certain extent, they were in control of. These children's cognitive abilities, it could therefore be argued, were being developed 'through suitable education' (Nussbaum, 2011: 30).

5.3 Learning is fun but hard

In general, in the 'inclusive' classroom I observed, some pupils enjoyed and were fond of the liveliness of the lessons, but, many others did not and found the experience rather hard, daunting or boring. The following excerpts illustrate some responses of what pupils think of learning French:

Well, I love learning French cos it ... [pause] it is ... it's really fun when we play team games and when we watch a video umm but it's also what's the word? Challenging umm. Useful. But I like things th... that are challenging because I can achieve somfink (something) high that I mm might find difficult (*Lucy- year 7 pupil*)

Umm the thought of learning French is exciting because you can learn numbers in French, new games, sentences and role plays even sing and dance. I also like it when we watch videos, especially cartoons ... [pause] I think French is fun because you can use actions to help you learn. It's very easy but sometimes some things are hard to learn in French (*Naomi- year 7 pupil*)

Lucy and Naomi both expressed that they find some things difficult in French but they also talked about what they enjoy in their French lessons. Their sense of enjoyment seemed linked to the learning activities and their perception of French being either useful or easy. The level of difficulty that Lucy and Naomi experience in their lessons does not appear to diminish their enthusiasm and proponents of the Languages for All policy would argue that these girls benefit from the learning experience (see section 2.5). Stevens and Marsh (2005: 113) observe that the learning of foreign languages, presents learners with 'new experiences

[and] touches not only upon social interaction, but also personal development and creative exploration'. This was echoed by Carl, a year 6 pupil who also sounded positive:

Umm we watch videos to help us learn also is... it's fun when we do boys team against girls team and we sing along with the songs in the videos in French. I enjoy French lots I enjoy the videos every time and I sing the loudest, Miss told me so. Wait. Here we go (*started singing in French*). Yeah, but I don't get why we have to learn French though... (*Carl- year 6*)

In addition to his enjoyment and enthusiasm in the lessons, Carl made a point in his last sentence wondering why they have to learn French. This could be interpreted as two issues: issue with the usefulness of the language and issue with the choice of language. Similar to Clark (1998), this study found that pupils determine the importance of foreign language learning according to its relevance to their future needs and careers. 'Why learn French?' as Carl asked, suggests that he would prefer a different subject or indeed a different language, but, the choice is not his. The lack of choice in which language to learn has a significant impact on pupils' attitudes toward foreign language learning. Williams *et al.* (2002) and Bartram (2012) also found that students were more positive toward their language lessons where they had a choice. The entitlement to language learning (see section 2.1) would suit Lucy and Naomi from what they both described above, however, it might not suit Carl's needs as he questioned the reason for learning French.

Despite the liveliness and the variety of activities in French lessons, it was apparent that some pupils find the foreign language learning experience rather daunting and difficult so much so that they would not learn the subject at all, if they could opt out of it as the following recordings below show:

I find it hard. I'm not good at French. It doesn't matter to me that much anyway. I'm dropping it when I go to the high school (*Steven- year 6 pupil*).

Another year 6 pupil also expressed his view:

I'm confident in English but just not in French is... it's too hard and you have to really work hard to remember all the words and accents and stuff but I just can't remember them all. I don't think we should do French anyways. My brother says I don't have to do it at high school. (*Mark- year 6 pupil*)

Similarly, the following two pupils also stated:

French is hard and I'm never gonna be good at it and it's **bor**ing (*stresses on the first 2 letters in boring*). Why do we even learn it? I'm not gonna do French in year 10. My brother said you don't have to do languages at the high school. (*Matt- year 6 pupil*)

On another occasion, this year 7 pupil said:

I don't like it at all. It's hard. I know we play games in French more than in other lessons and that is good I suppose but I just don't like it. I'm never going to do well in it. I take part and join in as much as I can but I'm not really keen on it and I don't remember it much and I hate learning it. I'm not taking French at the high school. (*Jess- year 7 pupil*)

These pupils indicated that they were looking forward to dropping French when they reach the next key stage (see section 2.1). Matt added boredom to his dislike of the language and for Steven MFL lacks relevance and usefulness. This is suggestive of Jones and Jones' (2001) study which linked disaffection and poor performance to boys' views of MFL as useless and irrelevant. Fisher's (2001) study also found that students find languages difficult and boring. These four pupils indicated their dislike to learning French and each of them expressed their feelings with terms such as "hard", and "don't like it". These pupils thus would prefer not to learn French at all if they had the choice. This is in contrast to studies by McColl (2000) and McKeown (2004) which reported that all pupils enjoy MFL and listed positive reasons for teaching foreign language to all pupils, because the pupils in the extracts above expressed the opposite. More importantly, these pupils' feelings go against the opportunity created by the entitlement and the policy rhetoric itself, languages for *all* as it could be said from the data that languages are not for all. Languages are not however the only subject not enjoyed by pupils. A study on mathematics by Zevenbergen (2005) revealed that students in the low streamed classes do not enjoy mathematics and claim it is their least favourite subject.

In unpicking Nussbaum's (2011: 18) quote in which she suggests that her capabilities approach asks about the 'opportunities available to each person', it could be understood that the opportunity to learn French is provided or is at least available to the pupils. The pupils also have to a certain extent the 'freedom' (Nussbaum, 2011:18) to learn or at least to perform in the French classroom. It should be noted that although the capability approach acts in accordance with all aspects of human rights perspectives, there are some limitations here in the French classroom as attending class is compulsory and pupils are reprimanded for not attending unless they provide a valid reason for their absence. Pupils also have the 'freedom' to choose to take part in activities or not, but again, there are consequences although some pupils would rather take the punishment than perform in the French class, as we will see later in Miss Paul's statement in 5.4. In addition to demonstrating and voicing their dislike of the subject, some pupils choose to 'define themselves' (Nussbaum, 2011: 18) as 'never going to be good at it' (*ibid*). This is similar to Williams *et al.*'s (2004) findings that students attribute their failure in learning a foreign language to limitations in their own abilities.

In classrooms where pupils showed dislike to French and did not want to learn it the data revealed that exclusion in the first sense of the term, the state of not being included, was inevitable and occurred in the 'inclusive' classroom. This was because of many factors including differentiation itself, the very process that is established to ensure inclusion. As we will see in the sections below, exclusion occurred in the 'inclusive' French classroom, through negotiations between the teacher and the pupils and also through the practices of inclusion.

Exclusion on the pupils' part was linked to their habitus and capital (Bourdieu, 1977) and on the teachers' part, exclusion occurred among other things through the practices of inclusion. The narratives in the section below collected from two French teachers demonstrate such occurrences.

5.4 Knowing it is exclusion and being the exclusionist

Structures in a classroom context include knowledge, cultures and day-to-day struggles for pupils and teachers as they all battle through the issues of inclusion and curriculum provisions. When discussing why some pupils are never keen on learning French, Miss Paul, a French teacher opened the conversation as follows:

Our four-way or five-way differentiation that we do is not always enough particularly with this class, it's not enough. It's never enough. The 3 boys and 2 girls³⁴ you very well know right? You know who I'm talking about? Yes, I give them the simplest of tasks and we do a lot of repetition, as you know and we need to do that because they don't remember what they learn. With them, it's a case of keeping them occupied, really. In a sense, they're not learning at all, are they? We shouldn't really call that learning. I don't call it learning. But, whatever they grasp in their own time, gives me the greatest joy even if it's all forgotten by the next day and as they only have one lesson a week, umm we can't really move on. We can't go beyond the basics. So week in week out, we review the basic stuff. At least, repeating the basics with the pupils who struggle gives me the opportunity to push the 'more able' pupils.

(Miss Paul- French teacher)

The differentiation of activities is insufficient in Miss Paul's opinion. The idea of including all pupils in French is therefore critical as inclusion and exclusion occurred simultaneously in the 'inclusive' classroom. In exploring the nature of the provision of tasks for all abilities as described by the teacher, I drew on the capabilities approach as the analysis of the teacher's account required among other things, an engagement with the perceptions of inclusion in the struggle over the entitlement to learn a foreign language. Nussbaum's capabilities approach which stresses on the questions 'what are people actually able to do and to be?' and 'what real opportunities are available to them?' (Nussbaum, 2011: x) allows and makes essential such an engagement. It appears that real opportunities may not be available to some of the pupils in this 'inclusive' classroom hence, the teacher resorts to repeating learning items although this still does not get them far. In the teacher's words, "this is not learning". And as the education system does not assign importance or significance to these pupils' cultural capital, it is difficult to suggest they have real opportunity in the language classroom to achieve what they value.

³⁴ Here, the teacher is referring to pupils who have been identified as having special educational needs. Although these pupils have poor literacy and numeracy skills, they do not have a statement and therefore do not have a Teaching Assistant in French lessons.

As discussed in chapter two, scholars have for many years continued to incite debates regarding inclusion on the other, but it still appears, as in Miss Paul's extract here, that not much can be achieved in practice in certain circumstances despite the development of 'inclusive' education policies. The pupils in the extract do not appear to have the ability to process the learning activities however they are bound by policies to be a part of that classroom where they ended up being excluded as a result of being included in something that is beyond their capabilities. Questions should therefore be asked about whether the pupils are being treated as a means to some end or target. As the capabilities approach promotes the idea of the person as an end and stresses that a person should never be 'treated as means to another's plans and goals' (Hedge and MacKenzie, 2012: 330), in this classroom where some pupils were not 'actually able to do' (Nussbaum, 2011: x), the learning activities, I would argue that their individual needs were not really considered as differentiation was still insufficient. In a wider socio-political context, there exists a moral gap in human rights in Miss Paul's French classroom, for when the 'more able' pupils were being pushed to reach their potential, the 'less able' remained on the basics. It is understandable why some pupils would remain on the basics but the situation creates a gap in equality; a gap which will widen, and as the gap widens, the dominant structures and practices will reproduce (Bourdieu, 1977). This bears the question whether including them in learning French is for their benefit and if the dignity of the 'less able' pupils was as well protected as that of their 'able' peers. Critically, if the pupils are "not learning" as the teacher put it, despite the activities being differentiated, then what are they actually able to do (Nussbaum, 2006; 2011)?

Another teacher's view sounded similar:

Some of them, you know, are not going to achieve much in French due to their weaknesses. Some won't achieve anything at all. And that's fine. But it gets to me when I see pupils who are able to do well and yet choose not to even try and then claim they find it too hard even when I give them what tasks they can manage. Some would tell me blatantly, that they can do it, that they do get the task, but just don't want to bother. Some even say their parents know and support them not to care about French or want to learn French, which explains a lot of their attitudes. But what more can you do? I mean, I don't like wasting time with pupils who categorically make it clear that they don't want to learn the language. Whatever you do, they don't join in. Oh by the way they'd tell you they don't want to join in. They don't see the point in it. So it's a struggle because if I follow the behaviour policy then, I'd end up punishing them all the time and for what? So it's a case of keeping them engaged somehow. So I spend more time with those who are willing to learn even though I know they may never achieve much in the subject. It's worth spending my energy on them and when they do manage to repeat a phrase or a sentence after you or even a word in French, it's marvellous...knowing well that, comes tomorrow, they won't remember what they learnt, the feeling is still marvellous.

(Mrs Blair – French teacher)

Although implicit in this second teacher's account, it appears that some of the pupils in her 'inclusive' classroom do not learn much at all and these pupils come under two categories: some have poor literacy skills and others are reluctant to learn. The latter category indicates that foreign language learning is not what the pupils have reason to value, thus their functionings and their capabilities (Nussbaum, 2006; 2011) are not met in such lessons. For the pupils who have poor literacy skills, it is a battle for them to read, write and remember vocabulary learnt in French lessons. This is similar to Clark and Trafford's (1995) findings that GCSE exam places a greater demand on student in MFL than other subjects. The lack of cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986), for example, knowledge and literacy skills also contributes to a certain extent to pupils reluctance to perform in French lessons.

It appears that the two teachers endeavour to adhere to the policies and follow what is required in the process of differentiation in order to include all pupils in the learning process, thus the teachers operate from an inclusive mind set. However, what is experienced in their 'inclusive' classrooms indicates there is conflict between the policy and practices of inclusion (see section 2.3). It is therefore important to consider the complexities of inclusion as a number of studies (Cole, 2004; Benjamin, 2002; Rogers, 2013) show differences in policy rhetoric and practices, thus, such findings should be taken into account as 'the practice of inclusion, and what one might hope would be some of the outcomes of that practice, remain problematic' (Dyson and Gallanough, 2007: 474-5).

Miss Paul stating that some pupils work on the basics while she takes the opportunity to concentrate on the 'more able' pupils is an example of exclusion within inclusion, an example of the reality experienced in the 'inclusive' classroom. The pupils working on the basics are in the same classroom and the whole class is 'learning' the same subject at that particular time therefore, all pupils are included. However, when the teacher chooses to concentrate more on the pupils who are happily getting on with the activities planned, some pupils are excluded. The second teacher also spends more time with pupils who are willing to learn. With these narratives, we could suggest that the habitus of these teachers organise their orientations and their practices, as Bourdieu (1990: 52) asserts, habitus is 'always oriented towards practical functions'. As mentioned above, this practice also excludes some other pupils. Inclusion of all appears to create exclusion of some. Both teachers' extracts display issues of repetition in the classroom and this is linked to questions of 'achievement', 'progress' and the 'recognised level of competence' stated in the DfES (2002) document. For these teachers, these three terms, appear to be something remote to contemplate in their 'inclusive' language classrooms, and repetition of basic items which some may argue will lead to lack of progress and boredom (Macaro, 2008), is something they both rejoice about. Both teachers express their intentions to spend more of their energy and time on pupils who are either 'more able' or who are willing to learn the language and

reveal that they keep their class groups somehow engaged, which implies they attempt to include all pupils in their 'learning' activities.

In Mrs Blair's account are also issues of power related to structures of how some of the pupils and indeed the teacher understand reality. According to Foucault (1993), there is power in all moments and power is created in all human interactions, and can shift. In this classroom, there are pupils, according to Mrs Blair's, who are able to do well but choose not to even try, therefore defying the teacher's authority and positioning themselves as knowing what is best. All the teacher can do is either adhere to the school's behaviour policy directives or keep the pupils engaged in the lesson the best she can. Such a situation, I would argue, far from meets the goals of the Languages for All policy, in that, the issues of inclusion (taken here to mean 'actual' participation) and the issue of good quality teaching and learning are not fulfilled. The pupils tell the teacher why they do not care for the subject and give their reasons which can be linked to their social backgrounds and their cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1977b). In the case of many of the pupils from working-class families, the French classroom represents a challenging and hostile environment, a social and cultural world set apart from that of their own families, and one in which they are likely to feel like a fish out of water (Bourdieu, 1989); a sentiment which is worse if the working-class pupils are identified as having special educational needs. In contrast, for the middle-class pupils, there exists some continuity between the culture of their homes and that of the MFL classroom whether they have special educational needs or not. Pupils from working-class backgrounds are nevertheless required to study French with middle-class pupils and demonstrate what the Languages for All policy promotes (see chapter two). As a result, they are generally more reluctant to learn the language than their middle-class peers (Ellis, 1994).

In those two classrooms deemed 'inclusive' the practices of inclusion create the opposite of what is intended. Both teachers admit 'giving up' on the pupils who do not show any willingness to learn French and 'excluding' them in order to concentrate more on pupils who are keen to learn. By prioritising diversity and providing for all abilities in the same classroom, the quality of inclusion is, to say the least, diminished, causing a contradiction in terms (Woodward, 2008). The pupils who are reluctant to learn in these lessons and explain that their choice is supported by their parents also play a part in the exclusion phenomenon. A situation as such destroys functionings and inhibits the individual's capabilities.

What goes on in the 'inclusive' French classrooms appears to be much more complex than the rhetoric of the policy of inclusion and the Languages for All policy suggest. Warnock (2005) would agree that inclusion is much more than just about the placement of a child in mainstream education, much more than providing for all in the French classroom. As discussed in section 2.3, other studies have also reinforced how problematic 'inclusive' education can be. It is arguable that on the one hand, inclusion of all does not appear to work

for the pupils who claim that they “cannot be bothered” to learn French and on the other hand, it does not appear to work either for pupils who struggle to learn it. In both situations, pupils’ capabilities are hindered. For this reason, it is fair to say that the process of inclusion and its practices need to be discussed with all key stakeholders, for example, policy makers, teachers, parents and pupils in order to reach a useful decision on what is more appropriate and most importantly, meaningful for different pupils.

As Slee (2003a) argues, inclusive education is about listening to the voices and empowering all members of a school community to develop an approach to education that is committed to identifying and dismantling actual and potential sources of exclusion. Such a view raises the question, as I will discuss later in 5.4.2 and 5.4.4, about what to do when the voices themselves seek to be excluded from the learning process as some pupils do in the French class for example. And as inclusion is about a philosophy of acceptance where all individuals are valued (Carrington, 2000), perhaps we should follow Warnock’s (2005) perspective for recognising that inclusion of all does not always work for every pupil. Ballard (1995) notes that inclusion is continuous and as a result there is no such thing as an inclusive school. However, Apple and Beane (1995) argue that communities in inclusive schools cooperate and collaborate for the common good of all pupils, and according to Slee (2001a), inclusive education is about the politics of representation. All these views show that there is no consensus on how inclusion is practised; hence instances of exclusion exist in the inclusion process. The situation described by the two teachers in 5.4 was confirmed by these teaching assistants during group discussions:

Pupils who misbehave, and pupils who are lazy or don’t want to do much work get really easy and repetitive activities and the teacher does more work with the good and hardworking pupils. (*Miss Teller - TA*)

Keeping some of them engaged by providing them with very easy tasks is the only way the teacher can occupy them and this gives her the chance to stretch anyone willing to learn. Some of these pupils can’t perform in the subject either due to behaviour issues or ability and that is understandable but there’s no other way around it, it’s that or the teacher kicks them out. It’s that simple. (*Ms Shell - TA*)

These extracts reiterate that teachers involve themselves less with certain pupils in the ‘inclusive’ MFL classroom as some pupils spend all of their lesson time with a teaching assistant while the teacher concentrates on the others. McKeown (2004: 94) notes that when a teaching assistant is asked by the teacher to support a group of ‘low achievers, rather than one named child’ within the classroom, ‘there is a danger of dividing the class into subsets’ thus the group is ‘segregated not included’, something that occurs with the process of differentiation (see section 2.4). Gillies and Robinson (2013: 48) also report that some mainstream teachers spend more of their time with ‘academically promising students’ to

ensure educational development and well-being, whereas they concern themselves less with lower ability students and those with behavioural problems. This point is echoed and summed up in the rest of Miss Paul's interview:

Miss Paul: It's always the same with some of them. They're not badly behaved and they're not weak. They just don't seem to see the point in learning French. I've tried all sorts, praises, bribery. You name it. I'm sure you do the same with your difficult ones. I threatened to send them to isolation room or to the Head of Year. Even that did not make any difference to their attitude. I suppose you can't make a horse drink. All I can do is keep them engaged somehow and that's not easy.

ED: Um yes, so how do you deal with this?

Miss Paul: well, yeah they're in the same group, are part of the same class and are taught the same topics and they get differentiated tasks anyway so, as I said, I tend to spend my energy on those pupils who are actually interested and want to learn. It makes a difference if they're interested even if they struggle a bit. You spend more time to make it more enjoyable for them, to find ways to help them learn. If they don't, well, you leave them to it. If there's no hope and you try to get the parents on board but they're not willing to support you either, then there's not much you can do.

This exclusion described by Miss Paul, or 'within-class segregation' (Wedell, 2005: 5) are part of the factors that could sometimes impede pupil effective developments (Ofsted, 2004), as teachers do not waste time or energy on the pupils they 'choose' to exclude. One of the expectations of the Languages for All policy is to ensure high quality teaching and learning opportunities (see section 2.1) for young people in order to achieve lifelong language learning. It also seeks to increase the number of students studying languages in further and higher education (DfES, 2002). It is therefore difficult to envisage this goal in classrooms where 'a teacher's time and attention is limited with competing demands' (Gillies and Robinson, 2013: 49), a situation which can result in languages teachers being less concerned about pupils who cannot or who are unwilling to learn. Miss Paul's response here also shows that she is aware of the principles of inclusion, when she says that "they're in the same group, are part of the same class and are taught the same topics", her words fit well with the Salamanca Statement (UNESCO, 1994). In this case however, the practices of inclusion failed to match what is intended but support exclusionary practices instead.

5.4.1 Involuntary exclusion: who or what is the exclusionist?

In the National Curriculum, the programme of study for MFL devotes a whole section to inclusion of all pupils and stresses that inclusion seeks three main principles (see section 2.1.2) one of which is to respond to pupils' diverse learning needs. Teachers are thus encouraged to be aware of different needs of pupils and to differentiate activities in order to cater for all pupils' individual needs. In the following excerpt recorded in a year 7 French class, provision is available for the diverse ability of the pupils, however, given the fact that not all pupils were given the same task, it could be argued that some were 'excluded' right at the start of the learning activity.

Twenty-six pupils: 15 girls and 11 boys in this class. Pupils are sitting in groups of ability. Class begins with a starter activity which is a sing-along to 'la danse d'Igor'. Nice pop music! I see myself moving to the beat. Not every pupil's singing but the lyrics are on the screen and on paper on some tables. And it's obvious they've done this before as the ones singing seem to know the lyrics. Some of the 'lower ability' pupils particularly are not singing. The song has now ended. Class is now given a multi-question task – a quick recall of their previous lesson... A reading and writing task follows. Teacher explains the differentiated task and tells class to start. Each group of pupils is concentrating on their task. The teacher joins the 'more able' pupils (these are four girls at this table) and checks their work then discusses with them how to expand on their answers to I quote, 'get a higher level' the pupils nodded in agreement. One of the girls smiles and asks if she could use the dictionary to add extra words. The teacher smiles and sits and talks with them. The teacher then quickly glances over at other pupils' work around the room but moves back to the 'more' able pupils' table again. The teaching assistant is sitting between 2 SEN pupils. They also have a different task which they are doing very quietly. The assistant talks now and again to her little group. The teacher doesn't go to them but does a thumb up gesture to check with the teaching assistant if things are going right.

(Fieldnotes -10/05/12)

Here, the micro cultures of this classroom display power relations as well as social and material inequality (Benjamin *et al.*, 2003). Diversity is to a certain degree valued in this classroom as differentiated activities are provided for every pupil. The 'more able' pupils were encouraged and given the choice (Nussbaum, 2006; 2011) to expand on their activity. This 'excluded' at least partially, other pupils who were not sitting at that table although it could be argued that the other pupils were still participating in the class activities therefore they were included. The general principle regarding inclusion is about increasing the participation of children in mainstream education and removing barriers to such participation (DfEE, 2001; DfES, 2001). But is that enough?

In this typical classroom, attempts were made to at least accommodate all abilities (Pirrie, 2008). During the sing along, the 'lower ability' group which comprised of pupils identified as having learning difficulties or pupils with SEN did not join in. It could be argued that these pupils did not know or could not follow the lyrics. The lyrics were however projected on the board and printed on paper on their tables thus, we could give inclusion the thumbs up and celebrate it in this classroom because of provision and most importantly, because of participation. However, a situation as such continues to raise the question of whether the 'inclusive' classroom can provide all pupils with equal opportunities to develop the central capabilities to which they are, as equal human beings, entitled (Hedge and MacKenzie, 2012). The instances of exclusion in this 'inclusive' classroom are abundant. The two pupils working quietly on a different task with the assistant are part of the class thus they were included, or were they? It is understood that the teacher spent more time with the 'more able' pupils in order to challenge them or assist them to reach their potential, but this meant she did not spend as much time, if any at all, with the other pupils. The assistant did

not spend time with any other group of pupils either. Arguably, the included were at the same time excluded in this French classroom.

5.4.2 Voluntary exclusion: pupils

According to McColl (2000: 7), pupils, regardless of their abilities should be included in foreign language learning as the experience can be 'life-enhancing for individual students'. However pupils' attitudes and self-expectations with regard to inclusion tell a different story. Some pupils act to show that they would rather not take part in the inclusion of all (DfEE, 1999; 2001, DfES, 2001) or indeed in the Languages for All (DfES, 2002) as Natalie a year 6 pupil revealed:

I hate learning French so I just sit there and don't do much. I guess the lesson is good and sometimes fun when we play games and stuff. But I don't really want to know French so I don't join in much in French lessons. No. I don't get much work done because I don't like French.

(Natalie- year 6 pupil)

Although Natalie recognises that the lessons are good, she is not interested in them, and in her own words, she does not want to "know French", thus does not get much work done. It is thus unjust for Natalie to sit in French lessons and the argument could go that she is not 'really included' in the lessons. Natalie is not unique in this situation and not all pupils appreciate the entitlement to foreign language learning, in contrast to other subjects, particularly the core ones which pupils perceive as more important. In entitling all pupils to study MFL, the Languages for All policy thus failed to acknowledge or at least recognise personal situations of pupils such as Natalie's. Instead, the policy strives to transform every pupil's potential in languages but at what cost? It is important to distinguish that the capabilities are provided for Natalie and she recognised that the lessons are good, but it appears that she does not want to use them. This still therefore questions whether her capabilities (Nussbaum, 2006; 2011) are best served in a classroom where she does not participate in the lesson. As we will see in the rest of the data, Natalie is not the only pupil who feels this way. In a year 6 French class, I noted:

Class is fairly quiet. One can almost hear the noise of the pens/pencils and rubbers scratching the paper. Teacher says 3 more minutes in the target language. Lizzie groans and says "it's too hard". Benedict also says "I don't understand this!" Teacher moves towards him and asks what he doesn't understand he replies "it's too hard and I don't get it". Teacher asks him to be more specific to say exactly what he doesn't get. He keeps saying "it's too hard", "what's the point of learning French". The teacher sits next to him and started to explain the task again but Benedict carries on whining and repeating "it's too hard". The teacher moves away from him and started working with two other pupils. *(The teacher doesn't go back to Benedict again until the end of the lesson...)* "It's not as if I'm ever going to live in France" Benedict shouts out loud. Another pupil shouts: "You don't know that and you might go on holiday there". Benedict shakes his head.

(Fieldnotes -28/11/12)

As this extract demonstrates, attempts to include all pupils are not always successful and can lead to exclusion. Despite being entitled to learn the language (DfES, 2002) having the choice to take part and despite being given the opportunity (Nussbaum, 2006; 2011) to learn, Benedict was not willing to participate in this lesson and voiced that he was not keen on the subject. Benedict's habitus (Bourdieu, 1977b) is indicated here as his reaction clearly showed that he would not value learning French and he did not want any help learning it, thus he managed to exclude himself voluntarily or indeed by choice. And as Benedict chose to exclude himself, the teacher in turn, excluded him by moving away from him and not going back for the rest of the lesson. Inclusion of all has created exclusion in this classroom too.

When pupils 'choose' to exclude themselves and advance reasons such as 'it's too hard', or 'I don't want to learn French' and anything similar to display negative views towards the subject, such behaviour Bourdieu (1977b) would argue indicates that the pupils' cultural capital is underdeveloped thus, their identities as language learners appear insecure. In the same vein, Nussbaum (2011: 23- 24) would add that the pupils' 'basic capabilities' are not nurtured. When asked why he does not work hard or try his best in French, Leon, a year 7 boy explained:

I never work hard in French lessons. I never did at my old school either. Yeah, at my old school, my French teacher got so annoyed with me that during French lessons, I was sent out to sit in the year 8 area with some work, which I didn't do of course. Sometimes during French, I had to join the PE group and did PE instead and I found that much better than French. I don't like French, you see. I don't need it. I want to be a builder when I grow up so...

(Leon- year 7 pupil)

Leon went on to express how much he finds French lessons time wasting and compared it to other subjects saying "in other lessons, say, like English for example, yeah or maths, even if you find the work hard, you know that you might need it one day, so you do your best". Coming from a working-class family, Leon does not envisage that French can open up wider educational routes for him in the future, therefore, including him in this subject does not work because his interests lie elsewhere and he undermines his teacher's effort to provide him with tasks that suit his ability and to keep him engaged. This situation is similar to Willis' (1977) secondary school students, who, due to their cultural background, made decisions regarding their future lives before even finishing school. The reluctance to learn the language as seen in Leon's extract is one of the factors that create exclusion on the part of some pupils in the 'inclusive' classroom. The following lesson observation of a year 6 class also displays some reluctance towards participation in the subject.

Teacher says stop! Time's up! The class is now correcting the task. Pupils volunteer or are picked to go to the board and write the correct answers. *(only the 'more able' pupils are volunteering to answer questions except at times when the TA whispers the answers to 'strugglers' and encourages them to put their hands up. On occasions, the TA puts her hand up and then point to a 'struggler' who is then picked by the*

teacher. His answer is correct. The teacher praises him grandly so does the TA. He did not smile. He shrugs!). Teacher then picks Peter another pupil but he shouts “my hand’s not up, Miss”, teacher says “come to the board and give it a go anyway” Peter starts ranting “but I don’t want to. I don’t know the answer and I don’t like French” ... “anyway people would laugh, I’m not good at French”. *Just as the teacher looks around and seems to be about to pick another pupil,* Peter drags himself to the board and gets the answer right. His peers clap and cheer. He smiles broadly and gives ‘high 5’ to his peers as he returns to his seat.

(Fieldnotes -10/12/12)

The ‘more able’ pupils seemed to dominate the correction of the task as they contributed more than their peers. This classroom showed some pupils were reluctant to participate and would have excluded themselves without the TA’s help. It also did not matter to the pupil picked by the TA if he took part or not as he was indifferent to the praises. Peter was also reluctant but very pleased when he got his answer right. The actions of pupils who show reluctance to learn or who consistently claim that they do not like French appear to contribute to the exclusion instances in the classroom as the pupils either exclude themselves from tasks or are excluded, when the teacher spends more time and energy on pupils interested in the activities.

5.4.3 Exclusion: non-linguists teachers’ views

Talking with a foreign language teacher, I recounted a conversation I had a few weeks before with Mr Gunn, our news board coordinator regarding our school newsletter:

This afternoon, I asked Mr Gunn, our school news board coordinator if I could add some articles on MFL for the school celebratory newsletter which goes out every half term. He said: “Sorry, there’s no room left. I’m struggling to fit in all of the nominated personalities’ achievements (*He was referring to the musicians and the athletes. No surprises there!*). I’m really sorry, but there’s just no room for any more photos”. To this I quickly replied: “No, I’m not bothered about the photos, it’s just to name and commend a few pupils on their achievements in French, so all I need really is a small slot” “Sorry, no can’t do” he said and walked off (*not in a rude way I must admit however it was clear that the conversation wouldn’t go any further no matter what*). Well, what did I expect? I wasn’t surprised really, just disappointed again as only some subjects get priority in our newsletter: Music and PE. Well, Languages for all? Mmm... Definitely not for Mr Gunn. At least not yet.

(Fieldnotes -03/10/11)

The nominated personalities Mr G. was referring to are for Sports and Music. Again, MFL has to make way for other subjects as it is usually the case and even here on a celebratory school newsletter. When I finished talking the teacher chuckled and commented:

It’s not the first time we have been put on the back bench. It’s always the same story. You’d think we’d be used to it by now, and we should be really, shouldn’t we? Well, it’s no secret that PE and music sell the school much more than any other subject.

(Miss Paul – French teacher)

The teacher made a valid point here. Due to their performing nature, Physical Education and music are frequently put on show to 'sell' the school to potential new parents. However, as we will see later in this section, MFL teachers also strive to put on a show to 'sell' the subject to parents and pupils but generally fail to excite their attention. The literature suggests that parents significantly influence the general development of their children's attitudes (see section 2.6.2).

The inside of the school prospectus is reviewed every year but the cover is changed every couple of years. The cover of the 2009-2011 prospectus displayed eighteen individual pictures laid out beautifully in sections showing the school at work. In total, five subjects were shown displaying photographs for this amount of time: science = 3 times; food technology = 3 times; art = 3 times; Information Technology = 3 times; Physical Education = 4 times; music = 4 times. MFL did not feature on the prospectus. Similarly, the homepage on the school website accessed on 12/04/13 showed a video tour where 3 minutes and a half of video time showed five subjects. However, MFL did not feature on any part of the video. The recent video tour was recorded by year 8 pupils in 2011 and it showed the art subject 6 times, PE 11 times, science 3 times, music 4 times, food technology 4 times. Extra-curricular physical activities were shown along with clips of the school facilities. MFL yet again was absent on the video tour. Although there were no pictures showing English and maths, in the prospectus and the school website, pages were dedicated for each of these subjects. Graphs and charts compared the school's results to the national statistics and allocated budget to enhance the status of English and maths are displayed in the light of claims about the diversity, efficiency and equity of provision in these subjects. In reflecting upon the Year 8 pupils' impressive camera work on the video tour in a conversation with the deputy head teacher, I recorded:

ED: The video tour's great. The pupils did well there. Shame about MFL.

Mrs Ottey (Deputy Head): Yeah they did a very good job there. They had to practice reading the script until Mr Jay was satisfied that they were confident.

ED: Oh?

Mrs Ottey: Yeah he wrote the script so it's only natural that he wanted it to be perfect.

ED: But those pupils are quite able and could have written the script themselves.

Mrs Ottey: Yes but Mr Jay wanted it all to be perfect. You have to sell it these days.

The above interview captures the status of MFL in the school. What is of analytical merit here is the sound of the deputy's last sentence: "you have to sell it these days". I nodded in response, deep in thought, unsure what to add in reply. I found it hard to comprehend that one can sell inclusion without being inclusive, that one can endeavour to sell inclusion and possibly be well aware that one was not inclusive. My head buzzed with questions there were no easy answers for.

Pondering over what the deputy head meant when she stated in the last line “Mr Jay wanted it all to be perfect” made me question what values Mr Jay accords to foreign language learning. It also showed that MFL was not considered to make the selling point for the school in Mr Jay’s view. This could be because there are no national tests in MFL for pupils at key stages 2 and 3 which is the age group Main Street School caters for, thus the published performance tables do not directly concern the subject. This could explain why, the newsletter, the brochure, the school prospectus and the school website video tour all exclude the subject.

Other non-linguists adults hold strong feelings about pupils who struggle to learn French but have to take part alongside their peers in the ‘inclusive’ classroom. The following interview extracts were with two teaching assistants:

Miss Tellor: I don’t think some of them should be learning French at all because they find it so difficult. They find it difficult because they have no grasp of English so they struggle. They may be able to say whatever they learn in French once, usually during the lesson or as soon as the lesson ends but ask them again the following lesson and they haven’t got the foggiest. They just can’t.

(Interview -16/11/11)

Mrs Ogilvie: I feel sorry for the kids who can’t read English and yet have to learn French. I mean the pupils who are in the bottom set in English. What on earth do they have to sit in French lessons for? They just sit there. It has no meaning for them, they just sit there. Even when the teacher’s playing a game with them, Owen, Gemma and that lot, you know in my little group, don’t enjoy it because they don’t really get it.

(Interview -16/11/11)

These two teaching assistants were persistent that some pupils would be better off not included in French lessons as being in these lessons mean nothing at all and does not enhance their learning. The interesting point is that they share what some of the parents say about their children having to learn the subject. Miss Tellor added:

Miss Tellor: I mean some pupils, when you ask them a question, and they can’t think of the answer right away, they look through their books to find the answer. You hear them say ‘oh I know, I remember when we did this’. But some other pupils don’t even have the ability to know that they can find things in their books.

(Interview -16/11/11)

This second extract from Miss Tellor shows that contrary to most responses from the pupils in this research, there are some pupils who are indifferent to the games played in the French lessons due to their abilities. This is an indication that despite having provision of resources (exercise books, games and teaching assistants), pupils who do not have the interest, ability or required cultural capital are understandably unable to process the learning activities but are nevertheless ‘included’. As a result, they have to renegotiate their habitus in which they

were secure as well as integrate their identity as French learners within the language learning process. It could be argued that the Languages for All policy fails to recognise that pupils from disadvantage backgrounds could remain secure in their habitus, as will pupils from middle-class families, and face difficulties in the learning of a foreign language. And this appears to be the case with many pupils in this school, but more importantly, it appears that the language policy opts to disregard this in its rhetoric (see chapter two), understating then that the pupils just have to deal with it, meaning, studying the target language, enjoy it and somehow become competent in it. The situation in the 'inclusive' MFL classroom mirrors the medical model of disability (see chapter two) which regards difference and disability as the individual's problem. Inclusion was however introduced on a rights-based analysis of the medical model therefore, it is worth stating that the rights of pupils who struggle in the French classroom and who have no idea what is going on despite provision, remain uncertain. It is apparent that Owen, Gemma and the rest of the pupils with SEN in Mrs Ogilvie's little group have difficulties here as the TA explained that they do not even enjoy playing games in the French lessons because most of the time, they do not understand what the games entail. As these pupils struggle to understand anything in their lessons, but are entitled to learn the language (see chapter two) and take part in lessons anyway, is their lack of understanding or limited knowledge their own problem? It is understood that inclusion removes barriers to participation but how far does the entitlement to learn a foreign language or a situation such as this 'inclusive' classroom take the meaning of participation? And do we proclaim participation and yet ignore the needs of the pupil? My argument here is that the meaning of participation in this instance is vague and does not support the goals of inclusion, one of which is to ensure the education of all children and young people in order for the potential of each child to be developed. It seems thus pretentious to claim that the pupils described above are 'included' in their French lessons.

5.4.4 Voluntary exclusion on parental request

At Main Street School, pupils whose parents have some knowledge of French have an interest in foreign language learning, and parents who are open to foreign cultures in general, tend to apply themselves more in all subjects including MFL. It is also noticeable that these pupils get some encouragement and support at home and they show a more positive attitude in the French classroom. Empirical evidence suggests that parental involvement is a fundamental determinant in securing children's academic achievement. Reay (2004: 58) states that it is from their families that children acquire 'modes of thinking, types of dispositions sets of meaning and qualities of styles'. In her study on parental involvement in their children's schooling, Reay (1998) suggests that other than the

importance of the parents' educational qualifications and participation in high status activities, their confidence about providing support to their children was also significant.

Many of the parents I meet either during parent evenings and open evenings or during casual meeting at the school also maintain that "French is too hard for pupils to learn" and "it would be good for everyone if French was not part of the curriculum for every child". Statements as such usually come from parents who admit that they are not themselves keen on the language and this is shown in their children being reluctant to even try to learn the language. The parents' main argument is that, if a child is weak in reading and spelling skills in English, then they should be offered some literacy support instead of MFL in order for them to develop and gain confidence in these skills (see also McKeown, 2004). This would make sense, and arguably, support in literacy skills would give those pupils a goal (Nussbaum, 2003) and some secured cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1977).

When I explained to Mrs Vaughn, a parent participant, that all subjects are hard in an attempt to promote the benefits of learning a foreign language, and suggested music as an example of one of the hard subjects, as you have to learn the musical notes and understand the theory, Mrs Vaughn replied "but not as hard as French. French is definitely harder". She added "I can help my children with homework in all of their subjects except French. My husband and I cannot handle all those complex structures and accents that you get in the French language". This is similar to Bartram's (2012: 67) findings that '[p]arents may of course be quicker to encourage their children if they themselves have a background in language learning.' I have come to understand from the expression "French is too hard", a statement which both parents and pupils put forward all the time, that what they would prefer in French lessons is to continuously learn simple vocabulary and perhaps some basic phrases. Anything beyond basics is "too hard". I noted the following on two separate occasions:

Mrs Cross: She (*referring to Chloe, her year 6 daughter*) used to enjoy French when you taught colours and numbers and all that stuff and she could remember most of them. But now, she doesn't like it at all because she finds it really hard.

(Interview -12/06/12)

Mr Mathews: When we were in Nepal he enjoyed learning French there. His teacher said he made good progress. But now he doesn't want to learn it anymore and it's the only subject that makes him unhappy so I don't think he should be learning it.

(Interview -27/01/12)

Both parents make similar points. Mrs Cross is one of the parent participants and feels strongly about children having to learn French when they are already struggling with English. But above all, these parents' narratives suggest a habitus that does not embrace change when learning French. For them, the basics are more enjoyable and should be enough as, when learning moves beyond the basics, their children are unhappy and feel like fish out of

water (Bourdieu, 1989). Talking further to Mr Matthews, he revealed that James, his year 7 son who joined our school in November used to enjoy French. His parents worked in the Armed Forces and had been posted back to England from Nepal where he studied French for three months and learnt the basics such as the alphabet, numbers 1 to 10, house pets and lots of nursery rhymes and songs. Here, at Main Street School, since he joined, James has been learning how to introduce himself and how to describe people in French and these are parts of the topics we study in year 7. When I met with his father following a behaviour concern expressed by James' French teacher, Mr Matthews was adamant that what James had to learn now was too hard, not enjoyable and making him unhappy, hence the behaviour issue in lessons. It is significant to note that James is not on the school's Free School Meal list (he is not eligible) and as he has a parent in the Army, he is not considered as being from a disadvantaged or poor background. As he is not on the school's SEN register either, he could be considered as possessing the cultural capital required to process the learning of the target language, however, it appears that anything other than the basics seem to be too much for him. Mr Matthews (like Mrs Willows as we will see later in this section), could be said to have 'the sense of one's place' (Bourdieu, 1987: 5) when French learning goes beyond the basics.

It could be argued that once the basics are learnt, some pupils do not find foreign language learning easy. As Chambers (1999) observes in his findings, secondary school students lose their enthusiasm and appear resentful after a year or two of learning a foreign language. It is unclear what causes this but it seems to be the case here with James. His teacher introduced him to topics beyond the basics and this led to unhappiness and reluctance to learn. McColl (2000: 21) would argue that teachers create barriers as they make assumptions about what pupils 'should be able to do and as a result (...) set them goals they would never achieve'. James would prefer to stay in his comfort zone, where for him, learning the basics would be sufficient. But this conflicts with the purposes of learning if we consider learning to signify achieving, making progress and raising the educational standard (DfES, 2001; 2004).

As discussed in 2.6.1, parents can play a crucial role in reinforcing children's positive attitudes towards foreign language learning. This finding that children demonstrate their parents' attitudes reflect Griva and Chouvarda's (2012) results that parental attitudes towards the target language affect their children's success in competence. The findings of a study conducted by Young (1994a) also revealed that the way parents feel about foreign language learning and how they behave affect the linguistic development of their children. It is customary at Main Street School for the MFL department to encounter some positive but usually more negative attitudes with regard to learning French during parents evening at the school. Some parents explicitly voiced their concerns and frustration about their children

having to learn French because they themselves have limited or no knowledge at all of the language.

As shown in the extracts above, and also in the extracts below, these parents stressed that French is the only subject they struggled to help with homework, revision tasks or projects. It could be argued that these parents have no resources or no interests in the subject. Reay's (2002) study on mothers' involvement on their children's primary schooling concludes that some parents face a struggle when it comes to emotional capital and educational success. Sacker, Schoon and Bartley (2002) also report that parents' attitudes and behaviours towards their children's education have a significant impact. The following data shows that despite the emphasis on inclusion, and despite the support that is readily available at school for both pupils and parents, some parents would still prefer their children to be excluded from taking part in French lessons. Mrs Peacock said:

I'm sick of Joe refusing to come to school every time when French's on. I'm not keen on French and he struggles with it and it makes him unhappy. We've had to deal with tears before school most days and recently, I've had to drag him here. It'd be easier for us all if he didn't have to learn this.

(Fieldnotes -31/01/12)

Mrs Peacock's habitus does not yearn for the learning of French, but rather rejects the language for her son as well. There is a sense of frustration as she feels she cannot support her son. Although Joe has not been identified with special educational needs, his mother's statement shows that he finds the subject challenging and does not enjoy it, which is why she would gladly exclude him if she had the choice. It is interesting to compare Mrs Peacock's feelings to Mr Pegg's attitude below. Here also is a parent who would gladly exclude their child from learning French.

Mr Pegg sounded quite aggressive, pointing his fingers when I was calmly showing him Tom's French folder which contains all of his worksheets and achievement record sheets. Tom worked quite well and I was actually praising Tom so it was odd that his father was speaking negatively about French and wouldn't listen to the praises. He seemed unwilling to hear the benefits of learning languages. He repeated a few times: "I don't like French. I never did good at school anyways and didn't do languages. It don't bother me if Tommy don't learn it". He then carried on: "Look, all I know is French makes him unhappy. I found him upset the other day and, and, and it were because of bloody French lessons. He had to practise some stuff and was stuck that's what". (I was grateful that Tom wasn't here to witness his father's attitude and behaviour!)

(Fieldnotes -08/02/12)

Here, Mr Pegg draws on his lack of knowledge that he believes does not enable him to support his son. His strong language when referring to French lessons can be interpreted as not only suggesting that he is aware that he does not have 'the feel for the game'(Bourdieu, 1998: 80), but also as a critique of the value of the subject. Another parent, Mrs Brooke also

highlighted her belief that her daughter would benefit from learning something else, something other than French.

*Mrs Brooke wanted to know why Honey cannot have an extra English or spelling or handwriting lesson instead of French. She said “this subject’s just confusing and too hard for her. She can barely read English, as you know it’s a struggle for her. Don’t you think she’d be better off spending her time on something more useful, something that she might actually **need** one day?” (She stressed on need)*

For Mrs Brooke, there is a conflict between what is expected and what is possible in terms of ability for Honey, as French is “confusing and hard”. Her narrative highlights her perception that French is not valuable and will not be useful for her daughter in the future. Mrs Brooke’s negative view toward learning French could be attributed to views of subject utility, a concept which many pupils readily link to future employment. This is similar to Young’s (1994a) and Stables and Wikeley’s (1999) findings that foreign languages were rated low by students when considering employment benefits. All three parents’ narratives above portray a sense of French being “not for people like our children” which can be perceived as a classed issue, as they all suggest they are aware that they or their children do not “fit” where French learning is concerned, and therefore, are mindful of ‘the sense of [their] place’ (Bourdieu, 1987: 5). The French subject is viewed as only accessible to pupils who are endowed with the required cultural capital. The narratives also suggest that the habitus of all three parents, their dispositions against learning French are reinforced.

The reasons some of the parents give regarding why they would not support the idea of their children learning French is captured here in this conversation below with Mrs Willows. She is one of the parent participants for this research and has two children at the school. Rory her youngest is in year 5 and not on the school’s SEN register although he has some learning difficulties and struggles with general academic work. We met by chance in the corridor at the end of school. The following is an extract from the conversation with Mrs Willows.

Mrs Willows and I exchanged greetings:

Mrs Willows: I’d like to have a word with you if that’s okay. Yeah I just want to talk to you about French. Do you honestly think French should be on these kiddies curriculum?

ED: What do you mean? What kiddies?

Mrs Willows: I mean this age group. I mean youngsters like my Rory. Many of them can’t read or write yet and you know this so why do they have to deal with this complicated subject as well?

ED: Well, studies ss... (*I did not finish my sentence. I was going to say that it is believed that the early pupils start learning a foreign language, the better they get at it but Mrs Willows interrupted*).

Mrs Willows: Oh sod the studies and all that. I mean what do **you** really think? I don’t mind the language myself though I can’t speak it much, I did do French at school but haven’t used it since my O-levels. Mmm well I’ll tell you what **I** think. I think it’s a waste of their time. Seriously, what do they learn? I want my Rory to be able to read

and spell English correctly. I know he'll always need it (*referring to English*) one way or the other. But French? What does he learn in French? Wait. You told me this before. They learn pair and group work skills, they learn about French food and ... and ... what was it you said before?

ED: Culture.

Mrs Willows: Yeah, that's it! French culture. I mean seriously? I mean I can teach him this at home. We can just watch a documentary or something and there you have it. He doesn't need to spend time in a classroom for this does he? Classroom time should be spent learning things that are relevant and useful.

ED: Hmm.

Mrs Willows: Don't you think?

ED: Well, I ... I see your point.

(*Mum, I found it. Rory called out having found his kit in the lost property bank*).

Mrs Willows: Here he comes. Thanks for your help. We should get going, it's late.
(*Interview -06/12/12*)

Mrs Willows firmly believes that Rory's best interests are not being served in the French classroom and she would rather he was being taught literacy skills. Critically, in Mrs Willows's opinion, French lessons do not provide Rory with adequate resources he needs to flourish (Nussbaum, 2006; 2011). Given that Rory is provided with activities to suit his ability and that attending the French class would allow him to gain in cultural understanding (see section 2.1) is not the issue. Instead, the issue regards what Rory has reason to value in learning this particular subject, especially when his mother suggests that it is not what he needs. Critically thinking, it seems that on the one hand, pupils are classified, labelled and put on the SEN register for the help they appear to need in order to succeed on the same normative terms as their peers. But on the other hand, those pupils are in the foreign language lessons because they are entitled to learn a language that most of them might not need or use in the future and while these pupils exclude themselves or are excluded in MFL, they miss out on the opportunity to succeed on the same normative terms as their peers, causing the gap between them and their peers to continue to widen.

It would appear that Mrs Willows values literacy skills and would prefer Rory to develop in these. However, excluding Rory from French may not be the right thing to do because he will not in that case be getting the full and balanced curriculum that all pupils are required to have access to as a measure of social justice (Cochran-Smith *et al.*, 2009; Curren, 2009). Rory himself does not appear to dislike the subject but his mother however insisted that she would rather have him learning something he would use in the future. She also added that she will not mind if her son was discreetly removed from French lessons showing how strongly she feels about the situation. It could be argued that Mrs Willows has the 'sense of one's place' (Bourdieu, 1987: 5) when it comes to Rory's position in his French classroom, hence she does not wish for him to be like a fish out of water. Arguably, parents' views as such can encourage their children to exclude themselves in the classroom, as the environment constitutes a field where they lack the 'feel for the game' (Bourdieu, 1998: 80).

Mrs Willows is not alone in this position, as we have seen in the narratives above. Many parents, due to their own lack of knowledge in foreign languages consider the subject to be difficult, anxiety producing, and this transmits to their children, who then demonstrate an anti-French construction of identity towards the subject in the classroom. There are similarities between these extracts and the findings from Bartram's (2006) study in which he provided evidence of a link between pupil and parental attitudes towards foreign languages and suggested that where parents' attitudes are perceived as positive these are demonstrated in their support for their children learning a foreign language.

After one parent evening³⁵, between each appointment with the parents I recorded some very anti language learning views. Seven out of twelve parents consistently moaned about their children having to learn French. They repeated that they had never learnt French at school themselves and therefore they were not able to support their children. Generally it seemed that learning French was making children as well as their parents unhappy and many would not want their child to learn the subject if they had the choice. The following excerpts from my notes show:

Mr Kerridge said: "I'm annoyed that nothing seems to be done about Kelly's struggles with French. She comes home in tears quite often and sleeps badly when she can't do her homework and I can't help her. She knows and says she can't do the language so she makes up excuses not to come to school."

Mr Barran said: "We struggle with the work in this subject. I struggle. He struggles. I never did French at school so I don't find it easy when John asks for help with homework. What I don't understand is he is not very good at English, he finds reading and writing quite a challenge so why he is made to learn another difficult language is beyond me. When he brings his French book home, there's not much in it that he can remember or even read on his own. I know his teacher gives him the easy stuff and he gets extra help in the classroom but he's not getting anywhere with this subject. It's not right for him. He might say he likes it when you ask him, being his teacher and that but ... he doesn't, not really. The truth is he hates it. This is not a subject for him. With his learning difficulties how can he ever excel at this?"

Both Mr Kerridge and Mr Barran make significant points. Mr Barran does not see his son John as a linguist and states the lack of cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986) in terms of knowledge of the subject on his own part where French learning is concerned. Both parents indicate that they do not have 'the feel for the game' (Bourdieu, 1998: 83) when it comes to supporting their children with work in French. It is also apparent that John's teacher gives him differentiated work, from what Mr Barran has said, therefore the teacher is sensitive to John's needs and appears to know what he is capable to do. The excerpts also show that Mr Barran appears to know what his son is able to do (Nussbaum, 2011) hence he affirms that French is not a subject for him. Kelly is also unhappy as a result of having to learn French.

³⁵ Parents' evenings can be described as an invitation by schools for parents to discuss any issues or concerns regarding their child's performance in a particular subject.

How can Kelly flourish when she cannot do the work? And is John allowed to develop his potential in the French classroom when he finds basic reading and writing tasks difficult?

Nussbaum's (2011) capabilities approach offers a philosophically critical point of view on these two questions, as well as questions regarding inclusion and social justice. Kelly and John are both included in French learning therefore they are being treated equally to a certain extent, but does learning French support these children's capabilities which they can convert to functionings? For the parents of Kelly and John, a functioning does not involve learning French, as they cannot help their children. Research by Hoover-Dempsey and Sandler (1997) suggest that due to lack of confidence, some parents would take the view that they have not developed sufficient academic competence themselves to be able to effectively help their children. Similarly, to Kelly and John's parents' statements above, in the 2009 Sherbert Research, many parents describe their own experiences of school in negative terms and demonstrate some resistance to having their children go through the same stress.

Another recording is similar to the two extracts above in that it portrays a parent complaining about French homework. Although I am not Katie's French teacher, she is one of the pupil participants and her mother had demanded to speak to me as the subject coordinator. Katie's mother suggested that Katie would be better off getting extra English or spelling or handwriting lesson instead of French.

Katie already gets this as part of the school's intervention programme for year 6 pupils. She said "she's wasting time in French when she struggles so much and can barely read in English. The mother added that she can't help Katie with French homework. I reminded her that Katie's French homework is meant to be done in English³⁶. She replied that "sometimes Katie insists on doing her homework in French and I can't help when she's stuck". I reminded Mrs King that when Katie gets stuck she knows she is allowed to just do the rest in English. But Mrs King questioned the fact that Katie has to sit in French lessons. I had many thoughts to this but decided to keep quiet!

Here we have a situation where the child aspires to learning French even though she struggles in the subject but her parent has for her, different valued aspirations and needs. She is willing to learn the language but cannot always manage and feels unhappy at times. Her mother lacks in cultural capital required to provide her with the support needed. Katie's well-being, her mother is convinced, is not in learning French but rather in learning English, a subject she will need to be skilful in for the future. Katie's mother wanted to know that after our meeting, Katie would have French removed from her time-table for good. She was unhappy that I could not grant her request, but what could I do when Katie is entitled to learn the subject? It is significant that Katie herself insists on doing her homework in French

³⁶ It is agreed in the MFL department to ask pupils who really struggle to do their homework in English. For example if the homework was to write a few sentences to introduce yourself, pupils who cannot cope with this in French are asked to write it in English. There are only 4 pupils in the whole school who get this.

sometimes. This shows her willingness and motivation to attempt to learn what she can in the subject and it could be argued that her desire could be fulfilled if she could get some outside school support as well. As it is, her mother's lack of knowledge is pushed to the limit which explains her position regarding Katie learning French. In this case, it seems that even learning the basics is too much. In a situation such as Katie's here and Kelly and John's described above, there is not much the teacher can do to satisfy the parent's request, but it is important that teachers are able to justify modern languages as a subject on the curriculum in its own right (Ramage, 2012). It is every pupil's right to be included in the study of MFL but is it right for every pupil?

5.5 Exclusion at whole school level

The exclusion situation does not only occur at the classroom level at Main Street School, it also happens in the school itself particularly, at marketing level as discussed in 5.4.3 where some subjects appear to be excluded during significant events. The curricular division between core subjects and foundation subjects contribute to how pupils perceive MFL in particular (see Bartram, 2012), and explains to a certain degree, why MFL appears to be excluded at most events.

5.5.1 MFL status and school events

During big events such as Open Evening or Whole School Assembly for example achievements are recognised and praised and the main qualities of the school are outlined particularly to visitors. These events are also considered to be an opportunity for a show-off of pupils' individual achievements. During an open evening in the autumn term in 2011, the whole school gathered in the school hall with all the visitors. The visitors were mostly potential new parents hoping to view the school in order to enrol their children here the following academic year. The head teacher gave a welcome speech at the start. This is not unusual for this gathering. He started his speech with an emphasis on the school aims and values then proceeded to stretch the selling points and he proudly announced, "We strive to:

- provided a high quality education for all pupils
- encourage pupils to have high expectations of themselves
- work together and have fun together
- care for every child's safety and welfare"

After talking for a long time on the school provision and stressing on equal opportunities, the head teacher mentioned with enthusiasm the P.E. facilities and sports activities the school offers and then closed his overture with high praises for the music department.

Whilst he was addressing the audience, a slide presentation of different images of pupils at work, were projected on the smart board. These slides showed a couple of images of pupils working in art lessons, quite a lot of pictures of the school orchestra playing, a couple of picture of a science experiment being carried out by pupils, 3 images of pupils cooking in the food technology kitchen, 2 images of Design and Technology workshops and lots of images of P.E. games. The head teacher then chanted his famous slogan: "T.E.A.M." to which the pupils in the audience responded with glee: "Together, Everyone Achieves More". A loud applause followed to end the introductory speech.

(Fieldnotes -13/10/11)

It was not surprising that sports activities and music got high a mention and had many more pictures shown. This is not unusual as the number of school newsletters I have collected for documentary analysis show on every page sports events and sports personalities followed by music events and music personalities. The other subjects on the curriculum rarely get a significant mention and MFL does not feature at all on any of them. It is the same story with the school prospectus as discussed in the section above. The glossy covers of the document display large images of sports activities, musical instruments being played and pupils 'working' on computers. Any other subject features in small images but some do not feature at all. French does not feature on any document, and, despite the school claiming that it endeavours to affect positively the lives of everyone with whom it comes into contact and strives to accomplish this by giving every pupil access to a broad and balanced education which complies with the National Curriculum (Prospectus 2012-2013), it could be argued that this claim is mainly set to attract parents (Gerwitz *et al.*, 1995; Whitty *et al.* 1998; and West and Pennell, 2000), therefore is another example of policy conflicting with practice (see section 2.3).

It appeared from the newsletters and brochures of the school that the 'broad and balanced' education mentioned in the quote above is narrowed to a few subjects as it does not attempt to show all of the subjects equally. There are some pupils nevertheless, who work hard in French and perform quite well and therefore deserve to be commended but, they still do not get a mention in the school newsletter as it would not 'sell' the school much. Subjects where performances can be easily put on show for example sports activities, music activities, computing activities and cookery activities get more attention when marketing the school. MFL seems to be forgotten whether it is intentional or not, physical activities and music seem to get more mention. Open evenings usually happen twice a year in the autumn and summer terms at the school. During these, the main school hall, where the event starts and where everyone gathers, is usually used to show sports activities and music after the opening speech. The other subjects are usually displayed in classrooms around the school for parents and pupils considering a place at Main Street School to walk to and have a look around. It is always interesting to notice at the end of such an event that the MFL area only

gets many visitors on occasions when French cheese sampling is involved. During an open evening in November 2012, I put in my notepad:

After introducing the staff members present to the visitors, the head teacher introduced the orchestra and the musicians played their piece beautifully. The head teacher then gave his welcome speech and spent a long time on Key Stage 2 maths and English results. Then more music pieces were played. Then the head teacher gave a detailed account on the physical activities, fixtures and sports victories. After that some pupils gave a lovely gymnastics performances for a few minutes. This was followed by drama performances in some of the foundation subjects. There was a quick enactment of Henry VIII and his wives. This was performed by the history department. The English department showed poems recitations. The event ended with a talk on school uniform and where to purchase them. After that, the visitors were told by the head teacher to “feel free to tour the school if you would like to look at other subjects’ displays. Geography will be in room ..., ICT obviously in the computer suite, French will be in room ...” Hooray! We got a mention! This is strange but good. We don’t usually get a mention. Could this be because I arrived in the school hall with my notepad? Mmmm...

(Fieldnotes -13/11/12)

It could be argued that the head teacher was trying to be even more ‘inclusive’ than usual or indeed maybe it was the amount of cheese stored in the staff room fridge that reminded him to mention MFL. At the end of the evening I noted in my pad:

It was interesting that many visitors came to MFL to talk to the teachers when they were looking around and they were very happy to sample the variety of cheese and comment on its taste and texture. And put aside the many jokes about the fact that there was no wine to go with the cheese, it was pleasing to see many visitors showing an interest in what we learn, our scheme of work. Many visitors even took a good look at the resources in display and asked questions to find out more information. It was very pleasing tonight despite the fact, it has to be said that some visitors took the cheese and darted out again without a word but that didn’t matter at all.

(Fieldnotes -13/11/12)

It is not unusual at Main Street School for French not to get many visits from parents during open evenings although the MFL department always puts on a variety of activities including role-plays, singing, dancing and interactive games on show in the language classroom but often, most parents walk as far as the sign post that directs them to the French room and take a swift U-turn. On this occasion, one of the French teachers and I happened to be in the corridor near the French rooms when we witnessed the following conversation between a parent and his son. This parent made his position regarding French loud and clear:

Boy: French is this way, dad.

Parent: Yeah, but we’ve seen everything now, let’s go home.

Boy: No dad, we haven’t been in the French room yet. Can we go there quickly? It’s just here, look.

Parent: No, we’re not going in there. I don’t like the French. Come on now, let’s go.

(Fieldnotes -13/11/12)

This rendered us totally speechless for a few seconds before we both repeated at the same time “don’t like the French?” both trying to imitate the man’s voice tone, and then burst out laughing. There are possibly issues of cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986; 1990) here as there is a lack of openness to culture and linguistic enquiry as well. There is a desire to stick to being English and I dare say to speak only English if one has the choice (see section 2.6.4). The boy was a year 4 pupil who was visiting prior to starting the following September joining our school in year 5. Obviously, the boy will be included in all aspect of school life and this includes French lessons. A former Secretary of State for education once stated: ‘...we need to do much more to help children ... to achieve as well as they can ...’ (DfES, 2004: 16), therefore as languages teachers we could only strive to help the boy in lessons and hope he does not become ‘anti’ French too much. This parent’s motivation, interests and most importantly his goal (see Nussbaum, 2003) are not with learning French hence he would not let his child step a foot in the area.

5.5.2 MFL status and the homework problem

At Main Street School, all pupils including pupils who have been identified with SEN study French in mixed-ability groups as part of the curriculum. In years 5 and 6, pupils have a single 50 minutes French lesson each week and pupils in key stage 3, in years 7 and 8 have 2 lessons of 50 minutes a week. Homework is usually set in every subject for all pupils at least once a week but homework in French is however different. When year 5 pupils join in September, they do not get any French homework in the first term. This is our school policy and it is faithfully adhered to. Recalling a conversation with the head of year 5, I remember being told that “the policy has to be implemented because most primary school pupils do not quite understand the concept of homework because they are not used to it from their primary school and French homework is going to unsettle many of them”. I was reassured that “it’s only for the first term. They can begin to get French homework at the start of the next term”. It has to be noted that this policy does not affect any of the core subjects for year 5. In year 5, pupils get at least one piece of homework in maths, English and science every week and in these subjects, pupils get more than two hours of lesson time a week. Homework for the non-core subjects are introduced one by one for year 5 from the spring term on a first come first served basis but MFL is left till last.

Similarly, as year 6 pupils have to sit the national Standard Attainment Test (SAT) in the last term of the academic year, they only get French homework in the first term, from September to December. As soon as the first term is over, priority is given to the core subjects, English, maths and science. This carries on until the end of SATs and only then does the year 6 class timetable itself return to its original state for all non-core subjects and

the pupils can once again get French homework. Usually, at this time there is about 7 weeks left of the academic year, one of which is devoted to curriculum enhancement when the timetable collapses and teachers design various extra-curricular activities for the pupils, and during this week, homework is not given in any subject. Unfortunately, year 6 pupils find it hard to get back into the routine and many do moan about having to do French homework particularly and this adds on to the anxiety of MFL learning which is readily emphasised by some parents at every opportunity. The homework worry is significant:

It was announced in today's morning briefing that key stage 2 pupils' pantomime trip is taking place this week on Thursday. Therefore, MFL department members are being reminded to bear in mind that the pupils will have a long day on Thursday and will be late home thus they will be obviously tired the following morning. The deputy head continues: "as MFL is the only subject in which pupils get more anxious and teary over homework, could the MFL staff members please refrain from setting any homework this week. This is just to avoid issues that might arise. We're just trying to avoid these ..."

(Fieldnotes -10/12/12)

There was nothing the members of the MFL department could say that would change the situation. The deputy head's suggestion was understood and will be adhered to by all. Nevertheless, it demonstrates yet again the different status MFL has compared to other subjects. All other subjects could set homework during the trip week to key stage 2 pupils if necessary. In the whole school inclusion process, it appears that it is favourable to exclude MFL in order to avoid unwanted issues in some situations. It could be argued nevertheless that the deputy head's suggestion is a way of recognising the pupils' capabilities and enabling them to adhere to what they are actually able to do.

5.5.3 Pupils' views regarding MFL homework

In the following interview extracts, pupils express and explain their dislikes to receiving or having to do French homework. When pupils were reminded during a group interview that French homework is only once a week and usually takes no longer than 20 minutes and when they were reassured that it is like any other homework and that homework in general is just an extension of classwork, the pupils responded:

Extract 1: Morgan, a year 6 pupil

ED: Homework is important because it helps us learn or revise what we learn.

Morgan: That's true because all teachers say that. Well, I don't like homework. I liked it better when we didn't have French homework.

ED: Oh why is that?

Morgan: Because, because it's French it makes you worry even more because you think I'll get into trouble if I don't do it and you don't want that. So even when you find it very hard you have to do it. Um...yeah ... you have to scribble something down quickly before your lesson otherwise you get into trouble.

ED: Right. But French homework is like any other homework. You get into trouble if you don't do your other homework.

Morgan: Well, I don't mind other homework much because I get help from mum and dad but with French homework I always worry and I hate it. Nobody at my house can do French it's just me and my brother, my brother is in year 9, right, and he says he can't wait until next year because he says he can drop it. Dad doesn't know any French so he can't help me and I worry about it.

(Interview -09/11/12)

Although Morgan acknowledges the importance of homework, and does not mind getting homework in other subjects, her view is that she can get help from her parents when she needs it for other subjects. She appears to be able to see what she is capable to do with her parents' assistance and this can only happen with certain subject, hence she anticipates opting out of French later. Parents' cultural capital plays an important role in pupils' schooling (see section 2.6.2). The worry over getting homework at all in any subject is generally expressed by many pupils, but French homework, it appears, seems to create more angst particularly when the pupils have special educational needs.

Extract 2: Lee, a year 7 pupil

ED: Homework is important because it helps us learn or revise what we learn.

Lee: Mmm well I mean it's bad enough getting any homework but French homework? That's just pointless. I mean I do it because I have to. My dad doesn't like to see me wasting time on French homework.

ED: Wasting time?

Lee: Yeah. That's exactly what dad calls it only he doesn't use nice words like that. I don't want to say what he actually says because it's not good to repeat it, Miss. He says we're never going to move to France so I should concentrate more on subjects that really matter.

(Interview -05/10/12)

Lee's interest, it appears is not with French but with subjects that will provide him with a functional outcome in the future. It is apparent that as a school subject, French is not favoured by all although we are consistently reminded of their importance (DfES, 2002). Critically, learning a foreign language does not just entail enjoying songs and nursery rhymes or learning just basic vocabulary and culture. Indeed there is a lot more involved and as the right to education (UNESCO, 1994) is an area of social justice which involves a focus on the human condition, one size fits all politics must be avoided and every individual must be considered as an end (Nussbaum, 2011).

5.6 Theoretical outcome

The Languages for All policy assumes that inclusion, participation and good quality teaching will lead to competence in foreign language learning however, as we have seen in this chapter, what the policy intends does not occur in the classroom. The policy entitles every pupil, thus promoting inclusion, to study a foreign language without accommodating for what pupils may consider invaluable for their future. The narratives in this chapter raise

questions about the usefulness of such policy particularly for pupils who do not have the resources to manage the learning activities in the subject. Understanding this situation requires a framework that identifies and evaluates the reasons foreign language learning fails to appeal to some pupils. This chapter has used a combination of two theories: Bourdieu's (1977a) capital, habitus and field, and Nussbaum's (2006; 2011) capabilities approach as theoretical tools to analyse as well as evaluate structures and classroom practices that lead to exclusion of some pupils.

Nussbaum and Bourdieu's theories are invaluable in considering policies that influence the issues of inclusion and foreign language learning. As discussed in chapter three, Nussbaum (2011) offers insights into society suggesting that we need to respect people's choices and acknowledge that their choices differ. She claims that society needs to raise all citizens above the threshold of the central capabilities. She puts emphasis on tradition and culture, arguing that in matters of social justice, society needs to observe the beliefs and considerations of diverse groups of people. The capabilities theory thus provides a social justice framework for the actions involved in the MFL classroom in that many of the central capabilities, namely, senses, imagination and thought; emotions; practical reason; affiliation; play; control over one's environment, are significant and applicable in evaluating the MFL learning process (see section 3.1.3). Similarly, Bourdieu (1977a; 1977b; 1987; 1990) also provides an understanding of society and culture, and his habitus which refers to people's way of being and acting (see section 3.2) enables understanding that, in the MFL learning process, actions by the pupils, the teachers as well as the parents are the product of, in Bourdieu's (1977b) terms, the individual's social background, their cultural capital and habitus.

The National Curriculum (DfES, 2004: 107) emphasises the importance of MFL stating that through 'the study of a foreign language, pupils understand and appreciate different countries, cultures, people and communities – and as they do so, begin to think of themselves as citizens of the world as well as of the United Kingdom.' This implies that pupils would appreciate the target language but, as I have discussed in this chapter and later will in chapter six, most pupils depreciate French. The arguments pupils mostly put forward is that "French is too hard" and this is usually followed by the persistent question "why do we have to learn French?" These arguments imply with some pupils, a lack of cultural capital and inability to perceive the benefits of the subject and as a result, contribute to reluctance to learn or even participate in the language classroom, even when provision is available for all pupils.

Pupils' perceptions, lack of interest and the practices of inclusion create exclusion in the language classroom. Inclusion and MFL learning contribute to the construction and reproduction of the opposite of what is intended by the language policy. The lesson

observation data and the interviews with the adults indicate that the teachers, through the practices of inclusion attempt to make the pupils 'feel valued' and included. And yet it is through these practices that we see illustrations of exclusion as negotiated by many individuals in the classroom. Inclusion within mainstream education is promoted as anti-exclusionary, suggesting that in school settings, pupils should experience full inclusion (see Vaughn and Schumm, 1995). However, research findings demonstrate that in a number of cases, the opposite of full inclusion takes place in practice due to the various definitions and conflicting meanings of the term itself (see section 2.3). In this research, it appears repeatedly in the data that exclusion 'sits' alongside inclusion in the 'inclusive' MFL classroom despite the attempts made to eradicate it. I would argue that when pupils are excluded for the various reasons revealed in the data, there is real concern as this exclusion suggests that, whatever the reason, the exclusion is the individual pupil's own problem. The Languages for All sets out to promote inclusion of every pupil in language learning but at the same time practices the ideology of the medical model (see section 2.2.1).

My own position regarding the subject is that policy expectations, views, experiences as well as social background and cultural capital all play a part in the learning and teaching of French and, all of these contribute to exclusion in the 'inclusive' classroom. I have argued in this chapter that including all in MFL can lead to excluding some, and, this is regardless of the insistence of 'all' in the policy rhetoric, and regardless of provision in the classroom from what the data show. This is because performances and negotiations in the 'inclusive' French classroom relate to a much wider politics of elements including pupils' social backgrounds, interests and needs, as well as teachers' habitus. All of these are brought into the classroom by each individual and are crucial in the foreign language learning process but they are not accounted for in the Languages for All policy, although they contribute to inequality and to exclusion in the 'inclusive' classroom. Bourdieu (1993: 627) argues that in the educational system, 'those who govern are prisoners of a reassuring entourage of (...) technocrats who often know almost nothing about the everyday lives of their fellow citizens'. This has deep implications for policy and practice and for studies of inclusion in schools, and I argue, for the Languages for All policy as well. In essence, it could be argued that the foreign languages policy makers do not know enough about the daily experiences of the pupils in the classroom, and as mentioned above, the challenges presented in the 'inclusive' MFL classroom are linked to what each individual brings in. Therefore, what is brought into the classroom should not be the individual pupil's concern; instead, it should concern all stake holders both at macro and micro levels.

As schools claim to be inclusive, questions should be asked about the meaning of inclusion. In the context of MFL, it would also make sense to question how including all pupils effectively ensures individual pupils' development and how it secures the capabilities,

what every individual involved in the classroom is 'actually able to do and to be?' (Nussbaum, 2011: x) and, moreover, what valued opportunities are available for each individual. The data in this chapter show that the practices of inclusion are characterised by performances in the classroom, performances which are negotiated in a wider social context. Therefore, an understanding of the wider politics of each pupil's background, needs and values is a crucial part of the effectiveness of the entitlement to foreign language learning by all pupils. Such an understanding can make the challenges presented in the 'inclusive' French classroom and most of all, the disguising of exclusion more visible. The capabilities approach is particularly relevant for inclusion of all in foreign language learning, thus, rather than just striving to entitle every pupil, and attempting to teach them MFL, it is necessary to be mindful of these challenges and aim to enable every pupil to flourish.

5.7 Conclusion

This chapter has analysed pupils' and teachers' actions and negotiations as they are played out in the 'inclusive' MFL classroom. And explored how the individuals involved in teaching, learning as well as supporting French in the 'inclusive' classroom perceive what being part in such a field (Bourdieu, 1977) entails by demonstrating what they need to achieve their capabilities (Nussbaum, 2011). As mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, the Languages for All policy's objective involves including all pupils into good quality teaching and learning of a foreign language, in order for every pupil to achieve proficiency. This chapter has drawn on qualitative data to argue that inequalities arise from addressing or practising the language policy recommendations; equal opportunities are not equally accessible in the foreign language learning process as the conditions in the classroom enable some pupils to possess the 'feel for the game' (Bourdieu, 1998: 83), but require others to acquire a new 'feel for the game' in order to participate. The data in this chapter feeds into and takes forward research carried out by Benjamin (2002), Cole (2004) and Rogers (2007) regarding the conflict between policy and practice as far as inclusion is concerned. The data also takes forward SEN and MFL studies by McColl, (2000) and McKeown (2004), contributing to these methodologically (using ethnography), and analysing structures involved in learning MFL (see section 3.2.2), thus going beyond pupils' abilities to study a foreign language.

The teachers involved in this research endeavour to work from an 'inclusive' mind set by following the government educational policy requirements and guidance. But no matter how much the teachers attempt to include all pupils in the French learning process, their enactment of inclusion causes too many pupils to be 'potential outcasts' (Bourdieu, 1993: 422). Whatever action the teachers take to ensure all pupils, regardless of their abilities, are

included in the learning activities in the classroom, the inequitable nature of the language learning process remains unchanged. As a result, instead of equalising chances for every pupil to positively achieve and to flourish, the 'inclusive' MFL classroom reproduces existing advantages for those who can and who are willing to participate, but disadvantages for those who cannot. Many would argue that suggestions put forward by policies to remedy situations such as the ones described in the data in this chapter are half-hearted, as, what the policies suggest are thwarted, at micro level at the school by the many social factors discussed in this chapter as well as competitions between school subjects.

Some pupils choose to exclude themselves as they do not see the utility of learning the foreign language. This only demonstrates that the Languages for All policy and its practices within the 'inclusive' classroom do not assist some pupils and therefore, this situation could enable the inequalities that arise due to the differences in pupils social backgrounds to exacerbate because, rather than narrowing, the inequality gap widens and would carry on doing so if we continue to fail to acknowledge and tackle the underlying issues; the issue of habitus for example. The data also showed that the exclusion phenomenon does not solely come from the practices of the differentiation of activities or from the pupils' lack of interest and disengagement but also from parents' views regarding foreign language learning in an educational climate where some subjects are deemed core and therefore, more 'important'. For some parents, it is imperative to get literacy skills in English first, and for some others, their lack of capital hinders their involvement and support for French. It is also worth noting that the exclusion phenomenon is not exclusive to the French classroom as it is also present in and around the structures of the school. My aim in this chapter has been to explore some of the reasons why exclusion is prevalent in the foreign language classroom and what the data showed is that there are many interrelated factors which together serve to reveal that languages are not for all. It is interesting that the objectives that make the Languages for All policy (to include all pupils in foreign language learning) appealing to every pupil as a way of narrowing the classed gap, are the same objectives that make it un-engaging for many pupils from working-class backgrounds. Concerns should thus be raised about the potential of the Languages for All policy to positively address its objectives when the practices of what it recommends rarely engage every pupil. The next chapter discusses the views of learning a foreign language in a classroom environment.

CHAPTER SIX: MAKING THE MOST OF FRENCH IN THE ‘INCLUSIVE’ CLASSROOM

6.0 Introduction

This chapter focuses on fieldnotes collected from participant observation and interviews involving pupils, teachers, teaching assistants and parents in exploring the research question: “what impact does the Languages for All policy have in the ‘inclusive’ MFL classroom as well as around the school”. As discussed in the introduction to chapter five, the Languages for All policy strives to give every pupil the opportunity, through quality teaching, to study and become competent in a foreign language. This chapter analyses another goal of the policy which involves the importance of the ability to understand and communicate in a foreign language and for all pupils to develop their interests in the culture of other nations. Issues arising from these are the main focus of this chapter and include views and attitudes towards foreign language learning, and, identity negotiation involved in studying the target language. Drawing on narratives from observation and interviews with the participants, this chapter analyses factors involved in the language learning process in the classroom and argues that there is a variety in what pupils give importance to when it comes to learning French and this relates among other things to motivation to perform in the language classroom, the attitudes toward the target language and its community, and the identity and social background of the language learner. The findings suggest that factors played out in the French classroom are above all marked by class. The choices pupils make and the actions they take in the language classroom vary and can be considered as a classed practice. Using Bourdieu’s concepts of capital, habitus and field facilitated a nuanced understanding of classroom practices and whilst habitus is not a substitute to social class (see section 3.2.2) its application here enabled the interpretation of classed practices and classed identities.

This chapter asserts that pupils’ views and values toward learning French are diverse and continuously played out in the classroom and these views have been put into three categories reflecting positive, negative and mixed views. These views are displayed in teachers’ approaches to teaching, and pupils’ approaches to learning thus reflect their interests, cultural capital, beliefs, identity and attitudes towards the language and the target community. I argue in this chapter that pupils’ and parents’ preferences with regard to foreign language learning are generally linked to their backgrounds and to instrumental values and as we have seen in chapter five, French does not appear to be valuable thus, some pupils do not invest in learning it. In the last part of this chapter, I have drawn on a combination of theories: Bourdieu’s and Nussbaum’s (see chapter three) to identify the structures and practices that mark out the different perceptions about foreign language

learning. My argument is that the two theories complement each other and their combination enabled to highlight nuanced distinctions that can be missed when policy rhetoric is put to practice, as, the Languages for All is met at classroom level with resistance, reluctance as well as compliance rather than enthusiasm to learn a foreign language.

6.1 Learning French? But we just want to have fun

Motivation in the MLF classroom at Main Street School tends to fluctuate as learners' performances tend to change not just from one lesson to the next, but most commonly from one activity to the next. For example, pupils seem to show more interest when the learning activities involve playing a game, particularly, an interactive game whereas pupils display a lack of interest when lessons do not involve games at all. In the latter case, pupils' attitudes and body language show reluctance to take part in the lesson which leads to them switching off despite the teachers' attempts to keep them engaged and on tasks. During lessons when activities are in traditional learning styles, pupils do not appear interested. However, their motivation can change instantly when the teacher promises a game after their main activity. Pupils then start to make more of an effort to 'learn' or at the very least to get their work finished. The following extract from a year 7 French class is an example:

There are thirty one pupils in class: 14 boys and 17 girls. A few members of the class chorus to the teacher: "Can we play a game now?" Suzie shouts out loud "jouons?" then adds (in a reflective way, as if talking to herself) "or is it j'aime jouer?" she continues "I soooo want to play the game now". The teacher then says they can play a game in a little while and then asks them what they thought of the task they had just corrected (the task was a differentiated reading carousel activity on week-end activities and leisure time). Poppie says out loud "well it was 'ard, it was well 'ard". The teacher asks what part was hard and demands pupils put their hands up before speaking so she can hear everyone's point of view. Scott puts his hand up and is picked to speak first. He says: "it's just because it's French" "French is just hard, Miss". Teacher says "Okay, now what was hard about the task itself, try to be more specific". Another hand is picked it is Jack and he more or less repeats the same as Scott. Then 3 very impatient girls seeing that the discussion is taking the time of the game time chorus the same thing "yeah it was really hard, but we did it somehow. Can we play the game now, Miss, s'il vous plaît, please, please?" Teacher smiles then says "let's play the game!" Pupils let out a loud hissing sound. Some shouted "merci beaucoup" and "très bien, madame". Teacher then adds "but I'm not sure we can play now, really as it's in French and you just said French is too hard, I guess the game will be too hard". Class unanimously reply "Noooo Miss, no, games are OK". Order is requested then Ben speaks: "Miss because you don't have to think hard or do much thinking when playing a game". The class becomes very noisy. Teacher again asks for order/less noise. Pupils automatically put their hands up. When Harvey is picked to speak he says: "Miss, what they mean is, well what everyone's trying to say is, with French, you have to do a lot of speaking activities and you have to do some reading and some writing and you have to think hard about what you're reading or what you're writing. But when you're playing a game, you can just relax and guess the answers and you get them right and that is cool". The teacher smiles and the game starts.

(Fieldnotes -10/12/12)

In considering games, as Nussbaum (2006: 77) suggests, 'being able to laugh, to play, to enjoy recreational activities', the opportunity was available for pupils to play and enjoy themselves in this 'inclusive' classroom. As in any other subject, games are more popular with pupils and, in the extract, pupils would not mind playing a game even if the game was in the target language as they explained, "games are fun". The main motivator here was the game, not the evaluation of tasks that the teacher planned and tried to get the pupils to discuss. That, the pupils would argue "is not fun". This compares to Schiefele's (1996) study which indicates that any individual interest involves two components: a feeling-related for things we like and a value-related for things we are interested in. Both components are directed towards a certain object or learning activity and better learning quality occurs only if the feeling-related component is satisfied.

In the extract above, the pupils demonstrated their enjoyment and value of the games and also showed that they value the games more than the lesson itself. These pupils display positive feelings (Deci and Ryan, 1985) and were more motivated by the pleasure provided by the games. Looking forward to the games influenced some of the pupils to attempt to use the target language as they were getting a little impatient. Pupils used the following expressions: "Can we play a game"; "I like playing"; "please" all in fairly good French and would be understood by a native French speaker. This indicates their capability to learn to speak the language but above all it shows how important it is for them and how far they would go for a game in lessons. McColl (2000) notes that every pupil, regardless of their ability, has the potential to study a foreign language successfully (see section 2.5), given the right conditions. Playing a game represents the meaningful and right conditions and motivation here in this French classroom hence the teacher had to start the game. Getting the game underway could be an indication on the teacher's part that she is influenced by altruistic concern (see Nussbaum, 2004) for the pupils because provision for the pupils constitutes a valuable part of her learning objectives, and provision was needed for social participation in her classroom.

In addition, although the game was in French, the pupils could not wait to start it. This reflects findings by McColl *et al.* (1997) which revealed that apart from a very small number, all pupils can enjoy foreign language learning and benefit from the experience. Motivation to learn French in this classroom was not simple as the pupils would perform only if playing games all the time was involved. Pupils would not show any interest if 'learning' the traditional way was the main objective. Interestingly, pupils did not view games in the target language as a problem and explained that not much thinking was involved when playing a game, but just guessing answers. The pupils were thus motivated by the games but unmotivated by the subject (Gardner, 1985; Dörnyei, 1998). Although pupils said several times that French is hard, they enjoyed games in French lessons. Some learning could take

place through playing games in French, but, can pupils reach the 'recognised level of competence' as recommended by the Languages for All policy (DfES, 2002: 15) when games are their only motivating tools? This is crucial and worth considering.

The extract also gives an insight into the pupils' habitus and cultural capital. The pupils' reactions here seem structured by a habitus already formed (see section 3.2.2) in prior experiences of playing a game in lessons rather than continuously learning the traditional way. This reaction is particular of pupils on the SEN register and of pupils from working-class backgrounds as, due to their abilities, these pupils are usually provided with easy activities because they cannot manage challenging tasks. For Bourdieu (1990), our habitus becomes active in relation to the field, and this is played out in this classroom, which enables us to infer that the pupils are willing to participate only when games are part of the learning activities. In this extract, pupils used the French language in the classroom situation to plead with the teacher to play a game, showing evidence of their cultural capital (these are pupils who are exposed to French in their families through resources or trips to France), and this indicated French culture even though this could be rated as a stereotypical one as the pupils struggled with pronunciation of difficult sounds such as 'r' and 'en' in 'très bien' for example. Nevertheless, the use of French although minimal was at an intersection between the pupils' own discourse and the discourse of the other as the pupils do not live in France and can only access language and culture by hearing and trying to speak it in lessons. This builds on Kramsch's (1998) suggestion that culture is inscribed in language and using language is using culture, thus using French here is 'doing' French culture (see chapter two). Similar to the extract above is Rosie's interview extract:

I only like French when we play games. It's only fun when we play games. Games are easy, yeah, but learning French is hard, too hard. Some of it is easy like the animal names and that. But it can be hard sometimes and when it's hard it's not fun anymore. (*Rosie – year 7 pupil*)

As seen in chapter five, some pupils were not interested in learning French and did not shy away from showing this in lessons. Rosie's situation is similar to that of Mr Matthews' son in section 5.4.4, as James is unhappy that learning had progressed beyond the basics. Just like James, Rosie has the sense of her place to quote Bourdieu (1987), where learning French is concerned. In contrast to this, the data showed some pupils who expressed their enjoyment of the language particularly when fun was involved and these pupils can be put in two groups: One group of pupils enjoys games and yet does not express anything positive about the subject as seen in section 5.4.2. In this group, there are pupils who share Rosie's view as they do not like the subject but take part in lessons, thus include themselves in the games at least. This group of pupils nevertheless do not appreciate anything else for a number of reasons including lack of motivation (Dörnyei, 1998; 2000), a sense of insecurity, anxiety and

lack of confidence (Oxford, 2005; Ellis, 2008). In the second group are pupils who enjoy games in French and are also positive about the subject as we will see below in Richie, Joe and Ally's pupil perception interview extracts. All three pupils below gave examples of the games they enjoy. Richie took time to explain in detail the games he enjoys and because of the games he said that he likes French a lot. Like Richie, Joe also seemed to enjoy the team games they play.

I like it a lot when we play games. We get to play games when we run out to the board or to Miss Sappler to pick an item that she calls out in French and you have to work it out quickly and then run back. That's a cool game. The other day we got to run out of the room and back. It's awesome I won it for my team! (*Richie – year 7 pupil*)

I like French when it's fun and I like the French activities we do and watch French videos. I like the game 'onze'. It is the same as the English game 'twenty one'. You get to eliminate people if you use good tactics. It's fun when we get rid of all of the girls. (*Joe – year 7 pupil*)

It's fun when we can sing along with the video in French. And I like Noddy which is Oui-Oui in French. It's one of my favourites and I like Shrek too. (*Ally – year 6 pupil*)

Richie and Joe work well in every subject including French, and Ally also works well in most subjects but struggles a little in French. These three pupils are not on the SEN register, evidencing that it is not only the SEN pupils who tend to devalue French. As we saw in chapter five, pupils are less motivated to study the subject when they do not see the instrumental value for their future. The headteacher and the chair of our school governors conducted the above pupil perception interviews on every school subject as part of the school development plan. Two pupils, a boy and a girl were chosen at random from each year group across the school and taken out of lessons for the purpose. Teachers were not informed about the selection which included pupils of diverse background and abilities. The results for MFL paint a positive response to foreign language learning, despite the general negative attitudes toward the subject. To the question "what do you enjoy most about the subject and why?" Pupils unanimously responded that "French lessons are fun to be in and it is fun to learn a different language and it is important too". And when asked if they were clear about what they are expected to learn in each individual lessons, again, pupils were very positive. They responded "yes, lesson details are explained and written up on the board and most of the time, we achieve our goals". For these very positive responses, including the extracts above from Ritchie, Joe and Ally, the responses reflect the findings by McColl (2000) and McKeown (2004) on MFL learning, although, it could be argued that the 'right pupils' were chosen for the pupil perception interviews. In considering the capabilities approach, the ninth item entitled *Play*, involves being able to laugh, play and enjoy leisure. This suggests that pupils should be enabled to enjoy school life and, real opportunities, (see section 3.1.2)

as proposed by Nussbaum (2006; 2011) is indeed created when some pupils, as in Richie, Joe and Ally's examples above regard French lessons as fun.

The following is another example where pupils demonstrate the desire and need to have fun in lessons. The extract shows what I usually do at the start of each French lesson:

As I stood in the corridor, outside my room to let my pupils in for their French lesson, as usual, I started greeting them one by one in French as they entered the room: "Bonjour! Ça va?" Some pupils replied back nicely in good French. Some others shouted back in English, "Hi, Miss" or "Yo, Miss" or "Alright, Miss?" Some pupils walked pass in silence. But most of the pupils asked their usual questions in English before going in: Some asked: "can we play a game today, Miss?" Some others asked: "are we having a fun lesson today?" I ignored their questions and kept on my greetings routine in French. Guessing that I'm deliberately ignoring their questions, some pupils huffed out loud as they entered the room then slumped in their seats. The last two pupils chorused: "So, are we playing any games this lesson, Miss?"

(Fieldnotes -03/10/12)

This greetings routine is habitual and carried out before pupils enter the classroom, but as we see in the extract, pupils would rather not participate in this routine and prefer to respond with the same question every time: when or if they are going to play a game in the lesson. Bourdieu (1989) and Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992) discuss language and claim that it is a form of capital which can be exchanged for other forms of capital such as social, economic or cultural. They suggest that access to legitimate language is not equal and linguistic competence is dominated by some. The legitimate language was the greetings routine and in this instance, it could be argued that some linguistic competence was achieved by pupils who responded in the target language. While I use the greetings routine to enhance exposure to the language and encourage pupils to use the target language to participate in the short conversation, some of the pupils do not regard the exercise as necessary or indeed valuable and consequently, they never share my drive. They have their own routine which is to ignore the teacher; greet the teacher back in English; or query about what they value, which is, playing a game as they walk in. That to them, is more important than responding to greetings in French. Pupils who regularly refuse to respond to my greetings in the target language are generally pupils who, show that learning a foreign language is of no value to them, and who express strong feelings about English being the only language they desire to converse in, as seen above, some pupils replied back in English instead of repeating the simple greetings word they regularly hear. As discussed in section 3.2.2, habitus can be conceptualised as unconscious or mental habits which include beliefs and values of an individual. According to Bourdieu (1998), habitus is produced through practice and could also influence the way I, as a teacher involve my pupils in learning activities and here, the choices I make using this greetings routine prior to starting lessons could be generated and determined by habitus. Clemente's (2007) study of students learning English as a second

language also found that some students steadily took part in and paid attention to classroom activities whereas others did not regard the subject as important for their career and therefore did not value the learning activities.

French lessons at Main Street School habitually involve playing a game for a few minutes regardless of pupils' requests and these games are designed to reinforce topics and structures learnt. The games range from charade (to show retention of vocabulary or structures learnt), Simon says (to ensure good response in the target language), guess who (to encourage speaking in the target language) to Hot Seat (also to encourage spontaneous response and use of the target language), to name just a few. The games are usually played at the start of a lesson as a starter activity or at the end as a plenary. This is in line with the suggestion that '[e]ffective teachers make good use of starters and plenaries in the context of interactive whole-class teaching to engage all pupils in constructive deep learning' (DfES, 2004: 2). Additionally, teachers usually allow pupils to play a game if necessary after every teaching activity to engage the pupils further. In case of board games such as word jigsaws or word snakes, or even card games, pupils are involved in designing and creating the game to allow for deep learning (DfES, 2004) since successful starters have a clear purpose and tend to engage all pupils and provide challenge. Findings by Edwards (1998) also show that success for pupils arises from enjoyment and enhances learning, and through games, reluctant pupils are inspired. In the lessons I observed, before pupils even sit down at the start of the lesson, many of them would want to know if fun is involved, and having fun from the pupils' point of view, uniquely translates as playing a game. Pupils do not classify learning as fun even if they have fun learning. Analysing Nussbaum's (2006; 2011) ninth capability, *Play* (see section 3.), we can reason that to a certain extent, the language classroom should be equipped with recreational activities and learning French should be about having fun and enjoying the classroom experience. This however, if carried out continuously would not lead to the recognised level of competence (DfES, 2002) in the target language but could arguably positively impact the well-being and learning experience of the pupils.

6.1.1 Learning French is not our goals

Given the popularity of games in MFL lessons, it seems significant that some pupils are not moved by them as the following recordings show. When year 7 pupils were asked: 'how useful do you find learn French?' Their responses swiftly moved on to a discussion on games in lessons. Evie, Jen, Clara and Leroy are all on the school FSM list.

My mum umm said I don't have to worry about French. So I don't care if I don't do well in it. I don't like the games in French because they're in French. It'd be much better and easier to play them in English. (*Evie – year 7*)

I just don't like French. It's alright I guess but I don't see why we have to learn it. They should just learn it in France. I don't need to learn it because I don't want to live in France ever. And once we went on holiday there and it was OK. People in France can speak English, you know. (*Jen – year 7*)

French is not useful. Well I don't think it is. When I grow up I want to be a cab driver so I don't need French. My parents say I struggle in French so I can drop it when I go to the high school. (*Clara – year 7*)

I don't think so. I don't like French lessons. I think playing a game in French is a stupid idea because sometimes you have to put on a stupid French accent and stuff so I don't like playing the games and I don't join in. Why do we have to learn French anyway? (*Leroy – year 7*)

These pupils were invested to some extent in identifying themselves as citizens of England therefore for them, learning English was enough. Evie made her position clear that French has no value for her and explained that she is not moved by the games played in French lessons. She would be able to enjoy these 'recreational activities' (Nussbaum, 2006: 77) if they were in English. In these pupils' views, languages are not useful or important. Jen expressed her indifference to learning French and although she visited France on holiday, she met people who spoke English thus, this justifies her desire to only speak English and this can be taken as her preferred identity (see section 2.6.3.2). There is a sense of nationalism as Clara and Evie's narratives indicated that their own country, England, is more important than the target country (Shaw and Wong, 1989) which is France. For Clara, there is no instrumental motivation for learning French as she already has an idea of her future employment when she is older and as far as she is concerned, French will not assist her goal. Clara's position suggests a habitus (not supportive of French learning) acquired through family which regulates her experiences and future career. Elsewhere in the interview, when I remarked to Clara that being a cab driver could involve having clients who are from France and who may not speak much English, Clara's response remained negative and reinforced her reluctance to learn French. She repeatedly added she has the support of her parents to opt out of French when she goes to high school and that is what she intends to do. Clara's habitus, Bourdieu (1990) would argue is formed by domestic influences and further developed through her own experiences of social class conditions. Individuals, according to Bourdieu (1977a), possess a constrained autonomy, and with available cultural capital, will impose unconscious limits on themselves even when there are possible choices, because, habitus acts within individuals as the organising principle of their actions. Similarly, Leroy does not value learning French and does not identify himself as a French learner, and during the interview he repeatedly asked "why, Miss, why do I have to learn French, I'm

English!” He does not want to speak the foreign language thus, like Jen he does not want to construct the different identity that develops through foreign language learning (Lemke, 2002). Leroy’s response also displays strong sentiments of nationalism as he not only dislikes the language but also voices his distaste for the foreign accent.

It is apparent that these pupils have different goals and do not consider that learning French would help them achieve their goals as they all said the subject was useless. In all four responses there was a sense of resistance to conformity in that pupils stated that they did not care about French, they did not need it in the future and did not appreciate the learning activities. Their responses demonstrated an anti-French language learning and resistance to take in the target culture. In some ways, this is similar to Willis’ (1977) study which gives an account on the behaviour of some working-class secondary school male students who displayed a counter-school culture and perceived themselves as having power and control over their own existence. Like the young men in Willis’ study, some of the pupils in this school strongly reject the possibilities of competence or proficiency offered by the Languages for All policy and express pride when discussing their future employment which does not involve foreign language learning. For many of these working-class pupils, it is indispensable to embrace the ‘important’ subjects (and they have parental support) in order to secure their future. The responses pupils give regarding French align with their habitus or their disposition which is subjected to and affected by experience in a way that either ‘reinforces or modifies its structure’ (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992: 133). Evie, Jen, Clara and Leroy’s responses above suggest that the process of learning French reinforces their dispositions against the subject rather than modifying them to acknowledge the benefits of learning the foreign language.

6.2 Views and values towards learning French

Just like the abilities in the classroom, values and views of the subject are diverse among the pupils. Some pupils sustain either positive or negative views towards learning French whereas others are undecided and express either views according to the resources they have access to and resources which they bring to the classroom. In what follows, interview extracts that refer to the worthlessness of French are analysed, followed by extracts that illustrate pupils’ understanding of the benefits of learning French. An analysis of mixed views on learning French is also presented at the end of the section. In applying constructs of foreign language as social and economic to pupil interview responses to learning French, the following section highlights the distinction (negative and positive) and the overlap views (mixed) of these constructs.

6.2.1 Negative views

The analysis of the perceptions of the pupils regarding French as a subject reveals differences in how pupils consider the usefulness of the subject. This shows differences between the pupils' ways of being and acting in learning the subject. Each pupil is, to borrow from Bourdieu, 'endowed with habitus, inscribed in their bodies by past experiences' (Bourdieu, 2000: 138). In this sense, depending on their background, pupils either accept French and want to learn it, or refuse to consider the language as important and steer away from the learning activities. Pupils identified with SEN generally struggle and are anxious about learning French, but their anxiety is higher if the pupils also happened to come from working-class backgrounds as they lack in cultural capital required to enable them to process some learning activities. Pupils' comportment toward the subject led to the three contrasting views we will see in these sections. Some pupils spoke negatively about foreign language learning when interviewed straight after a lesson in which, it was apparent to me as an observer that the pupils enjoyed their learning activities. Pupils' responses were negative as shown in this excerpt:

Bethan: I think French is a waste of time because what happens if you go to a different country it's not going to be any help because you won't know much and it's quite hard to learn it and it's very boring compared to maths and English. It's also hard to remember the words and letters. My dad says it's a waste of time because we're never going to go to France so there's no point learning it really.

Bethan's excerpt reflects a view expressed by many others at interviews and as I have so far discussed there is a connection between these negative attitudes toward French and the pupils' interests, motivation, identity and what they value. Although Bethan did not express that she would prefer to go to a different country, she implied that knowing French would only be useful if one went to a French speaking country. She also voiced that French was a waste of time and she recalls her father's position regarding French. This reflects continuity with habitus and field as Bethan takes to the classroom her father's views on the subject; an indication of her disposition against learning French is reinforced. She will not embrace French as a subject and will always draw on her father's support. It could be said that her negative opinion put her off the language and caused her to claim that it is a difficult language to learn. It could also be said that her reasons for not being positive about the subject is based on hearsay from her father. Her cultural identities hence remains closely linked with her family histories and her social class (Nayak, 2003).

During participant observation, I approached a group of pupils at the end of a whole class activity. The class had been doing a carousel task and pupils had been moving around after a certain time on the teacher's cue "au suivant!"³⁷ The pupils had to very quickly get to

³⁷ Cue call meaning 'next!' instructing pupils to move on to the next activity.

the next activity, complete it and get ready for the next cue. There were five activities altogether. The pupils I approached were the ones at my table at the start of my participant observation thus I moved around with them on the cue. At the end of the activity, although at face value, it looked like Patty, Tom and Steph enjoyed themselves they did not have anything positive to say about the activity or about learning French:

ED: That was good. You enjoyed that, didn't you?

Tom: No, not really. I don't really like French or the activities. Don't need French.

Patty: It's boring. French is always boring and hard.

Steph: It were okay. It would have been much be'er (*better*) in English.

ED: I thought everyone in our group was really into the activities and trying to keep up with the time when changing over. And you got most answers right!

Tom: Yeah well no. I didn't really enjoy 'em cos it's in French innit? People don't really like French so they don't enjoy it cos (*Tom was cut off by Steph*).

Steph: Yeah, because sometimes people pretend to like it but they really don't. No one likes French, Miss. It's hard.

These three pupils are not on the school's special needs register and generally, work quite well in other subjects. They are deemed of average and just above average ability and it did not seem that they had any problems with the intensity of the activities in this particular lesson. Thus, their responses were contrary to what I recorded. During the lesson, as I moved around with them, I noticed that they had almost all of their answers correct. Additionally, they did not moan or complain during the activities and they looked as though they were enjoying themselves. So what then happened? To these pupils, French is boring, of no use and hard, and these perceptions were stressed throughout the interview particularly, among pupils who maintained that they did not wish to take the subject at the next key stage. Motivation plays a big part in these pupils' less enjoyable language learning experiences and their positions seemed to vary depending on the learning context (Ellis, 1997). Although it looked in the classroom that the pupils were engaged in the tasks thus to a certain extent motivated, the pupils' own interpretations of what was occurring appeared to be the opposite. Perhaps it was not coincidental that these pupils revealed at the end of the activities that they did not find the activities enjoyable. What denoted these three pupils' responses was their readiness or obligation to participate in the learning activities despite their dislikes for the subject. This could be linked to, and at the same time, be the opposite of what Scholes (2013) found in her study and termed clandestine readers to refer to students who enjoy reading but feel obliged to hide their efforts or, students who appreciate books but express a remarkable lack of enjoyment for the social aspects of reading at school. Tom stating that people do not really like French portrays negative experience and lack of interest for the subject.

Ramage (2012) states that it is frustrating for the language teacher when students ask what the point of their language lessons is because they have no intention to visit the

target country. But she advises that teachers should make it understandable and explicit to pupils that the skills they learn in the language classroom will be needed in many aspects of their lives in the future. For the two pupils below, difficulty in learning French does not play a small part in their learning experiences as the following interview note shows:

(The teacher had already explained the task and asked if everyone understood or knew what to do. A loud 'yes' came from the class. But then...)

Oli: Oh I don't get it do I? What do we have to do? Who even want to learn French? I don't, do I? Why do we have to learn French? I prefer English. I know I won't get it Miss, because I'm stupid I know. *(Later on teacher asked class to copy notes from the board)*

Oli and Vicky are not copying accurately from the board. Walking around to check on the pupils, the teacher points to their errors and insists they correct these. The teacher then gives each of them what they had to copy on a sheet of paper so they had what's needed closer by to copy from. *(But when I looked they both still copy most words inaccurately. Did they do this deliberately?)* I drew Vicky's attention to the errors she'd copied willing her to correct them but she just sat there and said:

Vicky: I don't get French. I don't like it it's too hard. Why learn French, why can we just stick to English?

This type of response is widespread in this school and more popular with pupils who struggle with the subject and pupils from working-class background who place value only on subjects they perceive as useful for the future purposes. Oli ranted a while, starting from not understanding what is required of him to calling himself 'stupid' and additionally, acknowledging this. His reaction could in part be explained by the behaviour that Court (2001) observed in her study of boys learning French when she noted that the male students felt embarrassed and foolish in the language classroom. The extract also shows that learning French is of no use to both Oli and Vicky as they both wondered why they have to learn it, and this perceived lack of utility was voiced around their lack of knowledge of the subject and their views that English should be enough (Watts, 2003; Coleman, 2009). It also indicates their cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986). Despite being reluctant, these two pupils could recognise the role language learning plays in the development of identity. Although for them there is a desire to speak English and being English is their preferred identity (Lemke, 2000) which demonstrates their sentiment towards their own country (Shaw and Wong, 1989). MFL learning relates not only to the learning of the language but also to the culture of the target language community, Lambert (1972). Identity is portrayed through the choices learners make; choices which are defined by social structures (see Block, 2007). Vicky and Oli would choose to stick with English if given the choice, or perhaps they would prefer another language as Bartram (2012) found in his study on Attitudes to Modern Foreign Language Learning.

The MFL subject is a field of struggle and contestation (see chapters two and five) making the 'inclusive' MFL classroom a ground of inequalities, where, despite resources

provided, pupils are left to practices that fail to develop what is of value to them. Skills associated with foreign language learning are deemed beneficial to every learner however they fail to appeal to some pupils particularly working-class SEN pupils. Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992) posit that the position individuals take and their objective positions are interrelated as the individual's position commands the act of position-taking. Oli and Vicky appeared ready to position themselves in a deficit category, claiming, without first applying themselves to the learning activities that they do not or will not understand what is asked of them. It could be argued here that full inclusion or the pupils' central capabilities will not be fulfilled in such lessons. Although significant, as a lot of pupils disclosed attitudes similar to what is described above in Oli and Vicky's statements, it is important to note that not all pupils display strong negative attitudes toward language learning as shown below.

6.2.2 Positive views

Pupils who come from middle-class families are more engaged in the French classroom even if they are on the SEN register as they tend to demonstrate the 'sense of one's place' (Bourdieu, 1987: 5), because their home conditions enable them to be more open to the foreign language. Most parents, although not all, have some knowledge of French and support their children. As for the target community, pupils whose parents are in the Army generally tend to show more interest in the French culture. Some year 7 pupils show a positive attitude to the subject as in the following interview excerpts. These pupils were discussing what they think of learning French. All three pupils below are from middle-class families as they are not entitled to Free School Meal. Jeremy and Ben are both on the school's SEN register but do not have a statement of special needs thus are not allocated a teaching assistant in French lessons although they have one in English and maths. Ellie however, is not on the register but struggles a little with general academic work.

Ellie: I think French is a really good idea because in the future, like if we wanted to do French for GCSE it's good to know the basics like 'bonjour' or 'je m'appelle' and that. And I want to do GCSE in French. Umm [pause] I also want to get like a pen-pal from France I could write messages back in French and maybe I could meet up and we could talk umm to each other in French yeah.

Jeremy: Some of my family members, well, they have been to France and [pause] and [pause] because they said it's really nice and umm so I now want to go there as well, like. Yeah they also said it's hard to know how to speak it 'cause some of the people um who work at places don't w w w [stutters] won't really understand you so I want to learn it so I can speak it better.

Ben: It's like I think French will be useful in the future because if I go to France and someone asks me something in French [pause] I will have to communicate in French so then they will understand me speaking French not English as it is a foreign language to them. But our language isn't foreign to us as it is our main language as

every country has their own language but some countries have the same language as us like USA and Australia so other countries will then understand us when we speak their language. I think it's good that we learn another language.

All three pupils recognise to a certain extent and in their own way the importance of foreign language learning. Ellie's motivation involves taking GCSE in French and possibly getting a pen-pal and conversing with them in the language in due course. This motivation has an external point of reference in terms of the fulfilment of a functional purpose (Gardner, 1985). Jeremy and Ben's incentives for learning French are understandable in terms of how they envisage their goals for the future. Both boys' plans are functional or instrumental in that learning the language may open up wider routes for them in the future. Although habitus is considered an embodied form that evolves through cultural and personal construction, (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1994) these three pupils' responses describe a habitus marked by its earliest mode of acquisition. Their positive perceptions and motivation are due to their access to cultural capital (see section 3.2). Although Ben and Joe have special needs, they are no fish out of water (Bourdieu, 1989) in their French lessons. The choice these pupils make regarding this subject is informed by their future goals and it could be argued that their motivation to learn French will assist these pupils to convert the resources made available to them in French lessons into a threshold level of capabilities (Nussbaum, 2006; 2011). This concurs with Ramage's (2012) suggestion that learning a foreign language can enable students to develop a range of skills that they can apply in other areas. This may be the case, but, for some pupils, gaining language skills are not of value for their present or future plans. The data also revealed some mixed views recorded from observation and subsequent pupil interviews.

6.2.3 Mixed views

As discussed in section 6.2.1, pupils' performances in the French classroom can depend on their class position and their embodiment of a more or less language learner. Generally, a shortage in required cultural capital results in pupils from working-class backgrounds portraying reluctance to participate in the learning activities, and claiming, as we have seen in Bethan's excerpt above for example, that French is a waste of time. In contrast, pupils from middle-class backgrounds manage the learning process as they have access to resources or some forms of capital. Depending on their social backgrounds, and irrespective of their abilities, pupils are either like a fish out of water, or possess the 'feel for the game' (Bourdieu, 1998: 80) as seen in the cases of Ben and Jeremy in the section above. These excerpts below show a combination of negative and positive attitudes to learning French. Dylan and Annie are in year 6 and Mel is a year 7 pupil. They are all above

average ability and both perform well in all subjects including MFL. Here they expressed mixed views about learning French.

Dylan: I don't think it is a good idea because it is sometimes boring and Friday is the last school day and we always have a difficult and boring school day on Friday and we have French last lesson when we're all tired, I'm always tired so it's no good. I think if French was moved to a different day that would be good. I don't remember things well and we get homework it's always to do some work and sometimes to revise things in order to remember things. I like French but it can be challenging, really challenging but it's fun. Well, sort of.

Annie: Um the thought of learning French is exciting because you can learn numbers, new games, sentences and even maybe make new friends ... [pause] think I think French is fun because you can use actions to help you learn. It's very easy but sometimes it's hard to learn but it's still good fun.

Mel: Well, I love learning French cos it ... [pause] it is ... it is really fun um but also challenging um but I like things like that. Things the that are challenging cos I can achieve somfink high that I mm might find difficult. And I get a higher level. I like that. In French we do lots of easy and and lots of hard stuff. When it's too hard, you just tell Miss when you get stuck and Miss helps you.

Although Dylan sounded somewhat positive towards the end of his statement, his response with regard to the time-table is rather significant as his tiredness during the last lesson on the last day of the week could be contributing to his negative opinion about learning and performing in the subject. It is worth adding here that core subjects are not on the timetable for Friday afternoon at this school due to their importance. Both Annie and Mel sounded enthusiastic about learning French and although they claimed it is difficult, they are both still motivated. Mel adding that the teacher helps when the tasks are challenging is an indication of provision for all abilities in the language classroom (Ramage, 2012). The position of the pupils who displayed mixed views towards learning French changes as to which learning activities are being undertaken (Ellis, 1997). All three pupils here began their responses on a positive note showing their feelings for learning French. But at the same time, expressed some dislikes to the subject.

6.3 The word is hard, very hard

Just like with the word 'fun', pupils have their own meaning for the word 'hard'. I found that "it's too hard" literally means "it's in French" in pupils' terms. If the learning activity is in a different subject, then the pupils do not qualify it as "too hard". For example, in history, geography or food technology, subjects I also teach, the term is rarely used and even when pupils grumble those words in these other subjects, pupils still manage to carry out tasks set without much reluctance. However, in French lessons if the learning activity is deemed hard by pupils, then it is a different tale altogether as they would moan throughout, and some would not participate. This attitude toward the subject reiterates findings by Fisher (2001: 35)

that from pupils' perspectives foreign languages 'are the most challenging subjects in the curriculum'. Coleman's (2009) findings also reported that there is substantial anecdotal evidence that foreign languages are unpopular with secondary school students because they find the subject difficult and boring. Interview extracts with these year 7 pupils revealed:

Will: I find French hard I don't know why and I wish I knew everything about French so I were good but I feel like I'm not good at it because it's too hard and I don't really want to learn it. I think Spanish is better because we go on holiday there but we never go to France and I don't want to go there. If I had the choice I won't learn French. It's too hard.

Teegan: I find learning French very hard because I don't know much so I struggle to keep up with the work. I find it harder to spell French words than English ones. I think if we didn't have anything to learn in French but just sit in class and watch videos in French with subtitles of course and then play some games then it might be better. But because we have to work I'm sure we all find it hard.

Wesley: French always puts me in a negative mood. It happens every time we have French. I think it's cos I don't care for French and don't want to learn it. Miss gives me easier tasks I think she thinks that will help me get some work done but I don't care. I just sit there and I don't even try to answer any questions either. When Miss asks me how far I've got with the task or when she wants to check my work I just say "I don't know. I haven't done it. It's too hard". And it's too hard. I ask Miss: "Why do we have to learn it?" And she just says "French is like any other subject." But I know it's not. Sometimes when I ask her she just gets cross with me.

(Interview -01/02/13)

The difference between the responses from these three pupils here and the responses from the pupils in section 6.2.2 is that here, Will, Teegan and Wesley are not only on the school's SEN register but also come from a background where there is no support for French learning at home. Lack of home support coupled with being on the 'lower' end of the SEN register equates to strong negative feeling about the MFL learning experience. As Will has never been to France, he can only access language and culture from the classroom. Unfortunately, he does not regard the study of French as useful and since he visits Spain quite often, Spanish appeals to him more. Where choice is available, findings reveal that pupils appreciate the opportunity to choose the foreign language of interest to study and as a result, pupils feel more positive and regard the language as useful (Bartram, 2012). Teegan also expressed choice although in her case, she would not mind learning French provided lessons have activities she values. She also stresses on English which points to the concept of identity. It could be argued that for Teegan too, there is a desire to be English and to have everything in English as things would then be easier. In Wesley's statement, he acknowledged that the teacher helps him by giving him manageable tasks, which indicates provision for all abilities in the 'inclusive' classroom (McKeown, 2004; Ramage, 2012). He

however claimed that French is not useful and only takes part in lessons to comply with the rules of the school.

When reminded during the interview that they do not get to sit and watch videos and play games in other subjects, the pupils responded that at least the other subjects are useful and therefore they find it necessary to want to make more effort in them. These pupils' responses show that they are aware in some ways that they do not possess what Bourdieu (1998: 80) termed the 'feel for the game' in repeating French is hard, they do not care for it and more importantly, they do not need it. Pupils gave examples of the core subjects and explained their importance for GCSE exams in the future and added that other subjects are not as hard as French. As discussed above, the phrase "it's too hard" is expressed a lot by some pupils when asked about learning French but other than expressing dislikes to French, pupils do not really explain what is actually hard. I observed four particular participants in many French lessons because these used the expression a lot more as though to make their views towards French heard by everyone in the school. These boys, Luke, Thomas, Scott and Craig are all in year 7; two of them are in the same class, whereas the other two are in two different classes. These pupils do well in all subjects but their performances seem to slack in French. During the interview, the boys revealed:

Luke: I wish I found French easier, all that speaking and reading and writing, it's all hard, if I found it easier, it it it wouldn't be so boring.

Thomas: Well, I think it's terrible to learn it, it's a tough language.

Scott: For me I think it's a stupid and hard language I just don't like learning it.

Craig: Um, it's well hard just because it's French. I don't like learning it.

The same thing was stressed and repeated by the boys in the interview. It was clear in their responses that French was a difficult language and they do not feel positive about learning it, but the boys simply opted for the word 'hard' to define their experiences of the language lessons. What is worth mentioning is the negative attitude these quite able pupils display toward the subject, which they regard as something they just have to put up with because the rules of the school require them to. There is also an issue of how the pupils perceive the value of the subject. As discussed throughout this chapter, the negative perceptions demonstrate that French is not regarded as useful and is seen as being of less value in employment terms than the core curriculum subjects. The main argument in the excerpts in this section is that cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1977b), something that the pupils here have not shown that they possess, is attributed to the learning of French. Moreover, the excerpts also suggest that French is not a subject that these pupils have reason to value (see section 3.1.2), and as a result, the pupils have not demonstrated that they are able to understand and communicate in a foreign language, nor have they shown willingness to develop their interests in the culture of the target community as suggested by the Languages for All policy. It is not surprising as we have seen in chapter two that the characteristics that make the

Languages for All policy and the French classroom to sound inclusive (including every pupil and providing for all abilities) are the same characteristics that make them both confusing, difficult and exclusionary (see section 5.4). The nature of language learning usually means that hard work and commitment are required to succeed, but hard work and commitment are far from being compatible with an anti-French construction of identity, or a lack of 'the feel for the game' (Bourdieu, 1998: 83).

6.4 Negotiating identities in the French classroom

This section builds on the identity issues, some of which have already been analysed above in this chapter. As the language learning experiences vary from pupil to pupil, I used capital and habitus (see 3.2.2) as theoretical terms based on Bourdieu's concepts to enable a sociological understanding of the 'inclusive' MFL classroom. Bourdieu's (1991) concepts of habitus and cultural capital are used to consider and identify the impact of foreign language learning on the pupils' self-identity. The most fundamental issue addressed here therefore concerns the identity of the language learner with regard to the social world. At Main Street School, the target language culture is taught and emphasised in French lessons as recommended by the Key Stage 3 Framework for Languages (DfES, 2003). In this research, one thing that is salient is that in the French classroom, pupil identity appears to be socially constructed, formed and re-formed in teaching and learning situations. A pupil identity involves the position the pupil takes with regard to the subject and the learning activity. This was noticeable during participant observation. On some occasions, some pupils took part in the learning activity and worked enthusiastically, whereas some others showed reluctance to take part or simply positioned themselves outside the learning activity. Learning and identity are bound together in the same process (Lave and Wenger, 1991) as we will see in 6.4.1 below.

6.4.1 Positive trends in identities and French learning

The extracts below display integrative and instrumental motivations for learning French. The pupils were asked what they thought of learning French. In terms of identity, most of the pupils talked about how good it was to learn French but some stated that it was a waste of time. Depending on the participants' backgrounds, interests, values and cultural capital, certain aspects of identities were stressed more. The following pupils are not identified with SEN and are not on the FSM list either:

I think French is valuable because if you go to France you will know how to speak French or if I had a French friend I would know how to speak French. I also like learning French because I enjoy it and I want to speak it like French people.
(Elizabeth – year 7)

I think French is useful in a way because if you learn French it might be useful if you go to France and you want to talk to some people it might be useful I would like to go there one day to see for myself to meet French people in their own land umm and live like them umm I'd like that. But sometimes the lessons are hard and it is hard to memorise homework and to speak it but it's good to learn to speak it. (*Mia – year 6*)

I think that French is useful because it will help you when you are a grown up and if you are going to France to get a job then it will help you so you can speak to people in France. I also think that it is quite hard but sometimes it can be fun and I like to learn it because if say I get a job in France then I'll be good at it. I'll be good at my job and I'll be good at the language just like French people. (*Matt – year 6*)

As discussed in chapter two, learning a foreign language is a socio-cultural occurrence which necessitates taking on the target language identity, or at least relating to aspects of the culture of the target language. This seems to provoke an argument for a learner identity which goes deeper than simply socio-economic motivation (see Dornyei, 2001). This learner identity can then be seen as supporting an integrative motivation in the cases of Elizabeth, Mia and Matt. All three pupils spoke of the language being useful if they ever visit the target country. This learner identity can also be seen as reinforcing an integrative motivation that manifests when the learner desires to identify with the culture of the speakers of the target language, thus this can also be seen as a cultural goal towards learning French (Williams *et al.*, 2002). It is also worth noting Mia's curiosity about the way the French people live and her contemplating living in France and being like French people one day. This shows she can form different identities while learning the target language (Roberts, 2001). Although this constitutes a form of motivation, it also involves identity because it concerns a personal cultural disposition towards difference. In these three pupils' statements, there are intercultural and instrumental motivations for learning French (Norton, 2000) and for Elizabeth and Matt learning the language is also enjoyable.

Similarly, in the following interview extracts three other pupils expressed their understanding of the usefulness of the language and this indicates their instrumental motivation. The economic orientation expressed by both Hollie and Dyson when they mentioned employment could be seen as instrumental as it is a goal that lies outside the linguistic or cultural activity of language learning:

I think that doing French is good because you never know you might need to know how to speak French later in your life though I don't enjoy it as much as other lessons. You might move to France later in your life I think it is hard to remember after a while I find it difficult sometimes. (*Anton – year 6*)

It's useful to learn it especially if you happen to have a family in France. You can also get a good job in France one day and get higher pay like and that if you can speak another language. It's good to know about other countries like France and us are basically neighbours so we should know about them how they live and that and they should know about us. (*Dyson – year 7*)

I think it is good because if you went on a holiday to France, you would need to know French and it's important to learn about other countries and personally I would like to do French for my GCSE later because I have family in France and I would like to move there to work as a vet and stuff. (*Hollie – year 7*)

The statements above contain examples of instrumental and integrative cultural motivation by all three pupils but Dyson and Hollie especially referring to language learning as a way of learning about other countries can be seen as a cultural orientation or disposition towards a foreign language. The economic goal put forward by Dyson when he referred to a foreign language learning as giving access to a good job and higher pay could be seen as instrumental in that it lies outside of the linguistic cultural activity of language learning. However, it also shows Dyson's awareness that language is bound up with culture as he expressed the importance of knowing about the target community. Hollie also perceives that striving for some qualification in French will be useful for her future. This meets the objective (see chapter two) of the Languages for All and relates to Ramage's (2012: 5) suggestion that 'being able to speak and understand another language can open up immense opportunities for work, both abroad and in this country'. Similarly to Dyson's statement other pupils express a desire to go beyond their own cultural experiences from their own location as English people in order to compare the two cultures. Lynsey's interview extract below was taken from her response to the question "do you think learning French is important?"

I think French is important because it is one of the main languages in the world. It is also quite easy to learn because a lot of the words sound and look like their English equivalent. I think it might also be useful in later life. If I go on holiday to France I might need to use some French. I'd like to go there so I can see their different way of life and how they do things differently to us English people like their food and their celebrations and stuff I'd like to know that. In lessons, I like the way we revise words and I like saying it like the teacher says so I can sound like the French and it gets into my head quicker. The worksheets are also helpful because it helps us learn in a fun way. (*Lynsey – year 7*)

From the elements of culture discussed in chapter two, Lynsey gives examples of the French ways of living that she would like to associate with and this represents a cultural product. Her cultural identity constitutes a link between her perception of cultural product as an objective state and her subjective cultural process of discovery. This concurs with the definition of cultural identity where culture is a subjective process which is related to culture perceived as objective reality. The product of this relationship is Lynsey's own perception of the target language culture and the possibilities that this might hold for her in the future. The last couple of sentences in Lynsey's narrative showed that she invests her identity by taking on aspects of the target language identity when she strives to sound like French people in the classroom (Roberts, 2001). Lynsey is both instrumentally and integratively motivated to learn French, and it could be argued that the entitlement to study French suits her needs and interests. In

the 'inclusive' classroom, pupils such as Lynsey, Hollie, Dyson and Anton are motivated and positive about learning French, thus, their participation in the same lesson with peers who cannot fathom the learning activities, or who are not willing to take part, raises questions about the goal of the Languages for All policy. And as we have seen in chapter five, the practices of inclusion can be exclusionary, and moreover, what constitutes the central capabilities for each pupil (see chapter three) in the 'inclusive' MFL classroom should be taken into account. Here, what each pupil has reason to value is shaped by their abilities and what seems manageable to them. This is also shaped by their habitus which in turn is shaped by social class; the pupils from middle-class backgrounds are positive about learning French and have the resources to do so whereas the pupils from working-class families lack the resources needed to manage learning activities. To illustrate this, the section below discusses how some pupils find learning French.

6.4.2 Negative trends in identities and French learning

My argument for language learning and identity is that cultural identity helps to shape the position of the language learner with regard to the social experience of language learning. This suggests that culture or ways of life are intertwined with the target language itself. As mentioned in section 2.6.3, culture itself is defined as a phenomenon that is socially constructed (Kramsch, 1998) and viewed as being shaped by language. As far as the individual is concerned, culture is the totality of present as well as past cultural resources the individual engages with, therefore, the construction of the individual's culture continuously shapes learner identity. During interviews some pupils expressed how useless and time wasting learning French was as the following extracts show.

It's like I think French will be useless in the future for me because if I go to France and someone asks me something in French ... [pause] I will have to communicate in English. I am English not French. People learn English there. I don't think I will go to France I would like to go to Australia or America instead anyway so I don't need to learn French. (*Louis – year 6*)

I think that you should not do French because it is a waste of time. It's boring and hard. You have to memorise all the things the teacher says. My teacher says my name is French but I don't care because I don't like the French. I've been to France once and it were alright and the food were OK. But I don't like French or French people much I prefer English people because I can understand them better. (*Emilie – year 7*)

I think French is useful if you go to France but in England you do not need it so we don't need to learn French. I live in England and I like English lessons not French lessons. I think Food Tech is better because it's in English and easier to understand than French. (*Megan – year 7*)

People say French is fun and that but I find it so boring because in the lesson you can't understand French unless you want to know French and I don't want to know French. I can't wait to drop it at the high school. (*Kieron – year 6*)

Here these pupils did not hold back in saying what was on their mind when discussing what they thought about learning French. There was no integrative reason or instrumental motive for Louis to learn French. His own language is enough (Lemke, 2002) and he emphatically made it clear that he would communicate in English in France should he ever go there, showing a strong nationalist view (see Shaw and Wong, 1989). This attitude reflects his habitus and illustrates a lack of cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1992). Identity also seems to be important to him as he stated this a few times throughout the interview and his view is similar to Emilie's in that identity appeared to be important to her too. Emilie also made it clear that her name might be French but she does not like the French. It seemed that she likes the country without the people and she has in fact visited the country and liked the food but just not the people, therefore, her visit did not seem to permeate into a linguistic or cultural interest. Louis and Emilie did not appear to have an interest in the foreign language identity. Megan in her turn, added to these strong feelings of not needing French by comparing French lessons to English lessons before discussing her favourite school subject. She even stated that French is a useless subject which should not be taught at school. Kieron also shared these views and went on to express that success is based on the importance of motivation and perhaps also value an individual would accord to the subject.

I observed Emilie and Kieron in their French lesson prior to this interview and noticed that they did not show much interest at all in learning the language:

Year 7 class are playing 'Who wants to be a millionaire – Animals Edition. This game is set up just like the real thing on the interactive board but the class is divided into 2 teams to play. Team A is being very competitive because there is a reward for the winning team. Each team member contributes to the answer which the team captain writes on the mini white board to read out. The whole class seems reasonably quiet apart from a few pupils who are sitting in the back row. They are talking among themselves but looking and pointing at the board at the same time so perhaps they were discussing the answers. The questions are in English but the pupils are required to say and spell the answers in French. It's going quite well. The 'less able' pupils are having some help from the TA with reading the English questions. Every time the game tune is played, pupils sing along loudly. Some even dance to it. The teacher doesn't seem to mind this as she is tapping and following the beat herself. Kieron and Emilie are not sitting together but they are not moved by what's going on. They're not paying attention. The teacher has already told them off twice but they still are off-task. The teacher gives them a worksheet each to do instead. Emilie keeps checking the clock and doodling on a note pad. Kieron is consistently talking to Joe who is sitting in front of him and who funnily enough is taking part in the game despite being continuously interrupted by Kieron. The teacher now looks in Kieron's direction as a warning for talking loudly and calling out again to Jack across the room. Kieron is annoyed, slumps in his chair, crosses his arms and mutters: "this is boring". His muttering is loud enough for a few of his peers to hear and turn around to look at him and giggle. They then quickly turn back to the teacher and the activity continues.

Kieron looks in my direction and says “I don’t like French”. He turns to the worksheet on his table and shrugs.

(Interview -13/12/12)

In this lesson, Kieron and Emilie did not do much work at all. Emilie particularly was off task but did not speak much in the lesson. The rest of the class seemed to enjoy two other games activities as well as the Millionaire game but not Kieron and Emilie as they had their minds elsewhere all the time despite the teacher’s several attempts to keep them engaged. For Kieron and Emilie, habitus could be seen to conflict with field; both pupils did not show much willingness to be present in the lesson, let alone participate. The field recognises them (the Languages for All entitles them to be there) without ‘accepting’ them (they did not take part in the lesson) by failing to take into account their social background or acknowledge what they have reason to value. As I already argued in the chapter 5, including all pupils can lead to tactics of exclusion as played out here by these two pupils. Given the attitudes of these two pupils, Willis (1977, 128) would argue that the ‘logic of class or group interests is different from the logic of individual interests’. To both Kieron and Emilie, learning French does not mean much or stand for anything.

As these two pupils sat in the ‘inclusive’ classroom to be taught a subject they are by right entitled to (DfES, 2002), whether they see any value in learning the subject or not, they seemed to be socially excluded as they did not appear to possess the capital (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977; 1990) that would enable them to participate as the system requires them to. Kieron was off task most of the time and yet, he could not stop trying to distract his peers. He positioned himself away from the socially restricted nature of the learning activities but tried to seek a wider social interaction with the class and enacted this through talking constantly and calling out. In the last sentences of the extract, Kieron expressed his opinion of French, which could be viewed as a negative attitude toward this particular language or toward foreign languages in general. Emilie and Kieron are not on the school’s SEN register and they both perform reasonably well in other subjects. The problem here in this classroom was not to do with their abilities but rather their lack of interest, lack of motivation and above all, how they relate to the foreign language in general. Learner identity can be seen here as an exercise of individual subjectivity (Lemke, 2002) constructed from the classroom situation. Emilie and Kieron’s performances in this lesson demonstrated and clarified their responses in the interview statements recorded above.

6.5 Very little French would be ideal

Pupils who like the language but find it a challenge, whether they struggle with the language or have no parental support claimed that given the choice, they would like to just sit

in the lesson and watch the French teacher and the others interact, an idea which would exclude them from the learning as such. They reasoned that this would help them hear the language and the bonus would be that they would not have to “do any work” themselves and this showed their preferences.

6.5.1 Pupils’ preferences regarding learning French

Some pupils stated that they would like to learn just the basics and nothing else and gave reasons as in this extract:

I preferred it when we learnt the basics stuff. It was well fun then because we played many games with the new words to help us remember the sounds and all that. When we learnt the basics we had many songs and rhymes. Yes, that was fun. (*Jess – year 6*)

When we learnt the basics we didn’t have to think too hard because it was easy to understand and yes it was good fun. I enjoyed it because all the work was easy it was cool. (*Laurie – year 6*)

Many more children spoke in favour of having a film to watch in the target language every lesson and playing games all the time. It seems that stopping at the basics is ideal as discussed in section 5.4.4, and the assumption that basics are more fun is shared by parents, some of whom sustained that the anxiety felt by their children would be lowered if, only the basics were taught. The basics however are not enough and are not the only things recommended in the national curriculum programmes of study for MFL and moreover, the basics would not enable the pupils to manage in national exams later on, should they choose to carry on with the subject. The importance of having fun was also important to all of the pupils and this was expressed by some parents. An extract is shown below.

Eddie used to enjoy learning French at the start of year 5. He’d come home and chant some rhymes and sing songs in French but now he hates the subject and gets upset on days when he has homework.

Eddie is now in year 7 and although he takes part and always makes an effort in French lessons, he does not appear to enjoy the subject much and there has been occasions when he refused to come to school because he “was worried about French”, a letter sent to the school had stated. For Eddie, learning French is useful but he also said that he finds it too difficult because he is not learning, in his words, “the fun bits like animals and numbers and that anymore, but long sentences that are too hard”. Eddie is not the only pupil in the school and as seen in 5.4.4, his parent is not the only adult who considers learning French to be a challenge once the learning moves beyond the basics. This reflects Chambers’ (1999) address to teachers about year 7 pupils starting to learn a foreign language when he states that the evidence demonstrate that year 7 pupils are keen and look forward to learning the

subject. When Eddie stated that learning long sentences is too hard, this also reflects Chambers' (1999: 81) findings that a couple of years after starting to learn the foreign language, the pupils seem to lose their enthusiasm and 'appear disgruntled'. The teachers however, as we have seen throughout the data are not the only ones to rejoice during the 'honeymoon' (*ibid.*) but pupils as well as parents seem to prefer the early stages of foreign language learning. This goes against the objectives of the Languages for All policy in that during the 'honeymoon' period, only the basics could be covered and that does not lead to proficiency or competence as suggested by the policy. More importantly however, the three excerpts here reveal the feelings of difference which involve, to borrow yet from Bourdieu, a lack of feel for the game, between the pupils' (and their parents) self-identities and what the Languages for All policy expect of them. These pupils see themselves as language learners who enjoy and only need to learn just the basics of the target language, but are required by the entitlement, to study and gain proficiency in the language (see chapter two). Whilst some pupils would more or less manage the learning beyond the basics, others struggle, rendering it a habitual matter. This thus makes MFL as a whole, not only challenging but also a classed subject as pupils with required cultural capital access the learning opportunities and gather even more forms of capital. One area in which the Languages for All can be seen to reduce social class inequalities is the inclusion of all pupils in the same learning activities. Yet, as we have seen in the data, including all appears to detriment pupils identified as having SEN particularly if they also come from disadvantaged backgrounds. Institutions, Bourdieu (1991) would argue, are classed environments where habitus affects new experiences as much as it is influenced by prior experiences as in the case of Eddie above.

6.5.2 Teaching and non-teaching adults' preferences regarding learning French

Some teaching assistants described how learning French is meaningless to certain pupils despite all the efforts made to motivate and keep them interested.

There are too many pupils who just sit in the lesson and produce very little in the subject for various reasons. For some it's because they either hate the subject or can't be bothered and for others it's just the ability they lack. I think a solution would be to give the pupils the choice and I know it won't be easy but ...but if there were 2 options, one could be to just learn the basics and spend the rest of the time to do extra English and the other option could be to learn French through and through with the view to take it up at the exams in the future, if the kids were given these choices, I think things could be better. Well at least it could stop all the difficulties the kids have to encounter. They'd be happier and their parents would be too.

(Mrs Ogilvie -TA)

Mrs Ogilvie made a good point in her suggestion of giving some choices to the pupils. These choices would allow for the subject to be learnt by all pupils up to a certain stage, and perhaps would keep up pupils' interests. Parents who would rather have their children opt out

of languages for good, might also perhaps find a way around the anxiety their children face in the subject. As discussed in chapter 5, the lack of knowledge that some parents have as far as foreign language learning is concerned does not enable them to support their children. These parents always state that French is the only subject that makes their children unhappy which cause them to refuse to attend school. They usually add French is the only subject they themselves feel incapable when it comes to helping their children with homework for example, as they have very limited knowledge or no knowledge at all in the language. Some of the parents' comments I collected were:

Some children like my Johnny don't need French and are never going to need it in the future. So I think extra English would be best all round.

It'd definitely be better to teach them what really matters first and when they grasp it then they can learn things like French.

French should just be offered as a club activity at lunch time or maybe even after school. Period. It'd be better if it wasn't treated like a subject, at least not at this age range. Maybe when they're a bit older the anxiety would be minimal all round.

Let's face it. Most of these children don't yet know English, they don't know how to read or how to spell and yet they are expected to learn another language

These views are similar to findings by McColl (2000) and McKeown (2004) regarding what adults say when it comes to teaching foreign languages to children who may find it difficult to manage. As discussed in section 2.7, parental involvement has been found to impact the cognitive and social development of children, and studies by Colombo (2006) and Vang (2006) reveal that increased level of parental investment or involvement in schools and in the education of their children plays an important part in the educational success of students. Although the parents in the excerpts above want their children flourish at school, they do not perceive the study of French as needed for their children to achieve this goal, thus economic value (see 2.6.1 and 3.2.1) or liberation from insularity (DfE, 2013) is not in this case ascribed to language learning. This is contrary to findings by Dagenais (2003) which reveal that when it comes to languages, some parents adopt a transnational view and invest in their children's acquisition of foreign languages imagining that it will enable the children to secure a place in our competitive world.

6.6 Theoretical outcome

This chapter has used theoretical tools drawn from both Bourdieu and Nussbaum to analyse perceptions and entitlement regarding the study of French as a school subject. Bourdieu (1998) asserts that social advantages/disadvantages are produced and reproduced by three main items which can be summed up as follows: habitus (people's actions and dispositions), capital (resources available to people), and field (the structure of the situation people are in). I have drawn on these theoretical tools of Bourdieu's to enable an analysis of

pupils' perceptions and performances in the learning of French in the classroom setting, paying particular attention to issues of SEN and issues of social class. I used the concepts of habitus, capital and field to understand what the pupils make of learning French, their experiences and how they perceive themselves as language learners. The basic claim of Nussbaum's (2006; 2011) capabilities approach is to measure the well-being of a person by taking into account what he/she succeeds in doing and being. I have also drawn on the capabilities approach to identify issues of inequality regarding every pupil learning French, their entitlement to develop their potential on equal terms with their peers, as well as to be and to do what they value.

The analysis of the data in this chapter has shown that the value placed on learning French depends on the pupils' social backgrounds, interests and needs. The interview excerpts demonstrate a variation in views and preferences and a distinction in what pupils of different abilities and from different backgrounds consider useful for their future. Negotiations in the language classroom appear to be dependent on Bourdieu's (1977b) theoretical concepts and the availability of Nussbaum's (2006; 2011) central capabilities as presented in chapter three. As discussed in the introduction of this chapter, aside promoting inclusion, the Languages for All policy emphasises the importance of the ability to understand and communicate in a foreign language. In entitling all pupils to study a foreign language, it is thus hoped that this will enabled every pupil to develop their interests in the culture of other communities. The data in this chapter taken from fieldnotes and interviews extracts show negative views regarding the subject as well as resistance to acknowledge the target community culture, suggesting a disjunction between what is proposed in policy and what is lived in practice. At Main Street School, French is a subject that pupils moan about the most, claiming it is too hard or useless. It is a subject that causes concerns and anxiety for some parents and their children. Some pupils voice that they do not see the importance or the reason for learning the language despite the benefits promoted by the Languages for All policy and despite the provisions made available for all pupils in the classroom.

My intention for this research was to put aside my own experience (what I already view as a concern in MFL), and use my position as an insider to evaluate how the provisions available in the French classroom are appreciated or not, by the pupils and their parents. I wanted to distance myself from my roles as a teacher and a researcher in order to critically reflect on what I see and hear. I found myself being simultaneously an insider and an outsider but neither role was simple or easy, and, depending on the situation, my teaching role was more depreciated by the pupils and the parents. This is because on occasions, my role as a teacher hindered me from getting information for the research from certain participants (pupils and parents) who consider me as an unwanted member of staff, an outsider because of the French subject. This is something I do not experience as a teacher

of history or food technology. Equally, my role as an insider/outsider however, made some participants more than willing to share their experiences and thus enabled me to gather relevant information. This, I would not have been able to collect if I were just an insider or just an outsider (see Ellis and Brochner, 2000; Finlay, 2002; Ergun and Erdemir, 2010).

I therefore wanted to experience from the pupils' perspectives the benefit of learning a foreign language as promoted by the policy, to make sense of the reasons certain negotiations occur around the school and, in particular, in the French classroom. When I was analysing data for this research, I was asked at school one day to supervise a year 7 pupil who was sent out of class due to behaviour issues. As the pupil and I sat in a quiet room, we both had things to reflect on thus did not speak to each other. He had to reflect on his behaviour and write a letter of apology to the class he disrupted. I had a bulk of data to read and try to make sense of. The hour went too quickly, at least for me it did, and, as we were both getting ready to leave, the pupil began:

Pupil: Whoa that's a lot of work you're doing, Miss.

ED: yeap. (Without looking in his direction, *I carried on gathering my papers*)

Pupil: were you marking a test, Miss?

ED: Oh no. Just doing research work.

Pupil: Umm. I know what, what I'm gonna do. At the end of this year, I'm gonna design a test for you, I am, and you can sit and do it **all** (stresses on 'all' making it the word sound longer) in French. And we'll see how you get on with it.

This pupil's sentiment was directed towards my role as a teacher and sums up what this research is about as it gives an insight into how some pupils perceive the foreign language learning process. I noticed from pupils' sentiments that I am their favourite teacher as long as I am not teaching them French. Learning French seems to be an ordeal in some cases and how the subject is perceived contribute to its low status in the school and the exclusion phenomenon in the classroom. Many pupils, and indeed some parents' views and experiences of the subject conflict with policy rhetoric. On one hand, the policy claims that pupils enjoy and benefit from learning a foreign language and on the other hand, the classroom experiences show the opposite. The argument is that, in an educational system where, among other things, educational standard prevail, learning French cannot be part of the bargain for some pupils and their parents. Some parents would like their children to learn skills that they might need in the future, and many pupils do not see the value of learning French.

For French to be of significance with these middle school age pupils, in particular, much depends on policy makers understanding of pupils' perceptions, values and choice. As Nussbaum (2011) puts it, peoples' choices can be personal and involve cultural identities, and thus need to be respected. One thing that seems apparent in the data is that some pupils prefer to learn the basics only in French, therefore making this a capability would be

the appropriate goal (Nussbaum, 2011). Cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1977; 1986) also plays a part as some parents feel unable to support their children in this subject because of their own lack of knowledge. As seen in chapter five and also in this chapter, the 'inclusive' MFL classroom represents a field of conflicting challenges. This research thus has been a search for meanings of inclusion of all in foreign language learning (policy and practice), and meanings of the perspectives and experiences of pupils, teachers as well as parents with regard to MFL.

The statement that 'during key stage 3 pupils begin to understand, speak, read and write at least one modern foreign language (...) [and pupils] use this knowledge with increasing confidence and competence to express themselves' (DfES, 2004: 108) seems decisive as it implies that the learning process runs smoothly for all pupils in spite of the cultural values they may bring to the classroom. My position from what emerged from the data is that the values pupils accord to foreign language learning come before their abilities and their performances in the classroom. Just as abilities are diverse, the values in the 'inclusive' classroom also are. It is noteworthy that the data in this chapter is similar, in terms of the responses given by the participants, to the data in chapter five, in that, both sets of data mainly summarise claims such as "French is hard" and "Why do we have to learn French?" These two claims contribute to the exclusion phenomenon as discussed in chapter five. Here in chapter six, these two claims play a part in performances in the classroom, and there is also a connection between motivation and learner identity if we consider the four groups of pupils described in section 5.6. In those groups, some of the pupils are willing to perform whether they can or not, hence they are in some way motivated, and, while some pupils identify themselves with French culture, some others prefer their own culture. Here too, pupils' backgrounds, beliefs and needs are some of the prevalent issues that are brought into the classroom, and yet, these issues do not figure in the policy rhetoric. In working with Bourdieu's (1977a) concepts discussed in section 3.2, we can see how the habitus of the pupils' and the adults' respond in accordance and discordance with learning the foreign language and this is understood through actions, negotiations and practices in the classroom and around the school. Drawing on Bourdieu's concepts therefore determined that what the pupils and the adults are actually able to do and be (see section 3.1.2) where the foreign language learning process is concerned, is framed by their backgrounds, needs, interests and identity, to name just a few factors here. The issues encountered in foreign language learning accentuate and perpetuate inequality (Bourdieu, 1977b) in the classroom as pupils who are motivated and able to perform well (those the teacher spends more time with) climb the social or achievement ladder whereas pupils who cannot perform or do not perceive themselves as language learners, construct an identity of themselves as failing pupils and remain at the bottom. An example as such was illustrated by Oli in section 6.2.1

when he acknowledged that he was 'stupid'. Where learning French is concerned, pupils either possess 'the feel for the game' (Bourdieu, 1998: 80) or feel out of place like 'a fish [not] in water' (Bourdieu, 1989:43). In either case, the pupils get 'the sense of one's place' (Bourdieu, 1987:5) which determines how they consider the subject. Apple (1995) suggests that inequality is based on and built out of a network of everyday social and cultural practices, and this is illustrated in the data. Here too, I argue that this situation has implications for policy as well as practices of inclusion in the classroom. Therefore, I propose that it is crucial for the Languages for All policy to take into account these issues in order to enable all pupils, real capabilities in the foreign language learning process. As I approach the end of the writing of this thesis, I see too many pupils in both key stages 2 and 3 who do not see through meaningful foreign language learning process for the reasons discussed in these data chapters, and that is unjust.

6.7 Conclusion

This chapter has analysed factors involved in learning a foreign language in a school environment and discussed views and preferences of pupils as well as parents on learning French. The findings indicate that motivation to learn French tends to depend on the value the pupils give the subject and how they perceive the subject's utility for employment purposes for the future. Learning French thus does not appear to be particularly intrinsically motivating in itself, and the experiences of learning the language appear to be rather varied among the pupils. Some pupils have positive, others have negative views about French and the target community and interestingly some others express a mixed bag of both.

The narratives have shown both Bourdieu's concepts and Nussbaum's capabilities approach to be valuable theoretical and analytical tools for understanding the way the social position of the pupils influences perceptions of foreign language learning and how these are played out in the French classroom, where the main goal of the Languages for All policy is to give every pupil the opportunity to study and become competent in the target language. Pupils whose parents have some knowledge of French or who are prepared to support their children learning a foreign language sounded more positive. However, due to lack of required cultural capital, the French learning experience negatively affects pupils who are on the school's SEN register, particularly if they also come from working-class families.

In general, pupils who find French challenging display a negative attitude and state that they do not consider the language useful and would not need it in the future. On the contrary, pupils who show positive attitudes explain the usefulness of the language and admit to enjoying the learning experience particularly in lessons where they play interactive games. Many pupils express finding the language more challenging than other subjects

however, difficulty in French lessons is not in every case associated with a lack of enjoyment. The contents of the subject also play a part as learning a foreign language to some pupils and parents equates to learning basic vocabulary and not needing to progress any further and anything beyond the basics causes concern. There also appears to be a connection between learning French and learner identity dispositions towards the language and its culture when Louis, in 6.4.2, in the negative trends section aptly declares: "I'm English not French". This declaration which is usually made by pupils from disadvantaged backgrounds or pupils who have no support at home regarding the subject may well be linked to the thought behind their constant question, "why do we have to learn French?" The MFL classroom is such that using Bourdieu's work alone would not be sufficient in understanding practice and measuring what is of value to the pupils, as well as evaluating inequality in the 'inclusive' classroom. Therefore, drawing on both Bourdieu and Nussbaum enabled me to critique what was contextually going on at the school, the reason some pupils do not value learning French despite encouragement and provision, in that, first, Bourdieu's (1977b) concepts of capital, habitus and field also permit understanding of pupils' background and second, Nussbaum's capabilities approach enabled me to evaluate what real opportunities are available to support pupils to achieve what they value doing and being.

CHAPTER SEVEN: DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

7.0 Introduction

This research has drawn on the work of Pierre Bourdieu and Martha Nussbaum, both of which come from different philosophical frameworks but have much in common in that their work is concerned with inequality in society, and more narrowly in education. Bourdieu developed his concepts of capital, habitus and field to enable understanding of inequality, and Nussbaum developed central capabilities based on basic human needs for dignity and self-respect, asking: what is each person able to do and to be, and what real opportunities are available to them? As both Bourdieu and Nussbaum's work enable understanding of the importance of resources beyond the economic, I have drawn on them as theoretical lenses to analyse the process of language learning beyond provision of resources. First, Bourdieu's capital, habitus and field enabled me to understand some of the reasons some pupils in the French classroom are reluctant to take part despite provision and differentiation of activities. Second, Nussbaum's capabilities approach enabled me to ask if, in the 'inclusive' French classroom, real opportunities are available for each and every pupil to flourish.

The importance of foreign language learning is promoted by the Languages for All policy and key stage 2 pupils are all entitled to study a foreign language as part of the school curriculum. The Languages for All policy (DfES, 2002) thus seeks to include pupils of all abilities in good quality language teaching and learning and for all pupils to achieve a level of competence in the target language (see chapter two, section 2.1). The policy also promotes the importance of the ability to understand and communicate in other languages and stresses that the study of a foreign language will enable all pupils to develop their interests in the culture of other nations. Studies by McColl (2000; 2002) and McKeown (2004) suggest that all pupils, including those identified as having special educational needs enjoy, perform well and benefit from the language learning experience, thus should not be denied the opportunity. The Languages for All policy as it is experienced in the classroom appears more complex and somewhat different to what the policy states as we have seen throughout the data chapters. How the pupils, the teachers and the parents negotiate the challenges of the language learning process depends on many factors including the needs, values and dignity of the pupils. In the foreign language classroom, provisions are available and in place for the pupils (e.g. 'inclusive' education policies), the teachers (e.g. guidance on differentiation) as a prerequisite for 'inclusive' education and because societies readily 'consume diversity' (Young, 1999: 59). Therefore, this study questions not just the inclusion of all in foreign language learning or the provision, but also the central capabilities to which all human beings are entitled. For MFL, the statement that '[e]very child should have the opportunity throughout key stage 2 to study a foreign language and develop their interest in

the culture of other nations' (DfES, 2002: 15) seems simple and yet is not straightforward in practice. One reason for this is the diversity of needs, interests and abilities that pupils bring to the classroom, all of which relates to their social backgrounds. As I argued in section 5.4.4, some adults do not appreciate children having to learn a foreign language particularly if the children happen to struggle with literacy skills. Such a situation results mainly in lack of participation, the very opposite of the principles of inclusion, and indeed the opposite of the objectives of the Languages for All policy.

In chapter five, I argued that inclusion can be exclusionary (Benjamin, *et al.*, 2003; Gillies and Robinson, 2013), although the data revealed that attempts are made to provide for all pupils. I suggested that including all pupils in foreign language learning perpetuates inequality in the classroom as some pupils do not have the resources needed to fully participate in the learning activities and this renders the 'inclusive' MFL classroom exclusionary. Chapter five also discussed the many ways in which structures of the school and negotiations by pupils and teachers create exclusion in the classroom. The chapter also looked at factors involved in inequality around the school itself and I suggested that as Nussbaum's and Bourdieu's theories relate to moral questions regarding inclusion, they both provide a useful theoretical platform from which to reconsider issues of rights where MFL learning is concerned.

In chapter six, I analysed what motivates pupils and what pupils give importance to in the MFL classroom as well as in the school in general. Chapter six also analysed the ways in which structures, social class and identity constructs can shape and influence the experiences of the pupils in the language classroom. This final chapter addresses the issues related to the third research question; the impact the Languages for All policy has in the 'inclusive' MFL classroom and around the school, and discusses issues with the findings in terms of conflicts between policy and practice. For example, the policy rhetoric emphasises that the study of a foreign language will enable all pupils to develop their interests in the culture of other nations, however, this is not what is seen in the data. This last chapter thus draws attention to the need of a theoretical identification of the limits to inclusion of all pupils in MFL learning as the practical approach of the Languages for All policy statement differs from what is experienced in the classroom. I thus suggest the usefulness of Nussbaum's capabilities approach and Bourdieu's concepts of capital and habitus in providing a rationale that offers a way to locate and address the challenges faced in the classroom.

7.1 Re-statement of the objectives of the study

The purpose of this small scale research, was to present a reality of an 'inclusive' MFL classroom from the perspectives of the participants and to explore what impacts the

Languages for All policy has in the school itself and more particularly in the 'inclusive' classroom. The main research question was framed as: "Modern Foreign Languages Classroom: is inclusion of all exclusion in disguise?" This main question was explored through further subsidiary questions which the data collected attempted to answer:

- How is MFL experienced by pupils and teachers in the 'inclusive' classroom?
- How is inclusion of all demonstrated or denied in MFL?
- What impact does the Languages for All policy have in the 'inclusive' MFL classroom as well as around the school?

Main Street School focuses on promoting 'inclusive' education for all of its pupils and this is demonstrated through the school's equal opportunity slogan which is displayed across the pages of the prospectuses and voiced proudly by the headteacher during school main events or whenever the opportunity arises. The 'inclusive' education policy is implemented and practised in MFL lessons where the diverse abilities of pupils are catered for to ensure all pupils are included, however, exclusion is a concern in the 'inclusive' MFL classroom where educational rights, capabilities and social and cultural capitals all play a part.

7.2 Exclusion in the 'inclusive' MFL classroom

At Main Street School, language teachers attempt to make French lessons inclusive by differentiating tasks and activities which means that the teachers attempt to anticipate the barriers to learning and to taking part in lessons that some particular activities may pose for the pupils. Differentiation involves matching students' approach to learning with the most appropriate pedagogy, curriculum goals and opportunities for displaying knowledge gained (Anderson, 2007; Ellis *et al.*, 2008).

The French lessons I observed, had at least four differentiated activities thus, these lessons 'valued' to some degree, diversity in the classrooms. The situation and the set up in the French classrooms can be described as 'inclusive' as it has inclusion written all over it because of the participation or presence of pupils of different abilities within school cultures and curricula (Booth, 1996). However, educational policies (inclusion; and Languages for All) seem to propel both the pupils and their teachers towards exclusion (see Slee and Allan, 2001) as the pupils indeed appear included but at the same time were excluded (see Corbett, 2001) in their French lessons.

The data showed that on some occasions, the pupils were enabled to 'choose' the learning activities to suit their abilities. In such situations, it could be argued that some of the pupils' human central capabilities, that of 'being able to use imagination and thought in connection with experiencing and producing works and events of one's own choice' (Nussbaum, 2006: 76) as well as that of emotions which are not inhibited by fear and anxiety

(Nussbaum, 2011: 33-34) were to some extent assured. In the French lessons, every pupil was enabled to follow a curriculum which was somewhat largely unmodified (Hedge and MacKenzie, 2012), and they were all included in the learning activities. Therefore, the focus to a certain extent is on the pupils' capabilities or abilities to achieve that which they choose to achieve (Nussbaum, 2006) and the opportunity to fulfil functionings which are important to them was provided by their teachers. Nevertheless, where the teachers endeavoured to differentiate and ensured that the pupils could choose activities they were comfortable with, micro-cultures permit exclusion (see Benjamin *et al.*, 2003; Hedegaard Hansen, 2012). As I showed in chapter five, when a small group of pupils was sitting and working with a teaching assistant, this situation operated as a method of exclusion as the pupils did not get the teacher's full attention. Thus, we have to be able to ask what meanings and practices underlie inclusion of all in the French classroom and what the consequences in terms of education for individual pupils are. The French classroom looks inclusive but who really benefits from it or whose interest does it serve (Benjamin *et al.*, 2003)? This is a crucial question that the 'inclusive' classroom is supposed to supply answers for and yet, it falls short of providing relevant explanations and ignites the incessant disputes about the meaning of inclusion.

That all pupils are in the same classroom and follow the same topics in the same subject, suggests inclusion or participation by all. However, we should still ask if through this participation, every single pupil's rights and dignity are protected in such a classroom. In the context of the capabilities approach, every individual is taken as an end, not means, and enabled to achieve what they have reason to value. In engaging with the capabilities approach, this research addresses the rights of every individual in the 'inclusive' French classroom and asks: does the entitlement to learn a foreign language meet every pupil's particular needs and values, in order to enable each pupil to flourish on equal terms with each of their peers? The French teacher is also an individual who should also be taken as an end, not means however, for this research the pupils' rights are paramount as the subject of discussion is the entitlement to foreign language learning, which mostly involves the pupils, therefore, the issues surrounding the French teacher's rights will not be detailed here.

The data revealed that despite the exclusion phenomenon, some work was still undertaken by some pupils and the opportunity was provided for participation and inclusion (Benjamin *et al.*, 2003). At the same time, not much work was done by some other members of the class, as the pedagogical practice was limited (Thomas and Loxley, 2007), and this is due to their habitus and what resources they bring to the classroom (Bourdieu, 1977; 1986). This situation thus encourages inequality (Bourdieu, 1977) among the pupils, as their performance in the classroom is framed by their own circumstances and by what they have reason to value, which in turn is shaped by their habitus (Bourdieu, 1977, 1986). Indeed

many would argue that inclusion involves all students' rights to be truly included, to actively participate with their peers in the learning experiences provided and to have access to a system that delivers a quality education that is best suited to their unique competencies and skills (Ainscow, 2000; Farrell, 2000; and Fischer *et al.*, 2002). It may be so, however, if we consider just participation in the classroom, then it would appear that the true meaning of what is intended in the French lessons observed, is an overlooked aspect and we are content in ignoring certain practices that can make policy a reality rather than rhetoric (Robeyns, 2006; Rogers, 2007; 2013). For example, the challenges faced by some pupils when expected to partake in French lessons are overlooked by the Languages for All policy, as its rhetoric only stresses the benefits gained by pupils.

The capabilities approach provides a theoretical lens through which to reconsider the issues of inclusion and exclusion, and Bourdieu's concepts of field, habitus and capital are useful in identifying inequality where MFL learning is concerned. Both frameworks assist in examining in depth and addressing what needs to change in the 'inclusive' MFL classroom to enable what each pupil is actually free to be and to do. Some pupils, because of their cognitive impairment cannot conceptualise the topics they are learning in French, and as we have seen in 5.4.3, in Miss Tellor and Mrs Ogilvie's interview extracts, these pupils sit in the classroom day in day out, alongside their peers, unable to convert what is provided for them into a threshold level of capabilities. It is apparent that such pupils do not grasp the learning activities no matter how differentiated they are, and yet, as also seen in the two teachers accounts in 5.4, they have to endure the French classroom because the entitlement (DfES, 2002) requires them to. Some of the pupils who sit in the French classroom would prefer to not to be part of the entitlement, or indeed their parents would like them not to partake in it and this is illustrated in many of the extracts in 5.4.4. The 'inclusive' French classroom appears to be 'both unjust and tragic' (Nussbaum, 2000: 7) as it is not clear if such classroom situation takes each pupil as an end or, rather a means to policy aims and ambitions.

7.3 Other causes of exclusion in the 'inclusive' MFL classroom

The differentiation of tasks and activities did not appear to be the only cause of exclusion in the French classroom. The exclusion phenomenon was also enacted by pupils themselves as some would choose not to participate in activities for example, by either doing very little in lessons or showing their dislikes of the language (see section 5.4.2). Pupils voiced these during interviews and explained the reasons for excluding themselves and this was also evident in lesson observations. It should be noted that some of the pupils just could not perform in the activities. What did not appear evident in the lessons I observed was what McColl (2000) referred to in this statement:

[s]ince we can observe students of all abilities successfully learning foreign languages, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that *all* of our students have a potential for foreign language learning and that, given the right opportunity, conditions and motivation, they *can* succeed.'

(McColl, 2000: 5 – *emphasis in original*)

McColl's statement echoes the entitlement for every child at key stage 2 to be given the opportunity 'to study a foreign language and develop their interest in the culture of other nations' (DfES, 2002: 15). As we have seen in the data chapters, the conditions to learn and the opportunity were provided for all pupils, but not all pupils have the interest or indeed the potential (pupils with SEN for example) to learn the foreign language, and as a result they exclude themselves or end up being 'excluded'. This situation goes to the core of the rights to study French as well as the rights to be included, and I argue that the boundaries of these two types of rights are blurred, because these two rights are theoretically vague. As Wilson (1999) argues, just because one sits in a group with others does not mean one is included, but instead, that one has the right to be there. What should be noted is that the entitlement to learn French should not require equality of performances from pupils, and this should be made clear in the policy.

As well as abilities, the entitlement to learn French should consider pupils' needs, capital and habitus, and also follow the principles of the capabilities approach in order to ensure that every pupil is equally valued (Nussbaum, 2009) in the learning process as well as equally supported. As the objective of the Languages for All policy is to include all pupils in MFL learning, we need to ask if all pupils, including those identified with SEN are equally supported in the process, and if each pupil's dignity (Nussbaum, 2006: 2009) is protected enough to allow each one of them to flourish on equal terms with their peers. If we are to link the capabilities approach to discourse within MFL learning and provision for pupils with SEN in the language classroom, then it is necessary to look at and consider research findings on differences and exclusion (Benjamin, 2002; Gillies and Robinson, 2013).

The data also revealed that in the majority of cases, neither the pupils nor their parents acknowledge the benefits so highly promoted by the Languages for All policy. As discussed in 5.4.4, some parents would prefer their children not to learn French at all as they do not believe the subject has the same value as some other subjects particularly the core subjects. For these parents, education opens up many kinds of options (Nussbaum, 2011) and a decent education or some relevant useful skills provided by the core subjects can make a difference to their children's cultural capital. These parents would thus rather pursue for their children, an education that they perceive to be intrinsically important and that can have instrumental value for the future or that can help the children find a job (see Robeyns, 2006). Where MFL learning is concerned, therefore, some parents stand their grounds

advancing that their children cannot yet use English, their first language properly, and learning a foreign language would be irrelevant and confusing for them (see McColl, 2000). Arguably, some pupils also prefer English language to French, showing their sentiments for their country.

As seen in the data chapters, for the parents themselves, foreign language learning is a problem as their own background and experiences frame what they can and cannot do to support their children, and how these parents perceive MFL reveal much about their habitus (Bourdieu, 1977), and what they have reason to value (Nussbaum, 2006). Additionally, for some parents, particularly the ones from working-class backgrounds whose children are on the SEN register, there is the conception of now and later, of the present and the future; and to them, the present has more relevance. What pupils can and are happy to do in the present is what counts. As seen in 5.4.4, some parents reported that learning French is emotionally draining and causes angst for their children. These parents could well know that learning a foreign language is beneficial for future lives but also feel that the emotional impact the language learning process has on their children now is more important to address than the instrumental value later. The well-being of the children is what Mr Matthews and Mr Kerridge (see 5.4.4) choose to value as, for them, it is more important to focus on what makes their children happy and what the children can actually do (Nussbaum, 2006; 2009) in the present, not what could be good later. And what an individual can actually do is framed among other things by age, class and personal expectations of what is reasonable or possible (Bourdieu, 1977; 1990).

7.4 Inequality among school subjects

School subjects have different status and are seen differently by both pupils and adults. When marketing the school, inclusion and equal opportunities are terms used frequently and when success is celebrated, physical education and music activities mentioned more than other subjects. MFL appears to be an 'add on' or the 'odd one' as it rarely gets a mention because it is generally not perceived by pupils to have the same status as other subjects. Pupils often exclaim "it's only French, it don't matter, you can drop it at high school". In the school prospectus, the lack of pictures to show off MFL contributes to the subject's low status. Additionally, the subject takes up a very low percentage on the school timetable, something that is common nationally, particularly at key stage 2.

In the school prospectus, there are more references to sport related activities than all of the other activities such as science club, sculpting club, film club and cookery club put together. Moreover, when showing visitors around the school or during award ceremonies at whole school events, the headteacher's speech is always littered with allusions to the

school's sporting activities and achievements, as well as allocated budgets for literacy and numeracy. The evidence that sporting achievements 'sell the school' and attract potential parents explains attempts made to raise the status of those subjects leaving French out in many circumstances (see section 5.4.3). It is however important to stress that Main Street School refers to itself as inclusive, takes pride in promoting equal opportunity for all its members, and supports and welcomes diversity among all learners as recommended by UNESCO 1994. However, what we have seen so far indicates that being inclusive is not without limit when put to practice.

Nationally, when it comes to distribution of hours for the subjects that a school offers, MFL, and indeed the other non-core subjects do not get the same hours as their core counterparts, as discussed in section 2.5. Additionally, as shown in sections 5.5 and 5.5.1, MFL is systematically undervalued in comparison to other subject at Main Street School. There are times during the academic year, national exams times, when the French timetable in particular has to give way to the 'most important' subjects, usually English and maths, as the school is not accountable on French results. Similarly, inequality in the school budget allocation to individual subjects, as well as the importance accorded to homework also contribute to the negative perception that pupils have regarding MFL as discussed in 5.5, 5.5.1, 5.5.2 and 5.5.3. It is apparent that the pupils can see the relevance of English and Maths to their future lives but most importantly, they can see these subjects as essential to their lives at the moment, whereas to them, French does not seem important in the present or in the future (see Court, 2001).

7.5 Understanding and addressing inequality with Nussbaum and Bourdieu

Nussbaum's capabilities approach stresses that it is important to focus not only on resources and outcomes but also on enhancing people's freedoms to be and to do what they have reason to value. A focus on capabilities, thus requires us to evaluate not just satisfaction with individual learning outcomes, but also to question what real educational choices are available to people, and whether or not people have the genuine capability to achieve a valued educational functioning (Unterhalter *et al.*, 2007). For Nussbaum (2006; 2011), capability refers to the opportunity to choose, and two people can have the same type of functioning but different capability. For example, a person who is starving and a person who is fasting have the same type of functioning where nutrition is concerned, (they both go without food) but do not have the same capability, as for the person who is fasting, choice is available but not for the person starving. Due to the complexity of inclusion, this example is *partly* comparable to what occurs in the 'inclusive' French classroom. The pupils have the same type of functioning, they are all entitled to learn French and are all provided for

(although not all pupils had the same resources or the attention of the teachers in the classroom). But choice, specifically regarding MFL is not theirs as the subject is part of the curriculum they are all required to follow. Moreover, choice as to what language to learn is not available; French is what Main Street School offers and every pupil studies it. As we have seen in the data, pupils have different views and values regarding the subject; some are positive and others are negative. The thought of learning French repulses some pupils and frightens some others, thus, it is important to focus on what people are actually willing and able to do and be (Nussbaum, 2011). Drawing on Bourdieu's concepts of capital, habitus and field in the paragraph below shows that what the pupils can actually do is framed to a large extent by many elements mentioned in 7.3 above. Like Bourdieu, Nussbaum asserts that human life is complex and the two theorists, although from different traditions, facilitate understanding of the processes that enable inequality and restrict choice.

For all pupils, particularly those who struggle or who find learning French a challenge due to learning difficulties or a disability, choice in terms of the resources available is limited in that choice is largely the differentiation of activities and tasks provided by the teacher. At face value, this seems reasonable as it fulfils to a certain degree the requirements of inclusion. However, there is a limit to what and how much these pupils can manage in the 'inclusive' French classroom. Choice for pupils who feel negatively towards the subject is restricted by their own circumstances namely, their social backgrounds, interests in learning the subject, their habitus which reflects and reinforces among other things, how they see themselves as language learners, how they relate to the learning field as well as the forms of capital which they could access. The French classroom represents the field, a place where provision is available for all to fulfil their language learning entitlement, but a place some pupils strive to avoid, therefore, a place where experiences are contradictory to the policy rhetoric.

A combination of pupils' and teachers' habitus in the 'inclusive' French classroom prompts the conclusion that the Languages for All policy proposes more than it delivers. This is because not every pupil enjoys or 'really' benefits from the language learning experience, and instead pupils make choices that make sense to them even if their choices do not comply with the Languages for All policy or the school rules. Comparable to Reay, *et al.* (2009), the findings for this research show that pupils' choices are framed to a large extent by habitus, capital, identity and personal expectations of what they consider reasonable and/or possible. For some pupils, learning the basics is reasonable, for others not learning the language at all is reasonable. For this reason, the Languages for All policy and existing MFL and SEN studies need to consider the whole picture, and take into account not only what pupils are able to do, but also pupils' backgrounds, their interests and above all, what they need and accord value to.

The capabilities approach stresses that a simple evaluation of resources and inputs is not enough, instead an evaluation of the ability to convert resources into capabilities and later into potential functionings is more desirable. In the context of this research, resources and inputs are available but pupils who struggle or who have learning difficulties or who are identified with SEN do not achieve much in the French classroom as illustrated in the teachers' extracts in 5.4. Therefore, these pupils should be enabled or guided to learn what they can achieve for future purposes. If we concentrate on inputs alone, each learner in the MFL classroom would appear, to a certain extent, to have access to resources they need, but not every pupil can actually make sense of the resources. As seen in the data chapters, French lessons cater as much as possible for the diverse abilities of all pupils but just as pupils have different needs, they have different interests and different values, and these do not always include learning French. Similar to Unterhalter's (2003b), the data revealed that learning French has intrinsic and instrumental reasons and some pupils enjoy or value French because they find it enjoyable. The way they look forward to games, video and role-play activities illustrates this. Similarly, the economic role of education is valued by others who focus on core subjects and claim they do not need French in the future. This is illustrated in the parents extracts in 5.4.4 and in 6.1.1 in Clara's interview statement.

The Languages for All policy promotes the inclusion of all pupils in language learning but I argue that it is necessary to take account of pupils' background, interests, views and indeed values regarding the subject, as pupils bring these into the 'inclusive' classroom. With inclusion purposely aimed at equality and justice, the 'inclusive' French classroom needs to enable all pupils to flourish cognitively, socially and emotionally. If, in the context of the Languages for All policy the model of 'inclusive' education is to include all pupils in the process of learning French regardless of their abilities or disabilities (Nussbaum, 2006; 2011), and regardless of the complexity of their habitus (Bourdieu, 1977b; 1986), then, it is my contention that the model creates a classroom situation that encourages and perpetuates inequality among the pupils. I suggest therefore that the capabilities approach is taken into account by the language policy makers to enable an education with justice as its goal. This means that the language policy should pay attention to each pupil in order to be sensitive to their needs, background and habitus. In this way, pupils who just want to learn the basics, or pupils who want to gain in English literacy skills first, will be enabled to flourish in the relevant area. This is because including all pupils in MFL learning would never represent the principles of the policy of inclusion if we continue not to consider the pupils' background and values. Including all pupils in MFL learning would instead be susceptible to instances of inequality which would consign pupils who struggle to remain at the bottom.

With the capabilities approach however, including all in MFL learning would not mean that all pupils are subjected to what the Languages for All policy prescribes, but rather, it

would entail that every pupil is regarded as an end in their own right, entitled to an education that they perceive will prepare them for the future. As mentioned above, education has an intrinsic value and its goal is to expand people's capabilities, what they value being and doing. In the context of learning French, that is, providing pupils with resources that are necessary to enhance their education. The provision of resources however does not enable pupils to make choices that matter to them (Nussbaum, 1999) as seen in the data chapters. This illustrates the limit of inclusion as, when put in practice, particularly in the context of learning French, inclusion fails to identify the social and cultural position (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977) that pupils bring to the classroom and which determines what choices pupils consider important and reasonable. The entitlement to study a foreign language is promoted with no mention of what could be taken into the classroom. The policy is implemented and every pupil has to 'learn' a foreign language whether they can, and also whether they need to or not. The educational system, Bourdieu (2000: 76) observes, imposes 'the same demands without any concern for universally distributing the means for satisfying them, thus helping to legitimate the inequality that one merely records and ratifies'. Studies offer guidance to teach pupils of all abilities (McColl, 2000; McKeown, 2004) and to stress the importance of foreign language learning (Ramage, 2012), but this is not enough. Using both Bourdieu's and Nussbaum's theories to examine the 'inclusive' MFL classroom has enabled identification of the issues regarding inclusion and MFL learning. Above all, the ethnographically informed method used to collect the qualitative data for this research, I would argue, was the appropriate way for me to build on what (as a teacher) I already know of the issues involved in MFL learning. The method also enabled me to use this knowledge to understand the pupils' positions when they constantly put forward the question "Why do we have to learn French?" and for me to reflect, and in my turn to interrogate the reasons they have to learn French.

I therefore propose a deeper and more sensitive consideration to enable each and every pupil to do and to be what they are actually able to although, I acknowledge that enabling pupils on Nussbaum's terms, to be and to do that which they have reason to value can perpetuate inequality in the classroom, as what pupils have reason to value is closely linked to their habitus (see Willis, 1977). As we have seen in the data, pupils who struggle still 'choose' to continue to struggle even when the available provision in the classroom can help them to a certain extent realise some of their capabilities. Similarly, pupils who do not want to learn French at all also prefer to excel in subjects they perceive will give them a better chance to realise their potential. The Languages for All policy supports the general requirements of inclusion, but is unable to support pupils to do and be that which they have reason to value. This is due to an insufficient grounding of the complexities of pupils' backgrounds and habitus as seen in the data chapters. We cannot consider the idea of

including all pupils in foreign language learning and yet ignore what each pupil can bring to the classroom. Therefore, a theoretical identification of the limit of the Languages for All policy is needed in urgency in the conceptualisation of the foreign language learning process by all pupils. I argue that two theories are necessary in providing insights into the practices of inclusion in the language classroom. Bourdieu's (1977a; 1986; 1987) concepts of capital, habitus and field complement Nussbaum's (2006; 2011) capabilities approach to identify inequalities and unjust practices where MFL learning is concerned. This research takes forward the bulk of literature in the SEN and MFL field (see McColl, 2000; McKeown, 2004) as it analyses the bigger picture and focuses on the classed experiences of pupils who struggle with academic work, and pupils identified with special educational needs learning French as a foreign language. This research argues that existing studies in this field have failed to give the full picture of what MFL learning in the 'inclusive' classroom entails. Just because the Languages for policy promotes inclusion, encourages quality teaching and learning as well as stresses the benefit and importance of studying a foreign language does not mean its objectives occur in the classroom, or are lived equally by every pupil. The combination of the two theories used in this research will be a useful addition to the debates in which the rhetoric of inclusion is presented as one size fits all, with the claim that there is a need to reconsider policies such as Languages for All from an ethical and development perspectives.

7.6 Some implications for policy and practice

I take Slee and Allan's (2001) positions that 'inclusive' education is not a linear progression of the discursive practices of special educational needs and I would add that the Languages for All policy is not a linear process in practice and should not be considered as such. As the foreign language entitlement promotes inclusion of all pupils, it ticks the boxes about the rights of the pupils to learn a foreign language and this implies that the policy performs its obligations at least at face value. However, as some pupils do not encounter positive experiences learning French despite the provision, this indicates shortcomings of rights with regard to the Languages for All policy. Therefore, the entitlement to foreign language learning needs to be considered critically in order to ensure that it can contribute to expanding all pupils' educational capabilities.

This study does not suggest in any way that pupils who struggle or pupils identified with 'SEN' should not be taught MFL. On the contrary, this study acknowledges the argument put forward by studies such as McColl's (2000) and McKeown's (2004) in support of the Languages for All policy and suggests that we need to establish our understanding of the purposes of the policy and closely examine the 'inclusive' MFL classroom. We should also

acknowledge that while the intention to include all children in similar institutions is an intention to treat them all the same, this is not applicable in the 'inclusive' MFL classroom as seen in chapter five. If we are to enable pupils to do what is of value to them and to be who or what they want to be, then we need to at the very least meet their basic educational needs. As Warnock (2005: 14) argues, inclusive education should be *rethought* and redefined in order to allow all children to be included in the 'common educational enterprise of learning wherever they can *learn best*' (*emphasis added*). I would add to this with the suggestion that the entitlement to learn a foreign language should be rethought and redefined in order to allow all pupils 'an effective education' as promoted by UNESCO (1994, parag. 2).

The findings of this research have moral implications for policy since they echo the conflict between policy and practice reported by many studies (Benjamin, 2002; Cole, 2004; Allan, 2005; 2010). The most salient implication is the exclusion phenomenon which is created by the practices of inclusion. While the Languages for All policy seems idealistic and inclusive in theory, the data revealed that it is not the case in practice, for example, we have seen in the data chapters that in the 'inclusive' MFL classroom, unless pupils are continuously allowed to do that which they value (playing games; learning only the basics), they willingly exclude themselves from the language learning experience. Likewise, teachers, through including all, exclude pupils who are reluctant to learn or pupils who struggle because of their abilities. It is also significant that French does not have the same status as other subjects and as a result is not considered important or relevant for the future by both pupils and parents.

The data reported in this study could influence further the use of games as they indicated that using games in French lessons has some pedagogical value as some pupils enjoyed them even when the games were in the target language. It is within the context of understanding the negotiations and experiences involved in foreign language learning that I also identified the following implications:

- a) There is a need for policies to acknowledge that pupils can be active members in negotiations that create exclusion in the 'inclusive' classroom, and that these negotiations are the results of complex factors including the pupils' social backgrounds, their cultural capital and habitus.
- b) An awareness of the broader context of the status of MFL in the curriculum is necessary for understanding perceptions regarding the subject.
- c) There needs to be an acknowledgement and a rethink of how best to achieve the inclusion of all in foreign language learning at key stage 2 for it to be beneficial to all involved.

7.7 Conclusion

This final chapter has summarised the main findings in relation to the research questions. The argument of this research is that the ethical values on which the entitlement to learn a foreign language at key stage 2 is based, do not appear to address the practicalities of including all pupils in MFL learning. With the Languages for All policy, pupils are granted what is considered as beneficial to them by the policy makers, rather than what they may value or what they may need. The policy stresses the importance and need for all pupils to study a foreign language and puts forward reasons such as communication, competence and culture however the policy rhetoric does not entice every pupil or indeed every parent. Pupils from working-class families find the foreign language learning experience more challenging, and even more so if they are also on the school's SEN register, than their middle-class peers. As a result, negotiations by all stake holders in the practices of inclusion at the classroom level appear exclusionary. Throughout the data chapters I have argued that the practices and actions involved in foreign language learning have different meanings to the different people involved in the process. What the data revealed are the complex, structural and interpersonal practices of inclusion within the learning of French played out by the gatekeepers and this contributes to the disguising of exclusion in a classroom that strives and claims to be inclusive. The Languages for All's objective is to include pupils of all abilities in the study of a foreign language through quality teaching and learning in order for each pupil to achieve competence in the target language. The policy also envisages that every pupil will develop their interests in the culture of other nations through understanding and communicating in other languages, however, as the narratives in the data chapters have shown, the policy needs to take into account every pupil's background, interests and values. Drawing on Bourdieu's (1977a) theory of capital, habitus and field, and also on Nussbaum's (2006; 2011) capabilities approach as a framework to investigate and evaluate the 'inclusive' MFL classroom, this research has demonstrated that both theories complement each other in putting the pupils at the centre and in identifying the structures involved in the MFL learning process. The combination framework shows that what middle-class SEN pupils experience in the classroom is different to what is experienced by their working-class peers, in that, the working-class SEN pupils' experiences in MFL learning can result in greater exclusion compared to the middle-class pupils with SEN. The combination of both theories has thus enabled to target the bigger picture of inequality and human flourishing with regards to learning French in the classroom environment.

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APPENDIX A


TABLE OF KEY INFORMATION ON THE PUPILS BACKGROUNDS


		FSM		SEN		AF		EAL		Total
	Y6	Wc	8	Wc	7	Mc	4	0		42
	Y7	Wc	9	Mc	4	Mc	8	Wc 2		
	Y6	Wc	10	Wc	2	Mc	7	0		
	Y7	Wc	14	Wc	3	Mc	11	0		

Total number of lesson observations: 98

Total number of pupil interviews: 102

Key of terms:

 = Boys

 = Girls

Y6 = Year 6 pupils

Y7 = Year 7 pupils

Wc = Working-class families

Mc = Middle-class families

FSM = Free School Meal. In England, FSM is an entitlement to free lunch available to pupils from families who are on low income. At the time of this research, FSM is allocated to working-class and low income families who are eligible and have applied through the relevant process.

SEN = Special Educational Needs. At the time of this research, SEN includes pupils with dyslexia, dyspraxia, mild Tourette, and emotional and behavioural problems. Two pupils have visual impairment and many have Asperger's. SEN participants for this research are from both middle-class and working-class backgrounds.

AF = Armed Forces. Pupils from families in the land based fighting forces. These pupils live on the army base in the outskirts of the school community. These pupils do not join the school at the beginning of the academic year and sometimes leave when their parents are deployed therefore rarely spend the full four year at the school. These children can be emotionally vulnerable due to the circumstances of one parent or both being away. These pupils are from middle-class families.

EAL = English as Additional Language. This represents pupils from ethnic minority and working-class families. At the time of this research, the EAL pupils were from Eastern Europe. The two participants were from Poland.

APPENDIX B

Dear Parents/guardians/Carers

Re: Permission for research work in MFL lessons

I am writing to ask for your permission and that of your child's to take part in a research project. The purpose of this project is to explore experiences and views of learning a Modern Foreign Language.

The project will be carried out during French lessons and could take months. During the project, your child will be observed in lessons and talked to about what they are learning in French. However, they will not be distracted from their work nor will they need to do more work than usual.

The project objectives have been explained and many pupils including your child have kindly volunteered to participate. They have been assured that there will be no disruption to their school time and their names will not be on any of the project documents.

Once the project starts, if for any reasons you do not wish for your child to continue, they will be withdrawn from it without hesitations and without punishment.

Should you consent to your child taking part, I would be grateful if you could sign and return the slip below as soon as possible. If you would like more information about the research, please do not hesitate to contact me at school.

Thank you for your support.

Yours sincerely,

E d'Almeida
Modern Languages Co-ordinator

✂.....

Permission for research work with E.d'Almeida

I consent to my child taking part in the research with Mrs d'Almeida.

Pupil's name: Form:

Parent/guardian/carer's name:

Signed: (Person with parental responsibility) Date:

PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM (Pupil)

APPENDIX C

Research title:

Young people's learning experiences in the Modern Foreign Languages classroom.

Researcher contact:

Mrs E. d'Almeida
MFL and History Coordinator
Tel: Email:

I, (Please print your name and tick the boxes)

... agree to take part in this research and I understand what is on the information leaflet

... understand what I might have to do and all my questions have been answered to my satisfaction.

... understand that I can withdraw from this research at any time if I want to without being punished.

... have been informed that any information I give will be confidential and kept safe.

... can ask any questions at any time before and during this research.

... have been given a copy of the Participant Information Sheet.

Data Protection: I agree that my data can be used for any purposes connected with this research as explained to me.

Name of participant (print)..... Signed..... Date.....

YOU WILL BE GIVEN A COPY OF THIS FORM TO KEEP

If you wish to withdraw from the research, please complete the form below and return it to Mrs d'Almeida.

✂.....

Title of Project: Young people's learning experiences in the Modern Foreign Languages classroom.

I WISH TO WITHDRAW FROM THIS PROJECT

Name:

Signed:

Date:

PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM (Teacher)

APPENDIX D

Research title:

Young people's learning experiences in the Modern Foreign Languages classroom.

Researcher contact:

Mrs E. d'Almeida
MFL and History Coordinator
Tel: Email:

I, (Please print your name and tick the boxes)

... agree to take part in this research. I have read the Participant Information Sheet and I understand what my role will be in this research, and all my questions have been answered to my satisfaction.

... know that my MFL lessons will be observed.

... understand that I can withdraw from the research at any time, for any reason and without retribution.

... have been informed that the confidentiality of the information I provide will be will be safeguarded.

... can ask any questions at any time before and during the study.

... have been provided with a copy of the Participant Information Sheet.

Data Protection: I agree that my data can be used for any purposes connected with the Project as explained to me.

Name of participant (print)..... Signed..... Date.....

YOU WILL BE GIVEN A COPY OF THIS FORM TO KEEP

If you wish to withdraw from the research, please complete the form below and return it to Mrs d'Almeida.

✂.....

Title of Project: Young people's learning experiences in the Modern Foreign Languages classroom.

I WISH TO WITHDRAW FROM THIS PROJECT

Name:

Signed:

Date:

PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM (Parent/ Guardian/ Carer)

APPENDIX E

Research title:

Young people's learning experiences in the Modern Foreign Languages classroom.

Researcher contact:

Mrs E. d'Almeida
MFL and History Coordinator
Tel: Email:

I, (Please print your name and tick the boxes)

... agree to take part in this research. I have read the Participant Information Sheet and I understand what my role will be in this research, and all my questions have been answered to my satisfaction.

... understand that I can withdraw from the research at any time, for any reason and without retribution.

... have been informed that the confidentiality of the information I provide will be will be safeguarded.

... can ask any questions at any time before and during the study.

... have been provided with a copy of the Participant Information Sheet.

Data Protection: I agree that my data can be used for any purposes connected with the Project as explained to me.

Name of participant (print)..... Signed..... Date.....

YOU WILL BE GIVEN A COPY OF THIS FORM TO KEEP

If you wish to withdraw from the research, please complete the form below and return it to Mrs d'Almeida.

✂.....

Title of Project: Young people's learning experiences in the Modern Foreign Languages classroom.

I WISH TO WITHDRAW FROM THIS PROJECT

Name:

Signed:

Date: