FOREIGN LANGUAGES IN PRIMARY EDUCATION IN ENGLAND:

AN ETHNOGRAPHIC CASE STUDY OF THREE SCHOOL CONTEXTS

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements of Liverpool John Moores

University for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

December 2015

Abstract

This study focuses on primary foreign language teaching and learning. It seeks to reveal the perspectives and practice of three different stakeholders: specialist teachers, generalist teachers and head teachers. The study then places these beliefs and practice within a local, national and international context, considering the supporting factors for Primary Foreign Languages (PFL), as well as the challenges. It is a timely piece of research as it was conducted during the period when foreign language learning, for the first time in England, became statutory in primary schools. Furthermore, it took place during a timeframe of rapid change at all levels of education, which has had an effect on the translation of policy to practice.

Data collection took place in two phases. In Phase One, an initial PFL practice mapping online questionnaire was sent to all schools in the Local Authority (LA) (n=69). Three schools agreed to participate. In Phase Two data collection methods employed in each of the three schools consisted of participant observations, semi-structured interviews, a self-reflective diary, informal conversation with staff and analysis of policy documents.

The findings of the study show that all stakeholders in each school were supportive of PFL. However, this support did not translate into practice as the responsibility for PFL often rested solely with the specialist. As a result, the subject and specialists could be described as annexed, not fully integrated into the curriculum, and the specialists sought support from private companies instead of internally within the school. The majority of generalist teachers did not feel qualified to deliver the subject and there was a lack of future training options open to teachers wishing to train as PFL specialists. Those teachers who did express an interest in learning how to teach PFL felt that they could not engage fully with this endeavour due to internal and external pressure imposed upon them to achieve the highest possible pupil attainment in English and Maths.

A disconnect was also revealed between the teachers' most popular rationale for PFL teaching, which was preparing children to be '21st century global citizens', and their actual practice. The teachers in the study recognised that, through learning a language and experiencing its culture, it may be possible to move from "egocentricity and ethnocentricity to a more altruistic sense of mutual benefit" (Byram, 2008:131). However, while espousing support for the teaching of intercultural understanding (ICU), the study reveals a lack of understanding in practice from stakeholders, policy writers and teachers. Overall, there is much goodwill for PFL as a subject, however, due to national and international drivers, it occupies a vulnerable place within the curriculum.

Acknowledgements

"The most important things are the hardest things to say. They are things you get ashamed of, because words make them smaller. When they were in your head they were limitless; but when they come out they seem to be no bigger than normal things. But that's not all. The most important things lie too close to wherever your secret heart is buried; they are clues that could guide your enemies to a prize they would love to steal. It's hard and painful for you to talk about these things ... and then people just look at you strangely. They haven't understood what you've said at all, or why you almost cried while you were saying it." **Stephen King, The Body**.

I feel I owe a debt of gratitude to many, many people. From those who have listened to me endlessly go on about my study, to those who have taken a more active role. I did not want to nor intend to write gushy acknowledgements for everyone from my friends to the dogs and yet I feel so grateful. This was no lone effort. Without such a team of support around me, I would have abandoned my PhD journey.

First and foremost, I would like to thank Professor Marion Jones, my Director of Studies. I am quite convinced that without her support, guidance and warmth I would not have completed this thesis. She has provided wisdom, a sense of perspective, good humour and inspiration at each step of the way and I would have been lost without her. My second and third supervisors, Gillian Peiser and Avril Rowley, who very graciously became my first and second respectively, also deserve a warm expression of gratitude. I would also like to thank Jackie Fealey, for untiringly advising and supporting me in locating references throughout the study. While Liz Astbury, Kathy Stokell, Jan Rowe, Natalie Seeve-McKenna, Chris Lisle, Martine Keegan, Jo Brunnen and Karen Ratcliffe have all been such great support at work which enabled me to have more time studying. Hannah T-B, thank you for taking me out to real places to do real fun things, I look forward to engaging in this more often in future! And, Ian, Rob and Glyn, thanks for coming with me when I needed to go out and train and dragging me out when I am sure I cannot have always been too fun.

I would like to acknowledge the enormous amount of support that my parents have provided, from cooking tea, to walking the dogs, to mowing the lawn - these acts of kindness allowed me to focus on my goal of finishing this study. I suppose I'll have no more excuses now!

Finally, from the bottom of my heart I would like to thank my little family, Nathan, Bozo and Xiao Hei. Nathan, I know that you have been living with a ghost for four years. You never complained, not once. Not to mention all the things you've had to do alone, while I studied. Again, the unquantifiable acts of help and kindness that you provided have not gone unnoticed and helped to keep me going. Bozo and Xiao Hei, best mutts in the world, unfailing in their happiness to see me, and reminding me each day about the real *important* aspects of life. And after a big dog hug, who could ever feel sad? I very much look forward to being a real person in my own life again and living realistically happily ever after.

"Gordie: Do you think I'm weird
Chris: *Definitely.*
Gordie: *No man, seriously. Am I weird?*
Chris: *Yeah, but so what? Everybody's weird."*
Stephen King, The Body.

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List of Abbreviations

ATL Association of Teachers and Lecturers

AST Advanced Skills Teachers

BBC British Broadcasting Corporation

BOS Bristol Online Surveys

CfBT Centre for British Teachers

CILT Centre for Information on Language Teaching and Research

CLIL Content and Language Integrated Learning

CLP Commonwealth Literacy Policy

CPD Continuing Professional Development

DCSF Department for Children, Schools and Families

DEECD Department of Education and Early Childhood Development

DES Department for Schools

DfE Department for Education

DfES Department for Education and Schools

DMIS Developmental Model of Intercultural Sensitivity

DVD Digital Versatile Disc

EAL English as an Additional Language

EEF Education Endowment Foundation

ETML Early Teaching of Modern Languages Scheme

ELLiE Early Language Learning in Europe

EU European Union

EVLANG L'éveil aux langues dans l'école primaire

EYFS Early Years Foundation Stage

FLA Foreign Language Assistants

HE Higher Education

IC Interculturally Competent/ Competency

ICT Information and Communications Technology

ICU Intercultural Understanding

INSET In Service Training

ITE Initial Teacher Education

JALING Janua Linguarum Reserata

KAL Knowledge about Language

KS2 Key Stage 2

KS3 Key Stage 3

L1 First Language

L2 Second Language

LA Local Authority

LC Language Consultants

LEA Local Education Authority

LLS Language Learning Strategies

MCEETYA Ministerial Council on Education, Employment, Training and Youth Affairs

FL Foreign Languages

MT Mother Tongue

NASUWT National Association Schoolmasters Union of Women Teachers

NALSAS National Asian Languages and Studies in Australian Schools

NALSSP National Asian Languages and Studies in Schools Programme

NC2014 National Curriculum 2014

NUT National Union of Teachers

OECD Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development

Ofsted Office for Standards in Education

PPA Planning, Preparation and Assessment time

PE Physical Education

PGCE Post Graduate Certificate in Education

PGDE Post Graduate Certificate in Education

PFL Primary Foreign Languages

POS Programme of Study

PwC Price Waterhouse Cooper

QCA Qualifications and Curriculum Authority

RUMACCC Research Unit for Multilingualism and Cross-Cultural Communication

SATs Statutory Assessment Tests

SMSC Spiritual, Moral, Social and Cultural education

SSCMT Societal-Social-Cognitive-Motivational Framework

TA Teaching Assistants

TUPE Transfer of Undertakings (Protection of Employment) Regulations

NFER National Foundation for Educational Research

UK United Kingdom

US United States

USA United States of America

WTO World Trade Organisation

1. **INTRODUCTION**

This thesis illuminates PFL teaching and learning in three case study primary schools, in a post-2010 context. Therefore, to locate this research in the wider setting of PFL, it is important to present the historical background to PFL before considering the contemporary landscape within which PFL currently operates. Next, the contemporary context will be examined. This section is divided into two sub-sections the first being the time period 2000-2010, and the second being post-2010.

1.1 Historical Context

Historically, the idea that primary schools are the best place to harness young learners' enthusiasm and potential for foreign language learning (DfES, 2002) was rarely expressed. In fact, it was only after World War Two that learning foreign languages, Latin and/or Ancient Greek (Sharpe, 2001), became accessible to the majority of secondary pupils, not just those attending private or grammar schools (McLelland, 2012). Only in the 1960s did Foreign Languages begin to be part of the primary curriculum through the Primary French Project (Nuffield Foundation, 2015). The Primary French Project ran between 1960 and 1970 and it was created by Sir Edward Boyle, the then Minister of Education. It was funded by the Nuffield Foundation who provided £10,000 to help to create resources for this new area of the curriculum (Sharpe, 2001). The scheme commenced primary foreign language teaching in 1964 in 13 pilot areas. The project was never developed to its full potential, however, as it was brought to an abrupt end with the release of the Burstall Report (Burstall et al*.,* 1974).

The Burstall Report was compiled by Clare Burstall, who, at the time, was a senior research officer for the National Foundation for Educational Research (NFER) in England and Wales, and from whom the report took its name. The study was charged with analysing the effects of PFL and did this by presenting several themes which emerged from the project: an optimum

age for foreign language learning, gender differences, socioeconomic factors, achievement in small schools, achievement in other areas of the primary school curriculum and attitudes and achievement in co-educational and single-sex schools. According to the study, the older children tended to learn French more efficiently (Burstall et al., 1974) hence starting pupils younger did not make a difference to attainment. Those who had learned French from the age of eight, while no better in terms of linguistic competency, did, however, exhibit a more favourable attitude compared with those who started later. It could be argued that the study had a narrow assessment focus. It only looked at effects of PFL in terms of progression in language competency rather than considering the wider development of skills now associated with L2 learning. Other competencies such as the development of the children's attitudes towards language learning, knowledge about language (KAL) and intercultural understanding (ICU) (DfE, 2005) were not considered. The report also established that the girls participating in the study outperformed the boys, that smaller schools outperformed larger schools and that there was a positive correlation between higher economic status and higher achievement in French. It is interesting to note, however, that should the report have made recommendations that the project be implemented on a national scale, this would not have been possible due to the amount of money it would have required to fund such a venture, more specifically to continue to train and improve the skills of teachers, a theme which is still a concern today (Low et al., 1995; CILT Primary Head Teachers Survey: Appendix 3, 2011; Driscoll and Frost, 1999; Sharpe, 2001; Cable et al., 2010; Wade and Marshall, 2009; Driscoll, et al., 2013).

During the time between the Burstall Report and the 1990s, the future of PFL nationally seemed uncertain, with the DES (1990:5) stating "full scale teaching of foreign languages in primary schools... is not at present possible, not because children at this age cannot successfully learn a language but because very few teachers in primary schools are equipped to teach it." While there were no further national developments until the 1990s (Martin, 2008), scattered, fragmented, localised schemes did continue with varying degrees of success.

Among these localised initiatives were the Richmond Early Teaching of Modern Languages Scheme (ETML), the Tameside scheme, the Isle of Man scheme, and projects in Surrey, Kent, Birmingham and Yorkshire (Martin, 2008). The Kent Project and the Tameside Project are notable as they produced schemes of work and resources to support teachers. The Kent Project created PILOTE, a video-based resource which showed French children modelling basic target language, while the Tameside project was responsible for PRISM, a PFL scheme. Both Martin (2008) and Sharpe (2001) made specific reference to these particular projects. Martin (2008) described the Kent project as the largest and most significant due to the length of time, number of languages and teachers who received the In Service Training (INSET), while Sharpe (2001:11) reserved a special place for what he described as "the heroic East Sussex, which battled on against the odds through the 1970s and 1980s and continued to provide peripatetic French teaching across the county for all Year 6 pupils." In 1989, East Sussex did go on to publish their own scheme of work, 'Salut La France'. However, less than a decade later in 1997, the Local Education Authority (LEA) was unable to sustain the cost implications of providing county-wide support and was forced to provide peripatetic teaching.

1.2 Contemporary Context

1.2.1 2000-2010

The Blair-led Labour Government in 1998 showed an interest in introducing the teaching of Foreign Languages within the primary curriculum. It charged the Nuffield Foundation with investigating the future needs of the United Kingdom (UK) in the coming decades, specifically:

> "What capability in languages will the UK need in the next twenty years if it is to fulfill its economic, strategic, social and cultural aims and responsibilities, and the aspirations of its citizens? To what extent do present policies and arrangements meet these needs? What strategic planning and initiatives will be required in the light of the present position?" (Nuffield Foundation, 2000:10)

The final report, published in 2000, contained several key findings and recommendations, which had specific bearing on primary school children's language learning. These included: a

history of 'uneven policy direction' concerning PFL; parents had clear views in favour of their children learning PFL; and the choice of language should not be limited to French, as was the case in many schools. The report recommended that the then Blair-led Government "should declare a ten-year target to provide an entitlement for all pupils to learn a new language from age 7, based on 10% of curriculum time integrated with other subjects or taught separately" (Nuffield Foundation, 2000:42). It may be worth noting that these issues, all largely remain unaddressed over a decade later.

The case for PFL was further strengthened twice, once in 2004, when Lord Dearing made the recommendation that languages should have a statutory place in the KS2 curriculum, and then again in the Curriculum Review carried out by Sir Jim Rose, 2008-2009. Rose made the recommendation that languages and

> "the knowledge, skills and understanding we want children to acquire in languages should be situated within the understanding of English, communications and languages programme of learning in order to best exploit the links between English and the chosen language(s)" (Rose, 2008:66)

The announcement that "languages would become a statutory requirement of the National Curriculum at Key Stage 2 from 2011…starting with Year 3" was made based on these recommendations from the Independent Review of the Primary Curriculum (Rose, 2008:106).

During the time frame 2000-2010 the teaching of primary languages across England grew considerably although practice was fragmented and varied considerably. For example, there was no nationally agreed model of who should deliver PFL and how long for, as such teaching was carried out by combination of teachers who delivered PFL, jointly or as a solo venture for between 20 minutes to 90 minutes per week. Wade and Marshall (2009) found at least 13 different types of PFL 'teachers' in their 2009 study. Their research showed that, while some schools had staff who deliver PFL, many other schools relied on outside agencies to deliver their foreign languages.

French was the most frequently delivered language between 2000-2010 and remains so with 99% of all schools responding to the latest Languages Trends Survey providing primary languages Tinsley and Board (2015) while the emergent option Chinese was taught in only 26 primary schools (CILT, 2007:15). One interpretation of this data could be that the choice of foreign language is dictated by the supply of available teachers, which for historical reasons is French. If the PFL situation was considered from an economic or political perspective, rather than from a staffing base, then perhaps languages such as Urdu, Arabic and Chinese would become more popular, as these languages are seemingly more recently in demand Furman, Goldberg and Lusin (2007). Recent research conducted by Courtney revealed through her PhD study that French was seen as increasingly less important as children progressed through secondary school. These views manifested themselves in increasingly negative attitudes, as "learners expressed a preference for alternative languages based on their experiences and also the perceived opportunity for use outside of the classroom (2014:164). This point of view is reflected in the stance taken by the Nuffield Foundation. They claim that the continued teaching and learning of French, which dominates in primary school, poses challenges for "broader national aspiration for a greater diversity of languages…such as Urdu, Arabic and Chinese and the need is likely to be more pressing for the next generation." (Nuffield Foundation, 2000:41). While the requirement to learn diverse languages is often expressed in relation to business demands, the Foundation does also explore other benefits to learning diverse languages such as opportunities for greater mobility, cultural gains and the expansion of the global community, to name but a few.

1.2.2 Post-2010

In England, 2010 marked the start of a time period of change, both political and economic. The national elections of 2010, saw a departure from a Labour led government (1997-2010), to a Coalition government of Conservatives and Liberal Democrats (2010-2015). This government was then succeeded, in 2015, by the Conservative Party who gained power

independently. At the same time as these national political transformations, there were also global economic changes due to the financial crisis of 2008. While the financial crisis can be said to have originated in 2008, affecting the banking and housing systems first, the repercussions within the education sector were not felt until later, which is why the date of 2010 has been used in this thesis as the educational change critical moment.

An overview of the changes made since 2010 will now be presented before considering how these issues have and may affect PFL. These are only highlights rather than a comprehensive documentation, as the actual list is considerably longer and not all are relevant to this thesis. However, as the scale, scope and speed of these changes are referred to throughout the thesis, due to the impact on schools and education it is important that the reader have some sense of these alterations.

Immediately after the general election in May 2010 Michael Gove become the Minister for Education, a position that he maintained until 2014. His term in office can be characterised by

> "sweeping radical reform to the school system, he has been described as seeing himself as "an insurgent in the vein of Thatcher, overturning orthodoxies within and without his department and locked in conflict with those he saw as the 'real' conservatives – the producer groups which he (in Thatcherite fashion) saw as dominating the educational landscape." Finn (2015:5)

These sweeping reforms commenced with the Academies Act 2010, which permitted the creation of free schools and began in September 2011 when the first free school opened. By December of the same year tuition fee bill was passed, allowing universities to charge up £9000 per year for instruction. And in early 2011 the Ofsted inspection of schools regime was altered so that the achievement of pupils in school would be judged on a more streamlined inspection system, measuring only certain core aspects. By the time that the Education Act 2011 became law in November 2011, many of the powers of differing bodies were transferred

directly to the Secretary of State, these included (the General Teaching Council for England, the Qualifications and Curriculum Development Agency, the Training and Development Agency for Schools amongst others). The same bill also legislated for easier expansion of academy schools, permitting the Secretary of State to intervene in such matters, overruling Governing Bodies and compulsory land order purchases. In summary the bill contributed to the wide reaching destruction of LA supervision over schools (Finn, 2015). In addition, between 2011 and 2014, there were further upheavals in teacher training, leading some Schools of Education to close as these changes favoured an apprenticeship school based model, "the introduction of a 'troops to teach' scheme (ostensibly to benefit veterans but often marketed as restoring discipline to the classroom)…a full-scale war with the 'blob', Gove's chosen noun for the academic educational 'establishment" Finn (2015:5) and a new National Curriculum.

 In April 2013 the major teaching unions passed a vote of no confidence in Gove's educational policies and by October 2013, there was the first of the major teachers' strikes. This did little to reduce the rate of change, with Gove using the PISA test results in December 2013 to provide legitimacy for his reforms, such as a raft of primary school tests, stating that they would prevent English education from slipping further down the rankings than 26th in the world. By July 2014, Gove had been replaced by Nicky Morgan as the minster for Education, however the legacy of what he started can still be felt by teachers and schools today, as Finn concluded Gove was the "government's reformer in chief…it may be legitimate to claim that Gove surpassed all other Secretaries of State for Education in the scale of his impact." (2015:4). The educational reforms did not cease once Gove left office, however the speed was slightly reduced pending the general election in May 2015. By August 2015, however, the Conservative government announced plans to increase the number of academy schools, forcing schools deemed to be 'coasting' and failing schools, usually graded by Ofsted inspections, to be 'academised'. As Ofsted inspections focus on the pupils' data in the core

subjects of English and Maths, this meant that there was increased pressure for favourable data in these subject areas in at the expense of some of the other 12 primary school subjects studied.

One of the more notable changes to the primary curriculum was the addition of two new subjects to the primary curriculum, namely Primary Foreign Languages (PFL) and computing, which became statutory teaching requirements from September 2014. Whereas computing was a completely new addition to the primary curriculum, PFL had been under consideration as a statutory requirement as early as 2011 but it was decided to postpone its introduction until 2014 with the new National Curriculum. Instead, schools were advised to follow the 'entitlement' status quo until the 'new' programmes of study were made available in 2013. While indications were made that PFL might become statutory from 2013 onwards, the PFL funding that LAs received to support this implementation was only provided until March 2011 (DfE, 2010). This meant that head teachers wishing to continue with PFL had to fund it from their own school budget.

It seemed, certainly at the time of starting this research in 2012, that the future of foreign language teaching and learning within primary schools was uncertain. There had been no explicit promises made between 2010 and 2013 regarding the future of PFL, although there were several indications that the Coalition Government was considering including FL as a statutory subject within the New Primary Key Stage 2 Curriculum. These indications were made concrete at the beginning of 2013 when it was communicated that PFL would be statutory from September 2014. At this time, the Coalition Government published a list of required languages that primary schools could choose from: French, German, Italian, Mandarin, Spanish, Latin or Ancient Greek at Key Stage 2 (with the option to teach another language or languages in addition, should they wish to do so). A couple of months later this

list was removed and schools were now free to teach a foreign language of their choice. A draft 2014 PFL National Curriculum was also published for the first time, followed by the first statutory National Curriculum document for foreign language teaching in Key stage 2 soon after. Lo Bianco (2014:98) noted that "in Britain, modern languages had often been called modern foreign languages to distinguish them from home country or indigenous languages." However, the title of 'modern' has now been dropped, referring to all languages taught in school as simply foreign languages, although the sub-categories of 'classical' and 'community' are often used to denote a language no longer spoken and one which is widely spoken in certain localities. This is an interesting change as it now, ideologically, places all languages on the same level, schools can choose to teach a classical, community, indigenous or former modern language to their pupils. In reality though, in primary schools it is and has been since PFL started, overwhelmingly the teaching of French which takes place (Tinsley and Board, 2015).

It is against this backdrop of unprecedented educational reforms that PFL has been made statutory in England for the first time, from September 2014. However there are complex structural issues which are likely to influence how PFL policy is translated into practice, and these national challenges may have been strengthened since the 2010 reforms. For example, the impact of the reduction in foreign language support networks, including funding cuts. It could be argued that most of the significant infrastructure which emerged to support primary schools has been disbanded. Advanced Skills Teachers (ASTs), Foreign Languages (FL) consultants and foreign language assistants, who were frequently employed by primary schools to deliver FL provision, have all but disappeared. Local Authority (LA) funding to support primary languages ceased in March 2011 and, thus, currently only a handful still provide PFL support. Some of these, the former LA PFL consultants, have gone on to set up independent consultancy companies, however they charge a fee to deliver the content previously provided for free by an LA. It is deplorable that previously free materials and support

services, such as the much lauded Primary Languages website, once a wealth of information for both research and training materials for teacher and initial teacher trainers alike, has been closed down. Moreover, the Centre for Information on Language Teaching and Research (CILT) has been absorbed into another organisation and as a consequence has lost its invaluable research library (Johnstone, 2014).

In light of the economic downturn and education funding cuts to LAs, French appears to remain the staple of the English primary schools' diet. This is, in part, due to a cyclical trend of schools historically teaching French due to a high percentage of teachers (the term teacher here is used to cover the broad spectrum of language consultants (LCs), foreign language assistants (FLAs), teaching assistants (TAs) and all those that deliver foreign languages within the primary context) who possess a minimum level of linguistic proficiency and/or qualifications in French and consequently feel more confident teaching French than any other language. Thus, PFL is placed in a unique situation, which will not be easily ameliorated unless willing generalist teachers are given the time and space to be effectively PFL trained (Driscoll, 2014) or a supply of qualified teachers possessing adequate proficiency levels across a wider range of foreign languages can be recruited. Those who do possess such skills often lack the qualifications for teaching in primary schools or to teach modern languages. Furthermore, there is a shortage of qualified teachers who speak another language, let alone a community language. (Nuffield Foundation, 2000).

1.3 Research Aims

The aims of this study are to reveal the perspectives of teachers about PFL teaching and to discover if their espoused views and practice match in a post-2010 educational context. Teachers' and head teachers' views and practice have been examined relatively recently in an English context (Wade and Marshall, 2009 and Cable et al. 2010) and as such will be relied upon in this thesis. However, it should be noted that there are a number of limitations to these studies which should be noted. Firstly, they were conducted prior to the statutory

implementation of PFL and not in a post- 2010 context of unprecedented educational reform. Secondly, the report by Wade and Marshall (2009) purports to be longitudinal when in fact there were only 1,810 schools and 68 LAs that took part in the survey in all three years, perhaps limiting the actual scope of the report. Thirdly, it should also be considered that the report by Cable et al. (2010) used schools which were already teaching languages to some or all Key Stage 2 year groups. And as such they may be distinctly different from schools where such provision was not so established. Finally, in Strand 3 of the report by Cable et al. (2010) which considered the impact on children's learning in languages and across the curriculum, only a subset of eight schools participated in this aspect of the study, however no indication was provided of how the sample was determined. Without a clear rationale this could mean that convenience sampling was used, which may have implications for generalisability.

This study seeks to explore what underpins teachers' practices in the classroom and the wider school context, and the factors which affect them both in a post-2010 context. Ultimately, the aim of this research is to inform policy makers about the achievements and challenges that the teaching and learning of PFL faces. The findings will also aid the design of training programmes and support offered for pre-service and in-service teachers in order to promote high quality teaching and learning, helping to ensure consistency across schools so that all children are able to access quality PFL. It will also be of interest to Initial Teacher Education (ITE) providers when delivering pre-service and in-service Continuing Professional Development (CPD) programmes, as they will be able to enhance their provision by considering these issues that are identified from the research.

1.4 Research Objectives

These aims were further refined into a set of specific objectives and then into questions to facilitate research design and data collection. These objectives were:

1. To investigate the post-2010 PFL perspectives for all teacher stakeholders (generalist teachers, specialist teachers and head teachers).

2. To investigate the post-2010 PFL practices in each school and assess if these match the espoused views.

3. To examine what impact, if any, the educational changes since 2010 have had on PFL in the primary school.

1.5 Research Questions

In order to achieve the objectives as defined above, in the complex post-2010 primary school environment, these research questions were posed:

1. What do the teachers' view as the rationale (linguistic/motivational/pedagogical/ cultural) for delivering PFL?

2. What informs their professional views/classroom practice?

3. What is the relationship between teachers' espoused views and the practices they employ?

1.6 Major Findings of the Thesis

From answering the research questions, and therefore meeting the research objectives and aims the major findings of the thesis were attained. The major findings of this thesis are that there are a number of structural and teacher knowledge issues which have been strengthened post-2010 which prevent the teachers in the study from realising their aims for PFL. The

structural and teacher knowledge issues will be presented together as these are often intertwined and then finally the impact that these have on practice.

The structural issues which have prevented teachers from realising their aims included funding cuts, the disbanding of the LA and changes to the Ofsted regime for inspections coupled with the increasing 'high stakes' of forced academy conversions. This has led to fewer training opportunities for PFL and a perceived increase in workload to ensure successful implementation the new National Curriculum and accompanying assessments for the core subjects in line with the new for Ofsted expectations. The amount of control teachers felt they have over the curriculum was expressed as reduced, which has strengthened the existing 'two-tier' curriculum (Alexander, 2010). This has marginalised PFL, both in terms of time and teaching. Each one of these factors presents challenges to the teaching and learning of PFL in the primary school through competition for finite resources. This situation is further compounded by the fact that assessment data from the 'core' subjects of Maths, English and science affect Office for Standards in Education (Ofsted) gradings, and poor or 'coasting' data can lead to the 'academisation' of the school (DfE, 2015), which often results in the head teacher being replaced. This is a resources 'battle', both for time, space in the curriculum and status that the 'core' subjects often win. Therefore, it is important to understand how, for the first time and in challenging circumstances, PFL has been made a statutory subject and what teachers' perspectives are about this development.

The responsibility for PFL often rested solely with the specialist teachers because the generalist teachers felt too constrained by workload to engage in the subject and also due to a lack of teacher knowledge of the subject. The lack of knowledge about L2 learning and its complexities were revealed as all teachers felt unanimously that 'the younger was better' in terms of L2 learning, without considering perhaps the full scope of the complexities of foreign

language learning such as younger learners needing an investment of hours for language progression due to the slow progress that they make compared with younger adolescents (Nikolov and Djigunović, 2006, Martin, 2000).

As a result of these structural and teacher knowledge issues, a number of conclusions were drawn. Firstly, the subject and specialists could be described as annexed, not fully integrated into the curriculum, and the specialists sought support from private companies instead of internally within the school. The majority of generalist teachers did not feel qualified to deliver the subject and there was a lack of future training options open to teachers wishing to train as PFL specialists. Those teachers who did express an interest in learning how to teach PFL felt that they could not engage fully with this endeavour due to internal and external pressure imposed upon them to achieve the highest possible pupil attainment in English and Maths. Secondly, there was popular view that PFL teaching was for reasons of ICU, and yet this was not observed within the case study schools. Finally, access to PFL teaching was determined by the pupils' abilities in the core subjects which led to an inequality in access to state education for pupils.

In conclusion, PFL can be said to occupy a vulnerable position in the curriculum, and this is a weakened state post-2010 due to structural issues of accountability, high stakes, funding cuts and gaps in teacher knowledge. In fact, it has been suggested that PFL may have returned to the same status as it possessed in the 1960s when it was first introduced. Johnstone (2014), in his chapter entitled Languages over the Past 40 Years, explored the post-2010 Government's more traditional view of language teaching and how this is reflected in their polices as well as the eradication of PFL infrastructure. These challenges mean that teachers and schools have to work in isolation, for example in terms of funding and teacher supply. These two issues were identified as key criteria, amongst others, to fulfil for successful PFL,

recently by McLachlan (2009) and also, just after primary French was first piloted, in the Burstall Report (1974). It is disheartening that while lessons have been learned and shared (Burstall et al., 1974; Hoy, 1976; Powell et al., 2000; Martin, 2001; Driscoll et al., 2004a; Muijs et al., 2005; Wade and Marshall., 2009; Cable et al., 2010; Driscoll and Rowe, 2011; Driscoll, 2014) about what conditions support successful PFL, these have not been established with the new statutory requirements. This is not a situation which will improve on its own, in fact with little succession planning in place for when the current cohort of PFL specialist teachers retire, if anything the quality of PFL teaching and learning in England is set to become worse. This is a missed opportunity as there is much good will and support for the subject.

1.7 Significant, Original Contribution to Knowledge.

This study explored teachers' espoused views and current practice in PFL in a post-2010 climate. This is of paramount importance because it is only by illuminating these that the current situation can be fully understood and how the reforms have impacted PFL in particular. A number of PFL in-depth studies already exist (Driscoll et al., 2004b; Muijis et al., 2005; McLachlan, 2009; Wade and Marshall., 2009; Cable et al., 2010; Ofsted, 2011) which use data collected before 2010 to provide rich insight into PFL practice but there has been little research about practice in the post-2010 context. Therefore the significant, original contribution to knowledge from this thesis stems from the investigation into PFL set in the educational landscape in which primary schools now operate post-2010, building on and adding to the existing literature base.

1.8 Personal Reflections

I will now 'set the scene' for this piece of research as viewed through my own lens, as the researcher. I have observed and experienced these changes (all levels within the English education system, from Early Years Foundation Stage (EYFS) right through to and including

Higher Education (HE) as a teacher, researcher and Senior Lecturer in Education, coordinating the School Direct Post Graduate Certificate in Education (PGCE) and Post Graduate Diploma in Education (PGDE) Primary Education. I was initially concerned that this research could quickly be considered as outdated and of no relevance. This is because of the pace and extent of the educational changes, currently and at the time of research study commencement, being implemented in the primary schools. These fears were somewhat allayed when I read Driscoll's PhD (2000). She expressed a similar concern almost 15 years ago in her thesis Foreign Languages in Primary Schools: An Investigation of Two Contrasting Approaches (Driscoll, 2000). But rather than considering educational change to render her study irrelevant, it instead preserved an educational moment in time. "Given that the scene is likely to look quite different in a few years, it is satisfying to have been able to capture a picture of this particular practice" (Driscoll, 2000:3).

Firstly it should be acknowledged that much of the information gleaned about the PFL situation in Castle Rock (case study LA location pseudonym) has originated from my position as a former and current 'insider'. I worked in Castle Rock for a number of years, as a primary teacher specialising in PFL, and now regularly return to schools in the LA in my role as a teacher educator/liaison tutor supporting trainee teachers during their school placements. In addition to this professional role, I still maintain contact, share information and discuss educational issues with former colleagues and friends who still work in schools in the LA where the research took place. Furthermore, there are a number of personal experiences which I feel are important for the reader to begin to understand or, at the very least, acknowledge, in an endeavour to declare my biases and beliefs. For this reason, I will outline what I feel to be the formative linguistic, cultural and educational experiences that have shaped me so that the reader can then co-create meaning from the study. I will explore how my own learning experiences have led me to view the language of metacognition and the explicit teaching of language learning strategies as important. These two strategies are valuable as they can

accelerate children's learning (Haller et al., 1988; Chiu, 1998; Higgins et al., 2005; Klauer and Phye, 2008; Abrami et al., 2008; Dignath et al., 2008; Donker et al., 2014). I will present why I am passionate about teaching children to be inter-culturally competent and how native speakers play an important role in this, before moving on to consider practice that I have observed in primary schools. Finally, I will examine why I consider primary generalist teachers to be ideally placed for PFL teaching and learning.

From a very early age, I can remember being interested in language and culture. I believe I was lucky that I scaffolded my foreign language learning through various strategies that felt natural. However, when I was learning foreign languages in secondary school, these were never explicitly taught using the language of metacognition. I therefore suspect that this might be why it is commonly believed that some individuals have an aptitude for languages while others do not. From reflecting on these experiences, I therefore think it is of paramount importance to model for young learners these metacognitive processes and how to explicitly learn languages as outlined in the Key Stage 2 Framework for Languages (DfES, 2005). In fact, it was only when using this document as a teacher that I realised that I had been employing these approaches which were actually part of a wider, accepted concept. These methods are promoted in the Language Learning Strategies (LLS) section of the Key Stage Two Languages Framework (DfES, 2005). It may be possible that primary school teachers who do not relish the thought of teaching a foreign language have not been explicitly taught how to learn a foreign language, leading to a personal narrative that tells them that they just do not understand, rather than promoting the view that they possess skills on a language learning continuum which they can improve by learning how to learn.

During and after university, I had a number of experiences that have cemented my belief that, for children to become interculturally competent (IC) (Spitzberg and Changnon, 2009),

teachers need to play a facilitating role in their learning of a foreign language. There is a large body of research literature in the area of IC, although not a single definition (Matsuo, 2012). The situation is further complicated by the sometimes used term intercultural understanding (ICU). Therefore, it is important to outline what each of these terms mean, and also the difference between them as used in this study. ICU is used in this study to mean knowledge and understanding of one's own and other cultures, in a theoretical, passive sense, as Woodgate-Jones and Grenfell (2012:336) outlined "there is no performance/interaction required". IC is taken to mean the active behaviours and associated beliefs which are 'put into practice' (Kirsch, 2008). Both ICU and IC exist on a spectrum and, as such, becoming interculturally competent can be described as the move from ethnocentrism (one's own culture being central to reality) to ethnorelativism (one's own beliefs and values being just one organisation of reality amongst many possibilities) (Bennett, 2004). This knowledge, combined with the opportunities to practise these skills, is important to teach young learners, even if, and perhaps especially if, they do not have the opportunity to travel (Lustig and Koester 2013). IC is often framed as being related to employment and global competition (Bremer, 2006; Deardorff and Hunter, 2006) and Peiser (2015) noted that, as a result, socially disadvantaged young learners may view ICU/IC as irrelevant to them. This is because "they are less likely to have travelled and find it more difficult to imagine living, studying or working abroad", Peiser (2015:2). However, I feel that, in a modern global society, ICU and IC should be developed in young learners so that they are better equipped to understand themselves and others, which can contribute to a happier, more enjoyable life, both in this country and abroad.

At university, I undertook a four-year French BA (Hons) course and the highlight of the degree course was the Erasmus year during which I resided in Avignon and attended the university there. I shared an accommodation block with a large number of international students and made many friendships that have continued to this day. After graduating, I spent three years in Taiwan, having lived with a Taiwanese family of four generations in a house located in a

rice paddy field in the countryside for a time. After the first six months of initial excitement, I often found myself angry and confused by cultural differences, which took time to accept and embrace (Gullahorn and Gullahorn, 1963). Through reflection, I was better able to explore, problematise and redraw the boundaries between myself and the 'other' (Liddicoat and Scarino, 2009), incorporating what I have learned into both my life and career. Therefore, it is probably a good juncture to declare that this experience, as well as other earlier ones, have led me to firmly believe the aim of learning a language should be to learn about oneself and others while making friends and communicating. There can be no greater joy. Through learning a language and experiencing its culture, I have discovered that it is possible to move from "egocentricity and ethnocentricity to a more altruistic sense of mutual benefit" (Byram, 2008:131). The ability to manage this transition, in full or in part, is a key skill for children to develop in an era of globalisation. Mitchell (2014) selected the term 'superdiversity' to describe the many decades of economic and social migration in many cities and, thus, young learners in schools no longer need to travel abroad to encounter different cultures as they will most probably interact with different cultures at home. However, it has been suggested that perhaps English people tend only to find their culture when abroad (Andrews, 2011). I feel that native speakers and contact with members of different communities are important, particularly for children, because without real life contact the concept of the 'other' can be too difficult for them to understand. However, if this information is filtered through a singular person, the concept is relatable. In his Developmental Model of Intercultural Sensitivity (DMIS) Bennett (2004) presented this concept of the importance of teachers presenting cultural information in a non-complex manner to move the culturally disinterested (denial worldview) towards a more accepting world view.

Figure 1: The Ethnocentric Stages of Development

Denial → Defense → Minimization → Acceptance → Adaptation → Integration

ETHNOCENTRISM   ETHNORELATIVISM
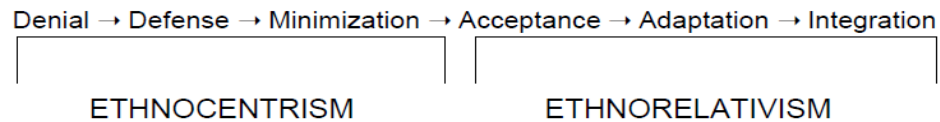
(Bennett, 2004)

It should be noted that young children are not culturally disinterested as adults may be, entrenched in a certain viewpoint. But, rather, young learners typically possess a more ethnocentric viewpoint naturally. As a teacher, this development from ethnocentrism to ethnorelativism is what I endeavoured to achieve through, amongst other strategies, contact with native speakers. For example, one of the moments that really stuck in my mind was when a pupil had travelled to Pakistan to celebrate Eid with his family. I asked him to keep a video diary. When he returned to school, the class watched the video and the other children were shocked, curious and excited to see their classmate flying around the countryside on the back of a motorcycle with no helmet on. From watching the video and chatting to their class mate, the children were familiarised with a different picture of Pakistani culture than the one that was being portrayed in the media at that time. Peiser and Jones (2013:176) agreed, stating that "learners should start with cultural matters at the level of the individual or in the private sphere and progress to issues related to the world of public and socio-political struggles at an appropriate stage in their cognitive development".

The last experience that I consider relevant is the practice that I became aware of in primary schools regarding the teaching of languages, both as a teacher and teacher educator. Contrary to Ofsted's (2011) judgement that the majority of practice observed between 2007 and 2010 was 'good' or 'outstanding', my experiences do not always mirror this view. Teaching I observed revolved mainly around the Oracy strand (DfE, 2005), with occasional inclusion of the Literacy strand (DfE, 2005) Sometimes ICU was covered, but not in a progressive manner, consisting predominantly of the teaching of cultural facts and anecdotes (Driscoll, 2000). I

often saw children seated on the carpet for a long time repeating after the teacher, with little differentiation (Driscoll, 2000; Cable et al., 2010) or assessment (formative or summative). And so this brings me to my next bias, the fear that those children who experience poor quality foreign language teaching may be turned off languages by the end of primary school. I think that this could consequently mean these children will not experience the joy of the learning about 'the other' and themselves. The 2014 National Curriculum (DfE, 2013) further exacerbates this worry that children may not have positive ICU and IC experiences. This is because the explicit teaching of the cultural aspect of foreign languages is weak, especially when compared with previous key policy documents such as the Key Stage 2 Languages Framework. Johnstone (2014:18) noted this move back to a more traditional knowledge-based curriculum and grammar-translation-and-literature approach and suggested that "a more rounded and better-informed picture of the aims and principles of languages education for today's world is needed." I have experienced children apparently losing interest in language learning in school, only to find out later that they had actually lost enthusiasm for learning French in a rote manner and not the language itself. When a new language and pedagogical approach was introduced, their motivation returned. I also believe that an opportunity to foster greater understanding between people of different cultures, both in England and abroad, is being missed by not explicitly including this as a distinct component of PFL, only for it to then be added to the curriculum, in part by, Spiritual, Moral, Social and Cultural (SMSC) education (DFE, 2014).

My final bias is concerned with the delivery of PFL. I believe that all class teachers can teach some aspects of PFL, especially the ICU aspect, if they are trained appropriately (Driscoll, 2014). This is because primary school teachers have excellent 'pedagogical content knowledge' for the age range they teach, in addition to the wider curriculum 'subject knowledge' and their overall 'school knowledge' (Shulman, 1986). This means that their relationships and ability to effectively communicate with young learners can be more effective

than other teachers such as high school teachers or native speakers who are invited in once a week to teach PFL. Relationships with young learners, as will be explored in the Literature Review, are of paramount importance in the primary school (Nikolov, 1999). Furthermore, as class teachers are with their classes all day, they are able to elevate the status of PFL by interweaving ICU and language throughout the curriculum. If a class teacher adopted a cross-curricular language programme, PFL could be embedded into the wider curriculum through subjects such as geography and music. Furthermore, recent additions to statutory teaching such as SMSC could also be taught through PFL, although it is essential to consider the fact that cross-curricular language programmes are not a singular approach, but rather a spectrum of delivery techniques.

1.9 Conclusion

It is hoped that from reading this introductory chapter a clear understanding of the research aims and multi-faceted, local, national and personal contexts within which this study is located have been understood. The Literature Review (chapter two) which follows this chapter explores the key themes that were touched upon in greater detail. It commences by investigating the literature pertaining to rationales for teaching PFL presented in pedagogical models, the European perspective, general primary education, and the National Curriculum 2014. Next, the training and support which are available to help facilitate the rationales expressed in policy and literature will be investigated. Finally, the relationship between the espoused views that the teachers express and their actual practice will be considered. This section is in two parts. The first section explores popular PFL 'buzzwords' that teachers often use to express the ideas which underpin their practice without full consideration of what these mean and may entail in actual practice. While the second section explores the wider educational factors which operate on their daily work lives post-2010 and may also affect the teachers' ability to enact their espoused views. Following this, the Methodology Chapter (chapter three) will explain how the research was planned and carried out. It will articulate my

epistemological stance and how this relates to the study, through design, ethical considerations, data collection methods, and data analysis. The subsequent chapter (chapter four) the Data Analysis and Findings Chapter presents an analysis of data and the findings which have been drawn from it. The Discussion Chapter (chapter five) concerned with the critical discussion of issues that have emerged from this study and includes conclusions in relation to the local, national and international context of PFL and ICU. The Conclusion is the final chapter (chapter six) and this discusses the study both retrospectively and also with scope for future research.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

This thesis aims to consider how the beliefs and practices of primary teachers teaching PFL have been affected since the educational reforms of 2010 in England. As such the literature review commences with an examination of the rationale for teaching PFL. This frames PFL within the aspirational context of theory by considering pedagogical models, before moving on to locate PFL both within the EU perspective and general primary education, before finally considering the statutory guidance.

In the second part of the literature review the actual training and support available, which is much needed to implement the aspirational goals for PFL as outlined in the first section, will be discussed. This section is segmented into non-statutory guidance, such as the key policy documents that preceded the National Curriculum 2014 (DfE, 2013), plus pre-service and in-service support.

Finally, the relationship between the 'buzzwords' that teachers often use when talking about PFL and their actual practice is investigated in the next section. It considers what, according to literature, teachers say about PFL and examines if these espoused views are acted out in practice. The final sub-section investigates the structural aspects which can contribute to the 'gap' between what teachers say that they do and what they actually enact in their practice.

2.1 PFL Rationales

This section considers the aspirational aspects of PFL education, its purpose and also its aims. It seeks to investigate the post-2010 PFL perspectives from a literature base, answering in part research question one, by providing context for the stakeholders' views which are presented in the data analysis and findings section. The structure is one of progressive narrowed focus, moving from locating PFL within a theoretical context by considering

pedagogical models, before considering the European perspective. Next, PFL within general primary education will be investigated before examining the statutory guidance.

2.1.1 Pedagogical Models

Prior to September 2014, in England, there was no agreed pedagogical model for the teaching of PFL which contributed to a lack of clarity surrounding long terms aims of PFL, as contradictory models supported different rationales for the teaching of PFL. Since 2014, the statutory requirement has been to teach PFL for language competency in one L2, with a choice of aim and model for further languages taught. The various models should now be explored, even though the statutory requirement only makes provision for one model. This is because these other models may still influence teachers' decisions in the classroom, and as Gvirtz and Beech (2004) note there can be a gap between the statutory curriculum and the actual provision. Martin (2000:17) discussed the range of pedagogical teaching models to deliver PFL provision as hugely diverse. She described these models as,

> "being sited along a continuum from intensive teaching contexts with fairly complex linguistic content on the one hand, to others in which a much more modest exposure to the foreign language(s) is offered, and the broader educative value of taster experiences of foreign languages are stressed."

Martin (2000) also noted that curriculum models fall broadly into three categories: language awareness programmes, language sensitisation programmes and language competency programmes. Hunt et al. (2005:14) and Edelenbos et al. (2006) concurred with Martin's three models (2000), but also went a step further in suggesting that there is another form of programme, which included a cross-curricular dimension. It is interesting to note that Johnstone (1994), nearly two decades ago, proposed that there were indeed five different models of PFL programmes, the 'extra' one being 'immersion'. As contexts for immersion PFL programmes in England are limited, Hunt et al.'s (2005) four models will be used for the purposes of this study. Johnstone has since (2009) suggested four models but these fit with Hunt et al.'s clear titles. Another programme which is gaining in popularity throughout Europe

(Eggers and Lechner 2012) is the Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL) (Bailey, 2012; Thomas, 2012). In England, it can be described as using a foreign language to study other curriculum areas through the medium of a foreign language (DfES, 2002). As Coyle (2006:2) clarified "it [CLIL] operates along a continuum of the foreign language and the non-language content without specifying the importance of one over another." This could, for example, take the form of making historical links through French or for delivering a geography lesson through the medium of Spanish. However, the CLIL approach is not widely used in primary schools across England, perhaps due in part to the lack of generalist class teachers with high L2 competency so, for the purposes of this study, it will be considered in the same section as cross-curricular programmes.

Finally, it is worth noting before considering the pedagogical models, as outlined above, that a variety of teachers and teacher combinations can be used to deliver these, each posing a unique set of advantages and challenges. Most frequently there are three broad PFL delivery modes: the generalist primary teacher, a specialist teacher and a mixed approach of generalist and specialist working together (Martin, 2000; Cable et al., 2012; Rowe et al., 2012).

Jones and Coffey (2006), Sharpe and Driscoll (2000), Driscoll et al. (2004a), Driscoll et al. (2004b) suggest that the generalist primary teacher provide integrated, contextual provision. Martin (2000:50) considered the advantages of a generalist teacher and noted that, in addition to the contextualisation of the curriculum, they can model language learning. Furthermore, they can differentiate, as they know the children and can build positive attitudes towards PFL, which is supported elsewhere in the literature (Nikolov, 1999; Vilke, 1998). However, Martin (2000:51) also considered the disadvantages, which she noted as issues with foreign language production leading to less progression through overreliance on resources. Thus, a slower pace, less assessment and monitoring may occur in lessons from generalist teachers.

In contrast, specialist languages teachers may provide faster-paced, assessed lessons based on high expectations of the children, through providing good models of foreign language as well as deep intercultural knowledge (Martin, 2000). These advantages do also present disadvantages, such as their outsider status in the classroom (this is moderated somewhat if the specialist is an existing member of staff, although not negated), lack of PFL integration into the whole school which can be an issue as staff do not consider this to be their role (Martin, 2000:49), and a lack of rapport (in comparison with the class teacher) between children and teacher leading to less motivation (Nikolov, 1999; Vilke, 1998).

A further model, which can be located between the generalist teacher and the specialist teacher, is one of a mixed approach of the two staff working together. This staffing collaboration model does in the first instance have financial implications for the schools as two members of staff would be paid. However, over time the class teacher may become more confident and be able to take ownership of the PFL delivery independently (Cable et al., 2012). Martin (2000) suggested a three-pronged approach in which generalist class teachers are supported by language specialists or foreign language assistants (FLAs) or perhaps other native speakers in delivering PFL. She explained that if a school moved away from teaching a language competence model to one based on less foreign language content to one more grounded in first language discussion of 'language and cultural awareness' with integrated classroom routines in the L2, then in this instance the class teacher could excel. According to the National Curriculum 2014 (DfE, 2013), primary schools are free to choose which foreign language they would like to teach, inclusive of Ancient Greek and Latin. In reality, the criteria upon which they base their language choice will be heavily weighted by staffing, resources available and the languages on offer in their locality (Wade and Marshall, 2009). It should be noted again that PFL staffing is also an issue for both the USA and Australia, in fact for many countries globally.

Language Awareness Programmes

Language awareness programmes were first proposed as "a new subject, 'a language', to be taught as a 'bridging subject', linking English and the foreign language in the curriculum" Hawkins, 1974. Hawkins suggested this approach as he felt that language teachers, in the broadest sense, did not share practice, experience or even a common vocabulary for discussion (Hawkins, 1984). The *Key Stage 2 Languages Framework* (DfES, 2005) developed Hawkins' idea (Barton et al., 2009) and created a cross-cutting strand entitled Knowledge about Language (KAL) designed to help,

> "children to reinforce and reinterpret knowledge and understanding gained in learning their first language(s), [to] develop insights into the nature of language and its social and cultural value [by] building on their experience of interaction with and in the new language, they begin to increase their understanding of how language works." Key Stage 2 Languages Framework (2005: 9).

The Curriculum Review again built upon language awareness throughout the curriculum proposing a new subject area which would encompassed all language learning (Rose, 2009), however this was rejected by the Coalition Government (2010-2015). The National Curriculum 2014 (DfE, 2013) also makes a language awareness teaching requirement, although the scope of the requirement is narrowed. The social and cultural aspects of KAL have been removed as the documents uses the term grammar. It states children should be taught to "understand basic grammar…key features and patterns of the language; how to apply these, for instance, to build sentences; and how these differ from or are similar to English." DfE, (2013: 3). This reduction of scope is perhaps a missed opportunity as there are increasing numbers of children with English as an Additional Language (EAL) who could provide context and culture for their classmates and be supported in L2 learning themselves through the teaching of KAL. Simply learning grammar denies the opportunity to enhance ICU and tolerance of others through L2 learning (Barton et al., 2009).

The advantages of language awareness are L1 development, promotion of ICU and easier staffing arrangements, as teachers do not need to be foreign language proficient, however, there are suggested drawback to the model. Language awareness programmes lack in actual foreign language teaching when compared to other models (Johnstone, 1994) although more recent programmes of study following this tradition seem to have also incorporated elements of the 'set-piece' language instruction as promoted by the sensitisation/encounter approach. For example EVLANG (L'éveil aux langues dans l'école primaire) and JALING (Janua Linguarium Reserata) projects (Hunt et al., 2005, Barton et al., 2009) and the more recent 'Discovering Languages' project (Barton and Bragg, 2010). In 'Discovering Languages' primary school children learned five different languages, for one term each in Years 5 and 6. The final analysis revealed that slightly higher, although not statistically significant number of children went on to opt for further post-14 language study. Interestingly, pupils who had participated in the study rated their confidence in their L2 ability lower than children from other routes, however this maybe as a result of the objectives of the programme (Barton and Bragg, 2010).

Despite the advantages of a language awareness approach it does not seem likely that this model will be widely taught in England. Barton et al. (2009) correctly identified that governmental insistence on competency in one language would prove an obstacle. There is of course nothing preventing a school, in theory, from teaching one language for progression and also introducing others to the children, however contextual factors of time and accountability for the core subjects may prove too limiting.

Language Sensitisation Programmes

Language sensitisation programmes teach children set pieces in the L2, they "aim to initiate children into foreign language learning by developing an understanding of languages through

encounters with one or more foreign language" Hunt (2005:15) and thus in this respect are not dissimilar to language awareness programmes. Again, it is generally the class teacher who introduces one or more L2s at this basic level. Martin (2008) noted that, because of a lack of teacher confidence, non-specialist teachers, training and time, sensitisation/encounter programmes may be a good option for language teaching in England. The emphasis is not on developing progression, and the resources "have an intentionally restricted inventory of language items" Martin (2000:18) which is why this type of programme can be suitable for the primary generalist teachers as well as flexible in terms of curriculum integration. While the cultivation of a positive attitude towards L2s is a key aim of this approach, children will develop some basic competence, although perhaps not at the same rate as if they were following a language competency approach.

Language Competence Programmes

The primary aim of language competence programmes is to develop children's linguistic attainment with an emphasis on performance and progression in a single language. Martin notes that because this model "emphasise performance and progression [it] require [s] more curriculum time" (2000:17). This is an important feature of the language competency model, although the National Curriculum 2014 (DfE, 2013) does not propose a contact time minimum. The teacher's linguistic knowledge is essential to ensure teaching quality and as such it is common for an outside agency to deliver the lessons. The aim of this model is for KS3 teachers to build and develop the PFL. However, this is only possible if transition between primary and secondary schools is well thought out and planned, and these arrangements would appear to be highly variable and sometimes problematic, (Low *et al.,* 1993; Low and Wolfe, 1996; Low, 1999; Hood, 1994; Martin, 2000; Hood and Tobutt, 2009; McLachlan, 2009; Courtney, 2014). Elements of the foreign language can also permeate other topic and class work such as geography, art, science and PE.

Cross-Curricular Language Programmes

Cross-curricular language programmes promote the learning of a curriculum subject through the medium of a foreign language. As Hunt et al. (2005:14) elaborated:

> "elements of the foreign language can also permeate other topic and class work such as geography, art, science and PE. Examples of such integration (Bell, 1996; Tierney and Hope, 1998; Muir, 1999) demonstrate the feasibility of promoting real communication throughout the school day."

This is a spectrum of delivery rather than a single approach model. It could be suggested that, if planning cultural links into the humanities taught in English is at one end of this spectrum, then CLIL, where children would study, for example, their history through the medium of French, would be at the opposite end of the spectrum. Whilst rare in primary schools, due to lack of teacher expertise, CLIL does occur more frequently in secondary school and in different subjects (Eurydice, 2006; Papaja, 2014). However, lessons with features of CLIL, albeit at the other end of the continuum, do exist in primary schools (Coyle, 1999).

In conclusion "the specific type of program has important implications for general aims and achievement targets in the L2" Nikolov and Djigunović, (2011:97) and the linguistic outcomes of the majority of these programs tends to be modest. Given that the average time for L2 language instruction in England is rarely more than an hour's lesson per week (Tinsley and Board, 2015) the choice of programme for national roll-out, language competency, seems perhaps a little confused. It suggests that perhaps policy makers are not aware of the range of pedagogical models or are unaware of the difficulties which occur when translating policy into actual practice in classrooms.

2.1.2 European: PFL Rationale

The European perspective on foreign language learning is relevant as England currently operates under EU legislation. According to Envers (2011:10), some parts of Europe have a language learning history which stretches back as far as 40 years. Of the current 28 EU members countries, 14 of them commence PFL teaching before the age of seven while 10 countries start at age eight or nine with the remainder commencing PFL at 10 years old (Envers, 2011). Increasingly in Europe and worldwide the trend is for younger and younger learners to be offered the opportunity to study an L2 (Nikolov and Djigunović, 2006) as a result of parent pressures on governments and schools. According to Courtney et al. (2015) the majority of countries support PFL for a variety of reasons: the cultivation of long term positive attitudes towards different languages and cultures, the development of L2 learning motivation with a view to post-compulsory study, and finally the view that young learners find L2 learning effortless and this will lead to enhanced proficiency. This can be seen in the EU context from the European Council PFL documents, noting the perceived benefits for communication purposes, but also for fostering understanding between people, and the promotion of tolerance and intercultural understanding (European Council, 2014). Furthermore, PFL in particular is seen as a priority because it is in these formative years that children may form their attitudes towards other languages and cultures. This is important given the "territorial disputes that the new Europeans [new Eastern European member states] hope to overcome with shared communication and understanding across borders." (Envers, 2011:10). And yet, the dominance of English as the L2 of choice does not always allow exploration of other cultures and peoples (Heinzmann, 2013). Furthermore, some have started to consider a perceived 'threat' of globalisation through English, "corrupt[ing] young children's minds…threaten[ing] their L1 and identity" Nikolov and Djigunović, (2006:244). Within the EU there has been an attempt to mitigate the dominance of English, as the Council of Europe recommendation that two foreign languages are taught. While Envers (2011) wrote that Europe has championed multilingualism against a worldwide trend of teaching foreign languages for economic as well

as social interactions, King et al. (2011) has suggested that this may now be in decline. They believed that Europe's leaders may be moving away from the notion of multiculturalism as the effects of the economic crisis of 2008 have led to a renewed interest in conservative policies. Currently, however, the EU legislates that member states should promote multilingualism, including at least two languages in addition to the main teaching language (European Council, 2014). This has proved to be an issue for many countries due to teacher shortages, in mainland Europe as well as in England, particularly in diverse languages other than English (King et al., 2011).

2.1.3 General Primary Perspective

The recent Cambridge Primary Review Trust (CPRT), of primary education, considered "what are the aims and values of primary education?" (2008:1) and concluded that general primary education, over the past 40 years, has undergone three distinct phases. The first being child-centred, the second phase mediated more by social and economic aspects and then finally the most recent phase of a focus on "raising standards of achievement, and on preparing children for life in a multicultural society and in an ever-changing economic and work environment in which they will require a wide range of skills" (2008: 5). However as this period of 40 years only considers primary education until 2006, it could be argued that there is in fact another phase which is post-economic crash of 2008, which resulted in the funding cuts of 2010. This period of time can be characterised by the continued focus on raising standards in core subjects but with the new setting of an international arena with international tests as the measure of success. Furthermore, there has been a renewed focus on economic aspects and national aspects of education with a reduced focus on multiculturalism. The CPRT also devoted much of the report to exploring what primary education is for and what it should look like. The report outlines the principles of primary education and then its 12 aims for primary education and groups them into three sections those pertaining to the individual; the self,

others and the wider world and learning, knowing and doing (Alexander, 2010). These principles and aims are of interest to this study for a number of reasons: at the heart of the review is a commitment to the child, and equality of access for all children to a broad and balanced education, which is of quality. The report agrees that education should be responsive to national need but economic aspects should not override "social and cultural imperatives" Alexander (2010:196). In fact the needs of communities, localities and individuals should also be catered for and understanding self and others is paramount to understanding the world. PFL fulfils the majority of these concepts and this may be why the proposed curriculum 'language, oracy and literacy' regardless of type of language (home, community, foreign) was placed at the centre of the new curriculum. Donato and Tucker (2007) also stressed the importance of the centralisation of L2 programmes, embedding them into the heart of school life. They made this recommendation after researching a school district of approximately 3,600 pupils over 12 years and as such made recommendations for practice based on the evidence of successful implementation of L2 in this area.

PFL, should be at the heart of the curriculum, as it allows children to explore self and other in a meaningful way through language and also through culture. It is adaptive to global and local trends helping to create a curriculum of relevance and meaning for young learners, as well as preparing them for future life, be that economic in nature or social. It is perhaps a missed opportunity for PFL that this curriculum was never implemented, as a change of government saw it shelved, however the ideological aspiration for primary education in general as well as PFL's location within it remain valid.

2.1.4 National Curriculum 2014

Now that the range of possible model and various aims have been presented it is important to explore what is the actual intended statutory rationale for PFL teaching. These will be critiqued and compared with the curricula other countries. There are many possible contexts that could be used for such analysis, for example, England's geographical European neighbours or its

economic and democratic allies in the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD). However, considering England's PFL situation alongside its European neighbours was not deemed to be appropriate to this study. Instead, an alternative approach has been chosen for this review of the literature with the main focus being on Anglophone countries, where the learning of a foreign language gives rise to similar issues and challenges. These countries have a distinctive PFL context influenced by the fact that English is becoming increasingly the dominant language of the world (Johnstone, 2014; Liddicoat et al., 2007). Kachru (1985) proposed that there are 'Three Concentric Circles of English' speaking countries with the 'Inner Circle' consisting of the USA, Britain, Canada, Australia and New Zealand. Here, English is the native language spoken by the majority of the population, however there is no consistency regarding foreign language teaching and learning in primary school. In Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland, there is a slightly longer history of foreign language learning at primary school than in England through programmes such as the Modern Languages in Primary School initiative, which was introduced as early as 1989, in pilot form, in Scotland (Low, 1999). There is also an increasing interest in bilingual education in Gallic and Welsh (Ellis and McCartney, 2011) but there has been no equivalent language revival for England which makes a comparison with these countries problematic. Similarly, Canada has a long history of bilingual education in French and English, where this form of education is regarded as the norm (Ellis and McCartney, 2011). In New Zealand, elements of Māori have been made a compulsory part of the primary school curriculum since 1975. As a result, almost half of all children receive some Māori teaching as part of the statutory curriculum and are considered to be bilingual in their indigenous language (Warschauer, 1996). It is on the basis of the divergent historical and cultural background of Canada and New Zealand, as well as the teaching of indigenous languages, that references to these two countries will not be included in this review. In the North American contemporary context, Spanish could also be classed as the second language of some communities (Hunt et al., 2005), although recent 2011 USA census data contradicts this. Spanish is, in fact, the most frequently spoken second language (62 per cent) but it does not have a second language monopoly in the country. For

example, there are 40 subsections of languages listed on the 'Language Use in the United States: 2011' census (Ryan, 2013). The second most widely spoken language is Chinese (4.8 per cent), followed by Tagalog (2.6 per cent), then Vietnamese (2.3 per cent), French (2.1 per cent) and finally Arabic (1.6 percent). England, too, has rich language diversity with 7.7 per cent of the population revealing English was not their main language. The first language was most frequently Polish (1 per cent), followed by Punjabi (0.5 per cent) and Urdu (0.5 per cent) (Office of National Statistics, 2013). Speakers of these languages are not equally distributed across England, tending instead to be geographically clustered. London, for example, was reported to be the most linguistically diverse region with 22.1 per cent of respondents having a primary language other than English, while Redcar and Cleveland in the North East have the lowest level of linguistic diversity with 99.3 per cent reporting that English is their first language (Office of National Statistics, 2013). Australia too has a heterogeneous language background and has recently been described by Lo Bianco and Aliani (2008) as offering more 'Languages Other Than English' (LOTE), both in formal and complementary schooling, than any other comparable country in the world. Second language communities in Australia account for Mandarin (1.6 per cent), Italian (1.4 per cent), Arabic (1.3 per cent), Cantonese (1.2 per cent) and Greek (1.2 per cent) (Department of Immigration and Border Control 2014).

Taking into consideration the second language contexts of the Anglophone countries discussed, the two countries that will be considered as particularly relevant to this study are Australia and the USA. However, while England has a unitary governmental structure these two countries are federal. Furthermore, it is important to acknowledge that neither the USA nor Australia can be presented as a 'blank slate' of foreign language learning due in part to each countries' native (Ingram, 2002) and second language learning contexts. It is worth noting, however, that national policy for PFL is considerably less developed in the USA and Australia than in Wales, Scotland, Canada or New Zealand.

In England, it could be suggested that the purposes of learning foreign languages according to the Key Stage 2 National Curriculum (DfE, 2013) may fall into three broad categories: economic, academic (language learning foundations) and cultural. When considering the economic aspects of L2 learning at primary school, it is suggested that "language teaching should provide the foundation for learning further languages, equipping pupils to…work in other countries… It should also provide opportunities for them to communicate for practical purposes" (DfE, 2013:1).

These economic considerations are complimented by academic purposes, which provide language learning foundations:

> "Language teaching should provide the foundation for learning further languages, equipping pupils to study…in other countries…to understand and respond to its speakers, both in speech and in writing…learn new ways of thinking and read great literature in the original language." (DfE, 2013:1)

Finally, it is outlined that foreign language learning should be undertaken for beneficial cultural reasons, as it 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" (DfE, 2013:1).

The economic, language learning foundations and cultural reasons for PFL teaching and learning will now be critiqued individually.

<u>Economic Reasons</u>

Language learning for economic reasons of profit and desirable capital in transitions is common (Kramsch, 2014). Heller and Duchêne (2012) chart the move from L2 learning for one of identities, cultures and linguistic preservation to ones of 'added-value' and 'economic development'. This is mirrored, for PFL in England, by the Association of Language Learning (2016), who on their PFL webpage wrote by way of presenting a rational for L2 learning list as

the first reason, that it is a "concrete and demonstrable life skill, like being able to drive a car or touch-type, and it is a skill highly valued by employers." The government focus has also been on the possible economic impact of PFL, specifically mentioning that learning primary languages for economic purposes could "opens up the possibility of Mandarin for instance, which is widely considered to be important for the future of our country" (DfE, 2012:3). On first reading, it could be thought that 'the importance' the document refers to is economic and social in nature, however it is further discussed in the Consultation Report (DfE, 2013) and here it becomes clear that it is solely economic in nature. Sharpe (2001:73), over a decade ago, questioned the legitimacy of French as the accepted second language in England, arguing that the case for teaching French is much less strong today than at any previous time, as French no longer rivals English as a world language, noting that more people speak Spanish and Portuguese, that German is more useful for business and that Cantonese and Mandarin Chinese can prove useful in later life. The once in-demand languages French, German and Russian are now less in demand than these Arabic, Chinese and Spanish (Furman, Goldberg and Lusin, 2007). While Sharpe's consideration of the legitimacy of the teaching of French still holds true today, his reasons may require a review. Since the emergence of the BRIC (Brazil, Russia, India and China) countries and, more recently, MINT (Mexico, Indonesia, Nigeria and Turkey) countries (Boesler, 2013) as growing economic powers, the profile of Spanish and Portuguese as business languages, alongside Cantonese and Mandarin Chinese, have risen.

This is interesting as the same trend can be seen in the contemporary Australian context. In the early 1990s, the focus of language learning started to include economic aspects to embrace Australia's growing trade links with Asia. This influenced the formation of the National Asian Languages and Studies in Australian Schools (NALSAS) strategy (EREBUS, 2002). In addition to these economic ideals, it was during the 1990s that policies which favoured diversity and social cohesion emerged. The aims of these policies established an ethos of multiculturalism with the intention of developing a pluralistic society (McKay, 2000) where foreign language learning was seen as one way in which this could be achieved (Liddicoat

and Scarino, 2009). However, from the 1990s until 2007, it was the economic aspects that began to take president, as Norrby and Hajek (2011:62) summarised this was "a top-down process that excluded other languages and replaced cultural pluralism with an ideology of trade and commerce imperatives." The recent move to focus on teaching Asian foreign languages which has been driven more by economics than by multiculturalism and it was the Rudd Labour Government, 2007-2010, brought about a change in PFL policy, putting foreign languages firmly back on the political agenda. This has been credited to the fact that Rudd himself was a Mandarin speaker and one of the original authors of NALSAS. However, while this still remains the case, a study by RUMACC (2007) showed that structural issues, such as staffing, have prevented policy from being enacted as Italian remained most widely taught primary language (27.5 per cent). This was followed by Japanese (22.6 per cent) and then Indonesian (16.5 per cent). Other languages taught in primary schools included French, German, Mandarin, Arabic, Greek, Spanish and Vietnamese, while 3.7 per cent of pupils received schooling in a language not listed in the report. Lo Bianco and Slaughter (2009) noted that, while Japanese is increasingly taught and there is a rising demand for Chinese, the teaching of Indonesian has varied due to inconsistent funding and the after effects of the Bali Bombings (2002, 2005). They also pointed out that enrolments in community languages, such as Arabic, Greek and Vietnamese, have remained stable. However, this has not prevented Australian policy makers from still aiming to increase uptake of Asian L2 languages. This time led by Julia Gillard, who had been Rudd's Deputy Prime Minster, launched the National Asian Languages and Studies in Schools Programme (NALSSP) in 2009 which had the aim of doubling the number of students studying an Asian language by 2015 (Norrby and Hajek, 2011).

In the USA, there have been concerns about national foreign language capability for more than 30 years. The Commission on Foreign Language and International Studies (1978) warned of damage to economic growth and national security as a result of poor uptake in foreign language learning. Since then, the USA has implemented a series of initiatives to

increase the uptake of foreign languages in all areas of education (Crystal, 1995), starting with the Goal 2000: Educate the USA Act (US Congress: 1994). Through this Act, the National Educational Goals were set by the US Congress, which stated that, by the year 2000, "all students will leave grades 4, 8, and 12 having demonstrated competency over challenging subject matter including… foreign languages" US Congress (1994:7). This commitment to pupils did not translate into practice. When the following Bush Administration implemented the No Child Left Behind Act in 2001, it included the learning of foreign languages. However, as schools were only required to publish data on Maths and reading, most focused their time, teaching and resources in those areas, largely ignoring foreign language provision (Dee and Jacob, 2010). This decline in PFL teaching has occurred, for the most part, within the public school system, with private elementary schools remaining relatively stable in their offerings of PFL (Rhodes and Pufahl, 2011). There are two hypotheses that could account for this PFL teaching disparity between state and private schools, namely school accountability and parental income. Firstly, it could be suggested that there exists a ubiquitous accountability culture with reporting of the SATs data that has led to this imbalance in PFL provision. In the USA, like in England, private schools have no legal requirement to administer the State Government tests or publish their students' test scores. In fact, US private schools are free to choose their own standardised tests and do not have to release the data from these. If the results of these tests are requested by parents, schools do have an obligation to provide them. As a result, private schools may feel more at liberty to teach a variety of different subjects without focusing overly on the core subjects which are publically reported. Secondly, parents are required to pay fees for their children to attend private school which engenders a feeling of entitlement to a wider curriculum, including the provision of high quality PFL teaching. Furthermore, there is a positive correlation between higher economic status and higher achievement in French (Burstall et al., 1974; Vilke, 1998), suggesting that parental income is an influencing factor in a complex entanglement of equity, diversity and PFL study (Nikolov and Djigunović, 2011).

Economic drivers for the teaching of languages are often more powerful than those which call for multicultural understanding, as the Australian example shows. In fact, in all three countries, England, Australia and USA, since the emergence of China as a superpower (Rein, 2009), there has been an increase in the teaching of Chinese. In English primary schools, this now accounts for 1.5 per cent of all Key Stage 2 PFL (Tinsley and Board, 2015). Issues of security also influence the foreign language taught, as both England and the USA have increased the teaching of Arabic since the attack on the World Trade Centre (2001). This is coupled in the US with a decline in the teaching of Japanese and Russian, former countries of conflict. Lo Bianco and Slaughter (2009) highlighted that immigration also plays a role in language choice, noting the more 'background speakers' the more secure the language future. For example, there are more Chinese speakers in Australia than Japanese, which is likely to assist in the consolidation and stabilisation of Chinese teaching in the future. The impact of immigration on languages taught at primary school is difficult to ascertain although, in England, there is evidence from GCSE level that it plays a role in languages taught. For example, the number of students taking a GCSE in Polish has trebled from 1,245 students in 2008 to 3,948 in 2014, in line with the increase in numbers of Polish immigrants arriving in the UK (Tinsley and Board, 2015). A similar trend is also apparent in the US, where Spanish remains the most popular language studied (Pufahl, 2009) and is also the most commonly spoken language of immigrants.

It should be noted, before moving on to consider 'building language learning foundations, that PFL is not alone in being affected by economic drivers acting on the curriculum. In fact, Alexander (2010) highlights how teaching all curriculum subjects for their economic value has now replaced justification through being intrinsically worthwhile, "or because they help to hold the line between civilisation and philistinism, no longer cuts much ice. What matters now is marketable skill." (2010:244). It is here then that a juxtaposition is revealed, L2 ability is very

much a marketable skill. However, as it lies outside of the National Curriculum assessment system, its statutory inclusion within "the curriculum will have little impact and the curriculum outside the favoured zone of tested subjects will continue to be compromised." Alexander (2010:237).

Building Language Learning Foundations

Preparing children for studying foreign languages at secondary school in terms of motivation and also outcomes is given specific mention within the National Curriculum (DfE, 2013). However, Courtney et al., raised concerns about the over simplification of this policy aim and its translation into practice, noting that "if some young learners are already displaying low levels of self-efficacy and lack of progress even before they reach secondary school" this is of concern (2015:20). While PFL may be stated to lay the foundations for post-Key Stage 2 L2 learning, there is no guarantee this will actually take place. Pupils, in England, are not required to learn a foreign language post-Key Stage 3, and thus if not motivated to learn, will not opt-in to further study. This may in turn lead to a situation where in fact some young learners are turned off L2 learning earlier and there maybe indications that this is indeed the case already (Courtney et al., 2015). The National Languages Strategy (2002) suggested a seven to 14 age range language programme that would lead to a revival in language learning (Dearing and King, 2007), asking schools to "harness children's learning potential and enthusiasm' (DfES, 2002: 4). However, figures obtained since 2002 show a decline in the uptake of GCSEs, A-levels and degrees in foreign languages. The number of students opting to complete a foreign language GCSE declined between 2004 and 2014, but has since seen a slight increase due to its inclusion in the English Baccalaureate. A-level numbers continue to decline (Garner, 2013) which may explain why, in the past 15 years, over a third of UK universities have stopped offering a Modern Languages degree in European languages (Bawden, 2013).

The National Curriculum 2014 (DfE, 2013) does permit the teaching of ancient languages, and schools are free to choose which language they wish to teach. In the lead-up to the Key Stage 2 PFL curriculum, classical languages, Latin and Ancient Greek, were given specific mention in the curriculum consultation document (DfE, 2012) as they "give a good grounding in the grammar and other features of a number of modern languages" (DfE, 2012:3). This reiterates support for laying the foundations for Key Stage 3 study and, thus, developing linguistic progression. The responses from the PFL consultation, published in 2013, showed an approximately equal split (19 per cent for and 14 per cent against) with regard to the teaching of classical languages. Those respondents who supported the inclusion of classical languages argued that they were foundation languages on which to build understanding of FL, while those who were not (in favour of classical languages) argued that these languages are no longer spoken and, as such, the opportunity for pupils to develop "speaking, communication and social skills, as well as to develop their openness to other people's ways of life and points of view" (DfE, 2013:9) would not be possible.

When the teaching of classical languages in schools is more closely examined again areas of L2 inequality are revealed. Figures pertaining to the teaching of ancient languages across state and independent schools are only available for Key Stage 3, 4 and post-16 and so will be used in the absence of primary information. Within the secondary school sector, all independent schools teach more L2 compared with state schools. The difference in the total of schools across the sectors offering French is relatively small. The number of public education establishments teaching Spanish and Latin varies not only by school type but also by age range. Within the Key Stage 3 bracket, there is an approximate difference of 15 per cent of schools in the state and private sector offering Spanish, 20 per cent for German and a large difference of 46 per cent for Latin. The difference in the teaching of German and Latin remains relatively constant at an approximate difference of 20 per cent and 45 per cent respectively. Although, the teaching of Spanish gap, between public and private schools

respectively, increases to 19 per cent by Key Stage 4 and then almost doubles to 35 per cent post-16. The independent sector also offers Ancient Greek more widely for its pupils (Tinsley and Board, 2015). These statistics are further compounded by the "disparity between the state and independent sectors in terms of the offer of languages outside curriculum time" (Tinsley and Board, 2015:124). It is clear to see that, at secondary school, access to L2 learning depends on the type of school attended, with fee-paying schools providing more foreign language learning in general. No primary schools in the 2014-2015 Languages Trends survey (Tinsley and Board, 2015) reported teaching Ancient Greek, although 10 respondent schools reported the teaching of Latin. A breakdown by state or private sector for these establishments is not provided, but given the statistics above it may be fair to assume these are in the main independent schools. Children from socio-economically challenging backgrounds were once again impacted by this, possibly denying them not only access to language learning opportunities but more specifically classical languages education. However, while helpful for L1 development, classical languages, as expressed by some respondents in the PFL consultation, provide limited opportunities to develop intercultural awareness.

Intercultural Awareness (ICU)

ICU and its relationship to key policy documents since the launch of the Languages Strategy (2002) is a complex one. Leading some to question if the ultimate goal of PFL should be language or ICU progression or both (Sharpe, 2001). Prior to the National Curriculum 2014 (DfE, 2013), there was clear reference to the teaching and learning of ICU in primary school, shown in key policy documents (DfES, 2002; DfES, 2005) although, Peiser and Jones (2012) questioned if this was simply policy rhetoric rather than a considered, realistic approach to curriculum design. Leading up to 2014 issues of the feasibility in practice of promoting both language competence and ICU were raised (Woodgate-Jones, 2009). She and others highlighted that in-service teachers and ITT providers (Ofsted, 2003), were unsure of the aims of PFL. This led to a fragmented approach to PFL as there was no shared understanding. In 2012, Peiser and Jones examined Key Stage 2 and wider educational policy documents in the

context of social cohesion. They reported that "the National Director of Languages confirmed that the intercultural aspect of policy was favourable [to include as part of L2 learning] as it overlapped neatly with the social cohesion agenda" (2012:17). As Driscoll et al. (2013:148) noted that within key policy documents (DfES, 2002; DfES, 2005) lay the assumption that "as learners understand more about the countries and the people where the language is spoken, they will develop their curiosity about other cultures which will enhance their sensitivity and empathy towards people with a culture different to their own". However, by the time the PFL consultation document (DfE, 2012) was released, learning languages to develop ICU or for the promotion of social cohesion was not mentioned.

In response to the PFL consultation document (DfE, 2012), a high number of respondents, 56 per cent, were against the proposed prescriptive list of languages, which excluded community languages, to be taught in primary schools. The lack of inclusion of community languages in the DfE consultation list prompted nearly half (49 per cent) of respondents to comment, stating that schools are best placed to know which language meets the requirements of their community, transition to secondary school and aspirations for pupils. Furthermore,

> "…it was mentioned that exclusion from the list would threaten the teaching of community languages and would affect pupils' access to Literacy in their home language, such as Polish, Portuguese, Punjabi, Urdu and Hindi. Respondents believed that the proposal also took insufficient account of the cultural and faith needs of particular communities, for example by not including Hebrew and Arabic." (DfE, 2013:7)

After the initial response to this consultation data, the Government decided to proceed with the list of seven languages to be taught at primary school, stating it was "the most sensible approach to establishing the range of languages on offer at Key Stage 2" (DfE, 2013:5). When the final version of the 2014 National Curriculum (DfE, 2013) was published, however, the list of seven languages was no longer a requirement for schools. This meant that schools were free to teach whichever language they felt best suited their school and community.

While the respondents to the 2012 PFL consultation document often referred to the importance of ICU, the National Curriculum 2014 (DfE, 2013) made no reference to this specific term and only limited references to developing cultural aspects of PFL learning. This departure from previously expressed ideas in policy documents about ICU is not just located with Key Stage 2, Graham and Santos noted when considering the new Key Stage 3 National Curriculum that "perhaps most striking are the fewer references to intercultural understanding in NC 2014 compared with 2007" (2015: 81) It could be suggested that there is lack of cohesion between the purpose of study as outlined at the beginning of the document and the aims and objectives from which teachers take their lead on lesson planning. Previously, the National Languages Strategy promoted language learning in the 21st century to be inclusive of "language competence and intercultural understanding [which] are not optional extras, they are an essential part of being a citizen" (DfES, 2002:5). The National Curriculum 2014 (DfE, 2013) does not support this view to the same extent. The cultural references are much weaker than in previous PFL key policy documents such the Key Stage 2 Languages Framework, (DfES, 2005) and the Key Stage 3 FL curriculum 2009 (Peiser and Jones, 2012).

The explicit inclusion of an intercultural understanding strand is missing from the subject content section, which is from where teachers would take their lesson objectives. Within the National Curriculum 2014 (DfE, 2013) opportunities are presented for teachers to teach pupils to appreciate "stories, songs, poems and rhymes" which research shows teachers already engage in (Cable et al., 2010; Driscoll et al., 2004a; Muijs et al., 2005; Rantz and Horan, 2005; Wade and Marshall, 2009) and scope for the inclusion of recent resources such as Internet clips (Driscoll et al., 2013). These activities may be used for ICU teaching however the National Curriculum 2014 (DfE, 2013) does not make the purpose of these activities explicit, it is not clear they are for linguistic or cultural purposes or perhaps dual purpose. As Peiser (2012) noted, this provides teachers with curriculum freedom, although if teachers have not had PFL training and, more specifically, ICU development then they may not recognise nor understand what these activities could represent (Woodgate-Jones and Grenfell, 2012). Some

of the foreign language literary materials produced (Northumberland Grid for Learning, 2009) and accepted classroom practice in the primary school revolves around the use of traditional tales and songs which children are already familiar with in English, increasing the possibility for the development of their understanding. It is not clear, however, how this would develop ICU in the primary school setting.

While primary teachers may be best placed to deliver ICU (Driscoll et al., 2013), without adequate training they may not develop "their own 'savoir être'" and "'savoir apprendre'" (Byram, 1997), perhaps meaning that ICU remains a factual-based topic. While, of course, there are also arguments against an overly prescriptive curriculum which may relegate the teacher to the role of the 'technicist', by not providing clear guidelines for an area of study which has been shown to be poorly taught over the past decade seems ill thought-out and a missed opportunity. So, while it is stated that through "learning a foreign language children are liberated from insularity and that foreign language study is an opening to other cultures" (DfE, 2013:1), the term ICU is not referenced in the National Curriculum guidelines. Perhaps it is not referred to as a specific term because it was one of the core strands of the Key Stage 2 Languages Framework (DfES, 2005) which was conceived by the previous government. Or perhaps it is not referenced as it no longer holds the same status as it once did. It is important when endeavouring to understand policy change, to not only consider the curricular documents but also all of the instruments of change (see Methodology Chapter). The exclusion of explicit reference to ICU reveals the possible intent of the National Curriculum 2014 is to promote PFL for economic and linguistic progression reasons. How policy documents are implemented in practice should also receive consideration (Gvirtz, 2002; Gvirtz and Beech, 2004) because simply reading the papers does not provide the full picture of a situation. Therefore, whether teachers endorse this view in their beliefs and practice is one of the key research questions underpinning this thesis.

2.1.5_Conclusion

In conclusion it is clear that there is no single unifying rationale for teaching PFL, both in England and other countries. It is this lack of agreed aims that makes it difficult for stakeholders to translate policy into curriculum, without guidance which can help to clarify priorities. Therefore it is now important to examine what training and support is available to help schools in England provide PFL teaching and learning in their schools. This section is presented in three parts, the non-statutory guidance which is available and the pre-service and finally post-service support that schools and teachers can access. By examining each of these modes of training and support the literature perspective pertaining to research question two is answered, again helping to provide a context for the participants' views which are presented later.

2.2 Training and Supported Curriculum

2.2.1 Non–Statutory Supporting Documents

The National Curriculum 2014 (DfE, 2013) is the only statutory document for PFL but there exists a number of other documents, published between 2002 and 2010, which teachers may rely on for support. These are the Key Stage 2 Languages Framework (DfES, 2005) and Marking and Making Progress (OCR, 2010) and the Languages Ladder (DCSF, 2007). Key Stage 2 Framework for Languages (DfE, 2005) "provides a practical reference tool for planning and teaching across all four years of KS2" (CILT, 2012:1) and was used by 45 per cent of schools to underpin their PFL provision, according to the 2014/2015 Languages Trends Report (Tinsley and Board, 2015). The document offered a structure to develop consistency of approach (Woodgate-Jones and Grenfell, 2012). It set out three core strands for PFL teaching, Oracy, Literacy and Intercultural Understanding, giving equal weighting to all three strands. It also included two cross-cutting strands, Knowledge about Language (KAL) and Language Learning Strategies (LLS). Within the framework, example activities were provided with those which were highlighted in bold as proposed assessment ideas (DfES, 2005). The framework was written in the language of the National Strategies (DfES, 2006), rather than in foreign

language specific vocabulary. It used the same terms that primary teachers would be familiar with from their Literacy lessons, with a view to helping to provide and exploit links between L1 and L2 in the primary classroom. In this way, PFL as a subject could be better integrated with the 'core curriculum' as Rose (2009) suggested when he discussed the area of 'language'. However, recent research revealed that common teacher practice is to use a topic-based scheme of work unconnected to the rest of the curriculum (Cable et al., 2012).The framework is not currently nor was it ever a statutory document and "it is the teachers themselves who will be interpreting the PFL curriculum and, therefore, individual teachers' beliefs will dictate how and what this consists of" (Woodgate-Jones, 2009:256). The link between teacher beliefs and interpretation of PFL delivery is further evidenced by Driscoll et al., (2004a) and what is clear is that the equal weighting of the three core strands does not always translate into practice, with ICU being relatively weak.

There are a number of further documents with which teachers can supplement the Key Stage 2 Languages Framework (DfES, 2005) including Marking and Making Progress (OCR, 2010) and the Languages Ladder (DCSF, 2007). These are documents which were designed as specific assessment tools for use in primary classrooms in the lead-up to 2011 and are of significance because they can be used formatively and summatively to plan for progression. However, it is worth noting that the documents present L2 learning as being progressive in nature when, in fact, foreign language learning could better be described as being cyclical in nature (Mitchell and Myles, 1998; Mitchell, 2003). Similarly to the Key Stage 2 Languages Framework (DfES, 2005), neither of these documents was statutory and hard copy publications have ceased to be available. According to the 2015 Languages Trends Report, 10 per cent of respondents reported using Marking and Making Progress (OCR, 2010) for their assessment needs, while 15 percent stated that they draw on the Languages Ladder (DCSF, 2007; Tinsley and Board, 2015). A small majority, 57 per cent, continue to use the Key Stage 2 Languages Framework (DfES, 2005; Tinsley and Board, 2015). Strikingly, both Marking and

Making Progress (OCR, 2010) and the Languages Ladder (DCSF, 2007) neglect assessment and progression in ICU.

There are limited supporting documents which can assist teachers with ICU assessment with regards to young children. This is perhaps as it could be described as a difficult undertaking, particularly in the attitudinal domain. However, much of the ICU assessment can be undertaken by observations of children across the curriculum as the ICU strand is a part of many subjects such as Religious Education (RE), Personal, Social, Health, Education (PSHE) and geography, as well as more recent developments such as Spiritual, Moral, Social, Cultural (SMSC). Furthermore, with primary children living in increasingly multi-cultural communities and attending culturally diverse schools, opportunities to observe interactions and attitudes are available (Driscoll et al., 2013). There is an assessment document, launched in the European Year of Languages 2001 and reissued in 2006, which does consider intercultural experiences, The Junior European Language Portfolio (CILT, 2006). This was mentioned in the 2011 Ofsted Report as being used in only one of the primary schools Ofsted visited between 2007 and 2010. This document does not measure progression in a systematic matter but has a portfolio approach to capturing experiences and, furthermore, is not tied into the KS2 Framework for Languages' objectives and outcomes. However, clearly there is nothing preventing a teacher from using all of the documents presented above, supplementing Marking and Making Progress (OCR, 2010), the Languages Ladder (DCSF, 2007) and The Junior European Language Portfolio (CILT, 2006) with the Key Stage 2 Languages Framework (DfES, 2005:75) and, thereby, creating a tailored and personalised assessment approach.

2.2.2 Pre-Service Support

There has been a need for PFL teaching training since the 1970s and it is clear that ITE has the potential to play a role in training qualified teachers in both language knowledge and subject specific primary pedagogy. Hunt et al. (2005) discussed staffing, linking it to issues of

quality and provision. Fifteen years ago, there was an established PFL ITE group which educated specialist teachers to deliver and support languages in primary school. This movement could be said to have started in 2001:

> "when a joint initiative between the then Teacher Training Agency (subsequently Training and Development Agency for Schools: TDA) and the Ministère de l'Éducation nationale in France. This aimed to bring together higher education institutions (HEIs) in England and France to provide specialist language teacher training for the primary sector, including a reciprocal teaching placement in the target language country to improve fluency and intercultural understanding." (Cable et al.,2012:365)

This initiative grew each year, from five ITE providers in 2001/2002 to 38 in 2006/2007, and, finally, in 2012 there were 40 HEIs participating in such joint initiatives, not only in French but also in German, Spanish, Italian and Portuguese (Cable et al., 2012). Cable et al. (2012: 365) referred to TDA unpublished statistics relating to the numbers of teachers who were graduates of these courses as being 4,600, which was close to the projected target of 6,000 new primary language teacher recruits. However, in 2010, the TDA funding for the exchanges abroad ceased, which led to some HEIs closing their primary languages specialism programmes. In many ITE institutes, aspects of PFL have been embedded into the main programme for all trainee teachers. The specialist routes still exist, although there are less than 10 courses nationwide and they are predominately offered through the School Direct model. It is difficult to know therefore how the future of statutory teaching of KS2 PFL can be managed without the next generation of teachers being trained in large enough numbers to meet demand, given that there is already a well-documented shortage.

The inability of teacher education to train enough PFL teachers has led to a lack of staffing for the subject globally. In Australia has been problematic and is well documented (Lo Bianco, 1987; Ingram, 2007; Liddicoat et al., 2007). The main reason for this situation also relates to teacher education. The shortage of qualified language teachers is due to lack of training, leading to: very few language teachers with an understanding of primary education, primary school teachers with a lack of language competency and, finally, individuals who have a

competency in a foreign language but have received no language pedagogy training. This has led to language programmes in some primary schools being dictated by the availability of staff rather than school aspirations and community need (Liddicoat et al., 2007), a situation not unlike the English context. Problems in staffing have led most Australian primary schools to use an external PFL teacher to deliver foreign languages to allow for the class teacher to be released for planning, preparation and assessment time (PPA). This means that, in the majority of schools, the class teacher is not present during foreign language instruction. This model of teaching PFL can be problematic as foreign languages can be seen to be marginalised, and the classroom teacher is not often involved in planning nor assessment of the children (Liddicoat et al., 2007). According to Liddicoat et al. (2007) most primary schools in Australia do not have a full-time staffing allocation for a specialist languages teacher, and so most schools offer fractional positions. This means that language teachers take on several teaching contracts of this nature in various schools, often short term, to ensure fulltime work. As a consequence, they lack stable employment and face complex arrangements. However, perhaps one of the most important aspects to consider is the number of children that they teach for short periods of time and the impact that this can have on PFL quality. Liddicoat et al. (2007:116) noted how these language teachers are often expected to teach the entire school population, which could include more than 200 learners. This is difficult for both the teacher and the learners as the average length of a lesson is usually only 45 minutes per week. Trying to create and maintain positive relationships, in addition to personalising and differentiating the curriculum, for such a large number of children who are only encountered once a week is a major challenge. Liddicoat et al. (2007) concluded that these issues are often exacerbated in primary schools due to the single class teacher model.

In the USA, there is also a shortage of PFL teachers with 25 per cent of elementary schools being affected by a shortage of qualified language teachers and rural schools reporting greater challenges than those located in urban areas. In addition, those elementary school teachers

who teach in rural areas engage in lower rates of professional development for PFL (Rhodes and Pufahl, 2010). This has the possible combined effect of not only meaning that there are less rural teachers delivering PFL but that those who do are less well trained.

Initial Teacher Education (ITE) in the USA offers graduate teachers the opportunity to take a certificate in teaching foreign languages. The two main options for study are the K-12 foreign languages teacher certificate, which provides training suitable from kindergarten to Year 12, and the Elementary Foreign Languages Teacher Certification, which provides for languages education in elementary school. Rhodes and Pufhal (2010) found that the number of uncertified PFL teachers had risen from 17 per cent in 1997 to 31 per cent in 2008, again highlighting PFL staffing issues. Also reported was an increase in the number of schools that reported having at least one teacher with a K–12 foreign language teacher certification (from 19 per cent to 34 per cent) and at least one teacher with an elementary foreign language teacher certification (from 19 per cent to 24 per cent). While it is tempting to interpret these figures as reflecting an increase in PFL teaching, it should be remembered that, from 1997 to 2008, the number of PFL hours taught declined by 6 per cent although it is possible that the quality was improved.

It is important that teacher education not only train enough teachers but also trains those teachers to respond to what recent research is indicating, such as the most motivating pedagogical model, for example CLIL based instruction (Nikolov and Djigunović , 2011) so that PFL teaching remains current. Given the reduction in pre-service education and training routes since 2010 it seems both demand and quality are unlikely to be met in an English context, particularly in the future, when existing PFL teachers may have retired. Furthermore, it has been suggested that undergraduate foreign language programmes also have a role to play in developing the L2 skills of students who may wish to become teachers (Donato and Tucker, 2007). However, as there has been a significant decrease in the number of foreign language departments in UK universities - from 105 in 2000 down to 62 in 2013 - the number

of graduates who speak an L2 has declined (Boffey, 2013). In addition, as L2 learning is non-compulsory post-14 it is likely that the number of teachers confident and also able to speak a foreign language has declined, leaving the future staffing of PFL in a precarious position. This highlights a gap between intended policy and actual practice, calling into question the statutory language competency model in primary schools, as Donato and Tucker (2007:257) concluded, "a national foreign language educational policy cannot promote…language proficiency as student outcomes if teachers are not required to demonstrate this level of proficiency as a criterion."

2.2.3 In-Service Support

There are two distinct periods of PFL training in the contemporary PFL context, the time period between 2002 and 2011 when the 2010 reforms started to impact on practice, and then from 2011 onwards. The former can be categorised by available, publically-funded and nationally co-ordinated support. Cable et al. (2012) noted that, in the three years before 2010, teachers had been accessing a variety of CPD opportunities. Advice from advisory staff, regional support groups (CILT) and cluster meetings were singled out for mention as being places teachers could network, sharing ideas and expertise. There was a community of practice, also, through the forums which were hosted on the popular Primary Languages website which also provided PFL materials which developed both teachers and Initial Teacher Trainers alike. This training up-skilled the workforce that attended, but also importantly increased teachers' confidence to learn and teach PFL (Wade and Marshall, 2009), while also "impacting on teacher attitudes and teaching approaches" (Cable et al., 2012:369).

The post-2011 time period can be described as providing a fragmented and increasingly privatised approach. The Primary Languages website closed, CILT merged with the CfBT due to funding withdrawal and, as almost all of the LAs no longer have PFL consultants, many of the free face-to-face networking and training meetings do not take place. As a result, teachers are 'looking elsewhere' for support and on-line support seems to be popular. In 2014, Tinsley

and Board remarked on the fact that an increased number of secondary respondents reported using forums and other online support such as Twitter and webinars for Continuing Professional Development (CPD) purposes. In a review of the literature for this study, forum usage by primary school teachers for support and development was not mentioned. Primary schools are increasingly turning to private companies to fill these gaps in support. This often limits the number of teachers who receive the development as the training is no longer free. The commercial market for PFL products is growing with CPD packages accounting for 20 per cent of the market. Furthermore, privately provided resources for assessment now make up 15 per cent, an increase of seven per cent between 2012 and 2014 (Tinsley and Board, 2014).

Teachers have relied on being provided with PFL resources and schemes of work for the teaching for over a decade, revealing a weakness in knowledge of how to exploit widely available primary resources (Driscoll, 2002). Even though the number of resource-dependant schools has fallen over time (Wade and Marshall, 2009), small majority of responding schools (54 per cent) still reported using commercially available products to "structure and organise their primary languages programmes" (Tinsley and Board, 2015: 51). There has also been a decline in the proportion of schools using schemes of work developed by their school or LA. Popular commercial schemes include, but are not limited to, the Early Start Series available in French, German and Spanish, La Jolie Ronde available in French and Spanish, the Catherine Cheater schemes of work – French, Spanish and Italian, and there are also smaller schemes available such as Mandarin created by Dragons in Europe and Bamboo Learning (Tinsley and Board, 2015). In 2006, only 47 per cent of teachers used this form of support, yet in the current climate it looks set to continue to grow, measuring 58 per cent in 2008 (Wade and Marshall, 2009; Cable et al., 2012), 51 per cent in 2014 (Tinsley and Board, 2014) and, by 2015, 54 per cent (Tinsley and Board, 2015). It could be suggested that it is this increase in commercially-published schemes, based on the Key Stage 2 Framework for Languages that could have contributed to the decline of the framework's use in schools. Furthermore, most local authorities no longer employ PFL consultants, who used to provide training for

teachers on planning using the framework, and many have left and set up private firms which now provide support using their own commercial materials.

Any scheme, commercial, in-house or LA publications, usually comes with accompanying resources to support the teacher delivery. Many of these schemes used to arrive with accompanying videos which helped the teacher to deliver the ICU aspects of PFL as well as providing a linguistic model (Driscoll, 1999). Driscoll et al. (2004a) found that audio tapes and CDs were used by 51 per cent of the teachers in the 2002-2003 research, in addition to over half using books and videos. However, more recently these videos have been replaced by DVDs and podcasts and the use of electronic resources has increased overall, with 62 per cent of teachers in a study by Wade and Marshall (2009) using audio tapes and CDs, 55 per cent using CD-ROMs, 54 per cent using general ICT and 48 per cent were using videos or DVDs. However, the usage of books did not alter from the 2002 research to 2006, which might reveal more about teacher upskilling preferences before using the Internet became commonplace. Unfortunately, it is not possible to view if this trend continued as the question about the types of resources that teachers used was not repeated in the subsequent years of Wade and Marshall's research.

2.2.4 Conclusion

The area of training and support for teaching PFL is one which has changed greatly during the contemporary period. The time between 2000 and 2010 can be described as one with an investment in support for PFL teaching and learning, while the post-2010 context provides greatly reduced avenues of both training and support for schools and teachers alike. The removal of PFL ring-fenced funding is a key issue in providing support and without it being provided by the state PFL support has become increasingly privatised. As a result this privatisation increased fragmentation of interpretation of aims and guidance may also be a result. Therefore, it is now important to examine the relationship between what teachers say

about PFL and their actual practice. By examining this relationship, it provides a theoretical context for research question three.

2.3. Relationship between PFL 'Buzzwords' and Practice

PFL teachers would like to teach PFL "to produce advanced…speakers, develop a deep understanding of other cultures and provide opportunities for the study of multiple languages…" Donato and Tucker (2007:257). However, they note that for this to be realised language policy must reflect and be responsive to the general primary education system within which it operates, it is suggested that this is not always the case. In fact issues of structure and knowledge often act upon teacher beliefs, mitigating their practice. Therefore this section will examine what teachers report as being their PFL beliefs and consider if these are reflected in their practice.

Researching PFL teachers' beliefs and practice is significant. As Nikolov and Djigunović (2011) note, teachers are of paramount importance within the PFL classroom because they are responsible for what happens in the classroom and, additionally, affecting issues such as motivation and input through their own attitudes. Nikolov and Djigunović (2011) go on to list the three 'quality measures' PFL teachers should attain: proficiency in children's L1 and L2, knowledge of curriculum, and finally knowledge of L2 learning theories and pedagogy. Moon (2009) and Nikolov and Djigunović, (2011) conclude that teachers rarely meet these criteria. This can lead to the usage of 'buzzwords' and phrases instead of knowledge. Indeed, as early as 2000, Powell et al. conducted a study which examined the PFL provision in England. This research showed that teachers and head teachers possessed a wide range of views relating to the teaching and learning of PFL, including: 'the younger the better' which can be split into biological aspects and contextual and developmental factors; fostering a love of languages; ICU and overall Literacy development.

Most frequently teachers often refer to the idea that the younger that children start to learn a foreign language the better (Nikolov and Djigunović, 2006). However, they do not often explain their beliefs further, and thus it is hard to understand if they are perhaps referring to the Critical Age Hypothesis (CPH) (Lenneberg, 1967; Penfield and Roberts, 1959) or perhaps the contextual and developmental factors which operate on young children, as a result both of these ideas and how they relate to practice will be, firstly, explored below.

2.3.1 'The Younger, The Better'

When considering the rationale for teaching foreign languages in the primary school, stakeholders both in England and abroad seem to have subscribed to the concept of 'the younger the better' (Nikolov and Djigunović, 2006). Martin (2000) and Nikolov and Djigunović, (2006) noted caution should be applied to some of studies which provide the idea of this concept as they have been conducted in settings which are not comparable to the English primary school context. As Muñoz and Singleton (2011) conclude, the gains that can be made linguistically for a child in naturalistic settings - such as a bilingual child in an immersion setting cannot be mapped over to an hour a week in a PFL classroom setting. Furthermore, this concept simplifies L2 learning, not taking into consideration the quality of provision, the impact of the type of PFL teacher or the rate of progress for young learners. In fact, younger learners "exhibit a great deal of variability in terms of attitudes to language learning and second language proficiency" Courtney et al., (2015:2). Regardless of how the term originated, in England is often used in conjunction with developing language competency rather than other perceived benefits. 'The Younger the Better' was mentioned by respondents to the Primary Languages Consultation Report (DfE, 2013) tied to the general concept of linguistic progression in foreign language learning. 21 per cent of respondents felt young learners could more easily learn languages and some suggested that this provided them with the confidence and ability to continue into Key Stage 3 and beyond (DfE, 2013). There is evidence to suggest that 'the younger' may mean better with "regards the development of the phonological system" Martin (2000:69), however, within the DfE report, no explicit explanations are given. When

teachers refer to the general concept of 'The Younger, The Better', it is possible that they may advertently or perhaps inadvertently be subscribing to the CPH (Lenneberg, 1967; Penfield and Roberts, 1959).

2.3.1.1 Biological Aspects

CPH suggests that language learning ability is biologically linked to age (Lenneberg, 1967) and this has been extended into the field of foreign language learning. While there is no agreed consensus on CPH and L2 learning, Bialystok and Hakuta (1994) and Singleton (1995) agreed that regardless of reason, biological or not, in the long run younger probably is better. This is because they both agreed that ability to learn L2 declines with age, in particular within the area of native proficiency. However, Nikolov and Djigunović, (2006) in their review of recent research in this area suggest that are in fact a more complex set of variables operating on the adult L2 learner, such as the perceived status of the language and desire to 'pass as a native speaker'. When the conditions are 'right', in fact, adults can achieve this unaccented proficiency too. Nikolov and Djigunović, (2006) and Martin (2000) agree that young learners are slow to learn L2 and as such need more time, however this has not translated into primary school practice as most schools teach less than an hour a week (Tinsley and Board, 2015). As "older learners seem to be more efficient learners than younger learners, particularly in formal settings." Martin (2000:13) they can quickly catch up to their peers, who have previously studied PFL, by making more effective use of the limited L2 teaching time in schools, and performing significantly better in tests (Nikolov and Djigunović, 2006). However Nikolov and Djigunović, do note the limitations of these studies, pointing out in particular that the tests given to compare abilities were identical and not personalised to age, thus perhaps test design was a contributing factor for younger learners' underperformance. Secondly, that assessment of teacher quality was not undertaken, and as such this *could* have also influenced the outcomes. In the long term it would appear that there is no advantage from starting younger as Muñoz (2006) predicts given the same period of contact time and teaching, the differences between younger and older learners should disappear. The teachers who deliver languages

in secondary school will have both confident control of the language and also pedagogy, again this may maximise learning. However, it is perhaps important to note that Nikolov and Djigunović, (2006) state that an early start may in fact lead to a more positive attitude and motivation towards L2 learning, however this shall be discussed in the section below 'Fostering a Love of Languages'. Finally, it is worth noting that these arguments above suggest that there is a standard child to which PFL can be taught (Djigunović, 2009). Courtney et al., (2015) considered the role that gender, motivation, self-efficacy and L1 Literacy play for the individual in L2 learning. Nikolov and Djigunović, (2011) add language anxiety to this list of individual differences to consider and this will be discussed in the section 'Contextual and Developmental Factors'. Courtney et al., (2015) concluded that L1 ability and prior learning experience are of more impact on L2 learning than other factors such as gender. In their study, Courtney et al. (2015) initially followed 254 pupils from similar schools and language learning background for two years. As is common with longitudinal research, however, the numbers decreased over time leaving only 165 learners. Of the remaining group it is not clear if this is a representative sample of all learners, especially when considering L1 ability as it is common practice for schools to withdraw pupils with low levels of L1 Literacy from foreign language classes. One of their interesting findings regards the individual variance found within an otherwise generally positive group of year 6 learners. Courtney et al. (2015) found that although in line with prior research in the area, most year 6 children were positive, there were however 19 per cent who stated they did not enjoy learning French, 34.6 per cent "who held negative perceptions of their currently ability in French and 22.5 per cent lacked confidence in their future ability" (2015:10). This is an important finding as they suggest a moderate correlation between self-efficacy and enjoyment of L2 in years 6 and 7.

Even though many teachers promote the ideal of 'the younger the better' however in practice in the primary context PFL teaching within KS1 is relatively rare, although has increased recently (Tinsley and Board, 2015). There are a number of reasons for PFL teaching not taking place in KS1 as is seen in KS2 and perhaps the most relevant is staffing. The staffing of

languages, is a key concern for head teachers, there has been an acknowledged shortage, since the 1970s, of teachers who have the appropriate level of language and intercultural knowledge (Rowe et al., 2012). This has led to, in some cases, PFL being taught by L2 specialists without knowledge of primary pedagogy or primary teachers without specialist foreign language knowledge and a focus of appropriate. According to the recent Languages Trends Survey (2015), there are 10 different staff, mainly or occasionally, delivering the teaching of PFL. The class teacher bears the main responsibility, however, it would seem from the data that only KS2 class teachers, in general, adopt PFL teaching, and otherwise the data from KS1 would show a larger percentage of PFL teaching in this key stage. This reveals the influence that the statutory guidelines have had on practice, as they mark a departure from the belief 'the younger the better'. The class teacher as the main PFL teacher is followed by, in half as many schools, a languages subject specialist (Tinsley and Board, 2015). This data corresponds with research literature (Low et al. 1995; Blondin et al., 1998; Low, 1999; Driscoll, 2000; Martin, 2000; Chesterton et al., 2004; Driscoll et al., 2004a; Muijs et al., 2005; Ofsted, 2005; Cable et al., 2012:370) which showed that schools were in favour of a class teacher and a specialist model however as schools have to fund this provision from their own budgets perhaps one of the barriers to actualising 'the younger the better' as expressed by teachers is the costing implication of hiring a specialist teacher.

2.3.1.2 Contextual and Developmental Factors

Nikolov (1999), Bellingham (2000) and Johnstone (2002) presented the argument for 'The Younger the Better' from the contextual and developmental factors acting on young children as opposed to adults. These factors acting on young children can include: the desire of young children to please their class teacher (Nikolov, 1999; Martin, 2012), simplified input, a nurturing environment, cooperative peers, being less self-conscious and the influence of parents or guardians. However, the usage of a specialist teacher rather than the class teacher embedding PFL within the curriculum and a visiting teacher teaching once a week instead

highlights how a lack of teacher knowledge in addition to the structural issue of staffing leads in many cases to little PFL being taught in KS1 despite the views of the younger the better.

Learning a foreign language before the age of 11 has been shown to have a positive impact on attitudes as well as improvements in L2 proficiency in some cases (Harley, 1986; Johnstone, 1994; Singleton and Ryan, 2004). Bolster, noted that children are more open "socially, culturally and linguistically… [expressing] positive attitudes towards other languages and cultures" (2009:234). In England, for state-funded schools, the 2014 National Curriculum makes the teaching of PFL statutory from age seven, which corresponds to Year 3. This was part of a former wider initiative, The National Languages Strategy, Languages for All: Languages for Life: A Strategy for England (DfES 2002), which removed compulsory post-14 foreign language study and, instead, focused on the seven to 14 age bracket. Although there is some research starting to emerge which shows that some language teaching is taking place in Key Stage 1 (age range five to seven), 49 per cent of respondents stated that they were teaching at least one language to children younger than seven years old (Tinsley and Board, 2015). This is dependent on the vision of the head teacher and on an individual school basis. In Europe and much of Asia, the demand for learning a foreign language is high and instruction often happens much earlier in the corresponding Early Years or Key Stage 1 settings (Martin, 2000; Peng and Zhang, 2009). In fact, according to *The Languages Company* (2009), there is an increasing trend for the age of commencement of foreign language learning to be reduced.

Many of contextual and developmental influencing factors may be of value as they can also be referred to as "components of foreign language learning motivation" (Dörnyei, 1994:280). For example, Nikolov and Djigunović, (2006) noted the popular belief that young L2 learners are less affected by anxiety and so more able to engage in L2 learning at the 'Learner Level'. However, they refer to two studies in this area, Legac (2007) and Djigunović and Legac (2008) which both found that monolingual L2 learners experienced higher level anxiety when compared with their bilingual peers. They suggest that this could be attributed to a

normalisation of language learning on a daily basis, whereas for the monolingual children L2 learning was less frequent. This is interesting for the English context as L2 lessons in most cases happen once a week for approximately an hour, and this limited contact could raise young learners' anxiety.

At the 'Learning Situation Level' (Dörnyei, 1994:280) it is the teacher who can affect learners' motivation, however the role that parents or carers play in influencing young learner should not be overlooked. The extent to which parents and guardians may influence L2 learners differs with age. Apart from the Burstall Report (Burstall et al., 1974), there is little English literature about this relationship and, thus, this section will be supplemented by research from other countries. It seems reasonable to suppose that the younger the learner the more influence that parents or guardians can have on learners' ideas and this has been shown in a number of studies (Burstall et al., 1974; Vilke, 1998; Nikolov, 2002; Szpotowicz, Djigunovic and Enever, 2009;). If the parents are positive and supportive of foreign language learning, the child will be more motivated to learn foreign languages than if they are not. The Croatian study also noted the relationship between parents and their professions, and children's achievement and enjoyment in a foreign language. Furthermore, socio-economic status coupled with contact time was shown, in an Hungarian nationally representative study, to be a better predictor of outcome according to Nikolov and Józsa 2006 (than simply the age at which they started to learn the language. It is suggested that if the parents view foreign languages in a positive light, this trait will most likely be passed to their children, while the converse may also be true (Nikolov and Djigunović, 2006). Some parents provide opportunities for their children to practise a foreign language when at home or abroad or introduce their children to native speakers and this increases their motivation to learn (O'Reilly-Cavani, 2001). This is not always the case and may be linked to socio-economic background, as children from low-income families may be denied this travel abroad and the accompanying experiences (O'Reilly-Cavani, 2001). The Burstall Report (1974) also seemed to suggest that there was a direct correlation between parents' socio-economic groupings and their children's

levels of foreign language learning motivation. Conversely, parents in both England and the USA, who are aware of the benefits of learning a foreign language while young and have the money to assist their children in this endeavour, have started to hire foreign-speaking nannies to teach their children other languages, including Mandarin (Ward, 2007). As Cajkler and Addelman (2000:2) concluded "parental expectations can be a positive or negative force in the child's learning", which can affect the child's motivation to learn a second language (Cajkler and Addelman, 2000:2).

Some teachers have expressed the belief that by starting children learning languages younger, it could be assumed that they will have more hours input and, thus, raise achievement (Edelenbos et al., 2006; Courtney et al., 2015). However, the National Curriculum 2014 (DfE, 2013) makes no reference to the hours of instruction that children should receive. Under the National Curriculum 2014 (DfE, 2013) there has been a move away from 'an overprescribed curriculum' (Alexander, 2010). Alexander (2010) raised a note of caution, that freedom can only be the answer if pre- and in-service training caters for curriculum areas, providing teachers with the knowledge that they need, in addition to the removal of a system which only assesses the core subjects thus creating a two-tier curriculum (Alexander, 2010). The PFL curriculum ambiguity, while providing teachers with curricular freedom can also limit L2 progression as teachers may not be aware of the investment of hours that children need to make progress. This trend has already been seen in the Australian context as variance in the time allocated for PFL is high and this fluctuation can be said to also stem largely from a lack of statutory requirements for teaching time (Lo Bianco and Slaughter, 2009). However, even when teaching time is stipulated (as in some territories), there is no guarantee of actual teaching in practice. This was highlighted in Victoria, as Lo Bianco and Slaughter (2009) revealed that there was a recommendation of 150 minutes per week of PFL, but that this only occurred in 3 per cent of schools and they were predominately bilingual schools. In fact, the time spent on programmes ranged from 10 minutes to 11 hours per week and averaged 63 minutes (DEECD, 2007). According to Liddicoat et al. (2007), 35 to 60

minutes per week was the amount of instruction that most Australian primary schools provided for their pupils. This resulted in the mean amount of contact time pupils experience by the end of primary school being only 200 hours of PFL. It was suggested that this capped amount of instruction time limits language development (Liddicoat et al., 2007). Vilke (1998) suggested 1,000 hours of in-class teaching time for students to reach communicative proficiency. While Curtain (2000) stated that policy makers need to be aware that there may be a minimum amount of L2 teaching and learning time to include in the curriculum, below which the L2 instruction would have no effect. This too comes with a word of caution attached to it – time alone is no more a panacea than the CPH – the provision provided for these young learners needs to be good (Martin, 2000), which implies planning to develop all key skills, using appropriate PFL and primary pedagogy (Nikolov and Djigunović, 2006; Curtain, 2000; Mitchell et al., 1992). Nikolov and Djigunović (2006) in addition to the 'good' teaching in the classroom as outlined above also consider the input and interaction of students in the L2 outside of the classroom. In an Anglophone context this can be limited, thus rendering what happens in the classroom even more important, and moves the argument away from being one of simple time, to how this time is spent and whether it can be considered of high quality. However, research examining the practice in schools reveals that the coverage of the different skills involved with learning a foreign language (speaking, listening, reading, writing and, some may argue, intercultural understanding) are not equally weighted. The majority of class time is concentrated on the Oracy strand (DfES, 2005) of the language (Cable et al., 2010, 2012). There is some evidence of the teaching of Literacy (DfES, 2005) occurring, however this is much more infrequent and possibly linked to the confidence and L2 ability of the teacher (Cable et al., 2012). An imbalance in teaching time allocated to different L2 skills in itself is not an issue, after all as Nikolov and Djigunović (2006:241) note "different levels may be required in the four skills", provided it is a planned weighting of skill coverage rather than teacher avoidance due to confidence issues. However, what is of more concern is that when ICU is taught, the concept is not fully understood nor planned in the lessons, with it just being expected to happen (Wade and Marshall, 2009; Cable et al., 2010, Ofsted 2011). In most PFL

lessons, teachers were not following a primary foreign language specific pedagogy, but were in fact combining elements of L2 language teaching with general primary pedagogy, including "chants, rhymes, songs, game-like activities and role plays, often with visual support" (Cable et al., 2012:371). In this way, the organic approach they created was based on the teachers' knowledge of what the children in their classes find interesting and fun, which is important in motivating young L2 learners (Nikolov, 1999). However, it could be suggested that teachers do deviate from their general primary pedagogy when teaching PFL. Unlike in other subjects, where they aim to promote understanding, there is a tendency in PFL lessons to rely on rote learning. Cable et al. (2012:371) revealed an "emphasis on memorisation rather than experimentation was evident as was the ability of the majority of children to produce memorised language items and formulaic phrases rather than their own independent sentences."

It is not clear why an overreliance on memorisation occurs in PFL, however it may be because the teaching is concentrated around the Oracy strand (DfES, 2005) and reveals a lack of knowledge of how to teach the subject for example through exploiting language learning strategies (Kirsch, 2012). Or perhaps it is due to poor 'pedagogical content knowledge' (Shulman, 1986), for example, when teaching the Literacy strand (DfES, 2005), a teacher may rely solely on whole word recognition which is against accepted L1 practice. Segmenting and blending are both methods primary school teachers use to teach L1 development (DfES, 2007). Furthermore, as L1 skills can affect L2 learning such methods of teaching, solely memorisation, without the explicit teaching of grapheme-phoneme-correspondence can limit children's L2 literacy development, particularly for children who may struggle with reading and writing in English (Courtney et al., 2015). As such, Courtney et al., (2015) recommend the systematic teaching of grapheme-phoneme-correspondence in primary schools, while research from Murphy et al. (2015) suggest using L2 languages which operate with a more transparent grapheme-phoneme-correspondence system. Of course, these grapheme-phoneme-correspondence methods and ideas can only be applied to non-character based

languages such as French or Spanish, although, as with any rule, there are exceptions. For example, foreigners learning Mandarin often use 'Pinyin' while Taiwanese children use 'zhuyin fuhao' to segment and blend characters. However the teacher must first possess these skills and secondly be able to teach them to small children. Thus, overreliance on memorisation may stem from a lack of the PFL teacher's confidence or training, forcing them to rely on a reduced range of teaching strategies and subsequently deviating from accepted primary pedagogical practice. The impact of memorising as the only technique result in a detrimental impact on young learners' motivation (Martin, 2012), it is therefore important that teachers are trained appropriately. The training that teachers receive for PFL is variable, with staff who have been in post for many years possibly not having received any training to keep abreast of current PFL pedagogies and practice. Furthermore, if the PFL teacher is not aware of the explicit need to model metacognitive processes (Education Endowment Fund, 2015) and 'Language Learning Strategies' (DfES, 2005), it could lead them to feel that languages are something that can only be memorised and that some people are able to this, whereas others are not.

Considering the aspect of time from another angle, older learners are more efficient at learning L2, therefore when all variables are held constant such as time and teaching "older learners are likely to reach higher levels of proficiency, especially in institutional contexts such as schools" Martin, (2000:12). This results in the linguistic gains of young learners being limited (Nikolov, 2009). One argument, given the discussion above, is perhaps it is the early years of secondary schools which in fact should provide space for language learning for progression and competency. However, Bolster (2009) provided another point of view, as she noted that the literature pertaining to motivation revealed issues connected with a lack of adolescent self-esteem impacting on L2 motivation and suggests that perhaps given the right conditions primary foreign languages may be successful.

The issue of contact time in primary schools is further complicated as research Tinsley and Board (2015) reveals that not all children are present for all PFL lessons. Furthermore, not all state schools provide the same level of contact time for pupils, such as schools in challenging areas and there is emerging evidence that some academies also do not provide PFL.

Withdrawing pupils from PFL is a trend more commonly viewed in schools located in areas of socio-economic deprivation. While, at first glance, these two factors, PFL teaching and socio-economic deprivation are seemingly unrelated, it should be noted that there is a well-documented correlation between parental income and lower pupil attainment. State schools located in areas of socio-economic deprivation and difficult circumstances, such as poor performance data or a large number of EAL or children with Special Educational Needs (SEN), are less likely to teach PFL (Wade and Marshall., 2009; Tinsley and Board, 2015). This may be due to schools, facing numerous challenges, choosing to allocate resources to the core subjects which are largely the basis for Ofsted gradings, instead of PFL. This hypothesis is supported by data from the Language Trends Report 2014-2015. It was reported that in 3 per cent of respondents' schools, pupils were removed from PFL lessons. They were usually taken out of PFL sessions to receive extra lessons in the core subjects (English and Maths) or for extra English lessons for EAL children. While the Burstall Report stated a positive correlation between socio-economic status and achievement in French (Burstall et al., 1974), and Barton and Bragg (2010) noted that those pupils who have been taught PFL are more likely to have travelled abroad, there has been little research, in the English primary, context since. Peiser and Jones (2013), when researching the significance of ICU for secondary pupils, found that their "language learning is affected [amongst others] by their academic ability in the subject (cognitive factors) or the academic status attributed to language learning by parents or the peer group (social factors)" (Peiser and Jones, 2013:352-353). And Barton and Bragg (2010) suggested that poor L1 Literacy has an impact on whether or not secondary school children

opt to take a foreign language. This is important to note because if pupils are repeatedly withdrawn from PFL it may mean that they find the subject more difficult. They may also have poor cognitive abilities which have resulted in them being withdrawn in the first place. Furthermore, research from Goorhuis-Brouwer and de Bot (2010) found that children with poor L1 skills actually benefited from L2 instruction more than pupils with average skills. It should be noted here that this study concerned students from age four upwards and so may not be automatically transferable to the seven and upwards L2 age group in England. A further consideration is that by not safeguarding PFL lessons for all pupils, the status of the subject is easily damaged, and pupils may feel that the subject is not important. Peiser and Jones (2013:353) also found "that background variables of gender and class are still as prevalent as 20 years ago and that many socio-cultural attitudes seem deeply ingrained and inflexible in their ability to change." It is, therefore, a shame that, instead of trying to break these trends, it would seem schools are cementing them through the withdrawing of pupils from PFL.

In addition to pupils who do not receive PFL due to being withdrawn from lessons, Tinsley and Board (2014) revealed that 10 per cent of the academy school respondents reported that they did not teach PFL compared with only 4 percent of non-academy schools. This issue was not covered in the 2015 report, therefore it is difficult to know if, in general, academies do not teach PFL or if this was just an unusual trend in the 2014 report. Given the Conservative Government's (2015-) plans to press ahead with the 'academisation' of schools, this may be a topic to research in the future. Furthermore, four state schools of the 648 responding schools reported that they had ceased teaching PFL. The reasons that these schools provided included:

> "staff knowledge, skill level and confidence is a barrier', "lack of external support and resources" "because of other curriculum priorities" while one school "is an academy which is not required to follow the national curriculum" while another "offers language learning as an extra lunchtime or after-school activity" (Tinsley and Board, 2015:35)

Recent research suggests that schools in socio-economically challenging areas have a shorter PFL history than educational establishments in affluent areas. Furthermore, these schools are less likely to assess the L2 teaching and learning, as Tinsley and Board confirmed, schools with "the highest levels of socio-economic disadvantage are least likely to monitor and assess pupils in languages" (2015:48). When it is considered that these are the same schools which often withdraw pupils for 'booster' lessons during PFL time, inequality of opportunity is revealed for pupils attending schools in areas of socio-economic areas. In both the US and the English context, it perhaps merits further highlighting that these school level decisions cement existing inequality (Peiser and Jones, 2013) for disadvantaged children. It is not only schools in socio-economically deprived areas that do not assess PFL; in fact, 27 per cent of respondent schools, according to the 2015 Languages Trends Report, do not monitor or assess pupils' learning, (Tinsley and Board, 2015). This is almost a third of schools reporting as not assessing in PFL, although a slight improvement on the 33 per cent who did not assess pupils' learning in the previous two years (Tinsley and Board, 2012, 2013). For those schools that do assess, 57 per cent use the Key Stage 2 Languages Framework-suggested bold print type activities as assessment criteria while the other schools use a variety of different publications. As discussed above, since much of the publically-funded support for PFL was cut and disbanded in 2010, the percentage of schools using commercially provided assessment materials continues to grow (Tinsley and Board, 2015).

2.3.2 Fostering a Love of Languages

The Languages Review suggested that PFL has the capacity to increase uptake of post Key Stage 3 language learning through encouraging and motivating pupils (Dearing and King, 2007). This desire can be seen in the literature pertaining to teachers, as creating motivation for learning languages was rated as the most important reason pre-service teachers and their PGCE tutors held for teaching PFL to young children (Woodgate-Jones, 2009). This is also echoed elsewhere in the literature (Driscoll et al., 2004a; Cable et al., 2010; Wade and Marshall, 2009), as these authors found that the most popular belief held by teachers was that

the teaching of PFL developed a positive attitude to learning languages. More recently the National Centre for Languages, Head teachers' Survey (CILT, 2011) revealed head teachers felt that, by capitalising on younger learners' perceived enthusiasm and motivation for L2 learning, a love of languages can be fostered. However, it is not clear, nor defined, what teachers mean by these terms, furthermore as discussed in the 'Younger the Better' section examining individual differences "the widely held view that all young learners enjoy learning languages is unsupported." (Courtney et al., 2015)

According to Heinzmann (2013) one of the most popular definitions of motivation in second language learning can be attributed to Gardner and Lambert (1972). The Longman Dictionary of Applied Linguistics defined their concepts of motivation as:

> "a) Instrumental motivation; wanting to learn a language because it will be useful for certain "instrumental goals", such as getting a job, reading a foreign newspaper, passing and examination.
> b) Interactive motivation; wanting to learn a language in order to communicate with people of another culture who speak it." (Richards et al.,1985:185)

It should be noted firstly before moving on to discuss how Gardner and Lambert's model (1972) has since been developed that learning English as an L2 is very different to learning a foreign language in a country where the English is the L1. Dörnyei and Csizér explained why L2 learning in England faces more challenges than in other non-English speaking countries and the effect that this has on motivation:

> " …language learning as a school subject is rather unsuccessful in English–speaking countries such as the USA and the UK: because the population there speaks the world language as their mother tongue, in these context, only non-world language learning can take place, and at the time of accelerating globalisation this appears to be, motivationally speaking, a losing battle." (2002: 455)

In light of this reduced extrinsic motivation it is even more important to foster intrinsic motivation for foreign language learning in England (Graham, 2004). Although, Graham and Santos (2015) recently concluded that the public discourse in England around L2 learning is

negative having become more so since the advent of the National Curriculum 2014 (DfE, 2013) further compounding an already challenging language learning context. English is the 'lingua franca' of the world, arguably a factor which is extrinsically motivating (Heinzmann, 2013). Furthermore, according to the English Proficiency Report (EPI, 2011), those countries that perform well in learning English are those which are smaller and have close ties with English-speaking countries. The correlation between size of country and proficiency in English is interesting, because it appears that Scandinavian countries such as Sweden are more fluent (in English) than other non-English speaking countries, as an economic and political necessity. This is because nowhere else in the world speaks their national language. It also goes some way to explain why Spain has one of the lowest scores within Europe, as Mexico and some South American countries also speak Spanish (Greene, 2011). The report receives criticism on the basis that the sample size was not representative, as participation required Internet access. For example, the response rate of African nations was too low to generate statistically viable data. Furthermore, it required participants to take a test and, thus, the results could be said to be skewed in favour of those self-selecting and motivated enough in foreign language learning to complete the test. The study does not seem to show a link between different levels of ability and age at which pupils start to learn a language. Instead, the key message that emerged is that it is a country's interest and motivation to teach and learn a foreign language, which affects teachers, parents and pupils, providing impetus for PFL.

Dörnyei and Ottó (1998:43) developed Gardner and Lambert's definition (1972) and argued that they find existing models of motivation lacking for three reasons. In the first instance, they did not consider all the relevant motivational influences on classroom behaviour. Secondly:

> "they tended to focus on how and why people *choose* certain courses of action, while ignoring or playing down the importance of motivational sources of *executing* goal-directed behaviour. Finally, they did not do justice to the fact that motivation is not static but dynamically evolving and changing in time, making it necessary for motivational constructs to contain a featured temporal axis." (Dörnyei and Ottó, 1998:43)

For the purposes of this study, Dörnyei's motivational framework (1994), which he later developed with Ottó, will be used as a definition rather than Gardner and Lambert's 1972 intrinsic and extrinsic model. This framework better takes into consideration the context specific nature of motivation. This is extremely important when considering language learning within the primary school foreign language classroom. Young children's motivation can be affected by the personality of a teacher (Nikolov, 1999), the syllabus of the subject that they are learning, resources, teaching and learning strategies, physical environment and prior experience. Dörnyei's framework (1994) allows for all the natural variables of foreign language learning to be taken into consideration, rather than the static construct of Garner and Lambert. Garner and Lambert's motivational framework should not altogether be dismissed, but rather work alongside the framework proposed by Dörnyei (1994). Furthermore, as discussed by Bolster (2009) Dörnyei's framework takes into consideration the concept of time and the possible difficulties that L2 learners experience once the 'novelty' of initial foreign language learning has declined. It should be noted that neither of the models above were specifically designed for young learners, unlike the Societal-Social-Cognitive-Motivational Framework (SSCMT) proposed by Barrett (2007). This framework takes into consideration how the child's environment holistically affects their L2 motivation by considering the societal factors, social factors, cognitive factors and motivational factors. It is felt that due to the limited research conducted into L2 learning by Key Stage 2 pupils, specifically in an English context (given the societal aspect), it would not be possible to utilise this model to its full potential. Given the existing research base, Dörnyei's framework (1994) will be used.

The 'Learner Level' of the framework is of particular interest, as this closely related to the quality of the learning experience. Dörnyei (1994:281) recommended teachers "develop students' self-confidence, [through helping them to achieve] success." Bolster (2009) also discussed this important aspect of L2 learning by reviewing literature which considers the importance of self-esteem in PFL motivation. For children to achieve success, aims and outcomes must be broken down into achievable steps for learners, providing them with

feedback from formative and summative assessments. This is important as research reveals that when commencing PFL study young learners often perceive themselves to be good at languages, and it is only over time studying the L2 that the complexities are revealed, which can lead to a drop in motivation (Szpotowicz, Djigunović and Enver, 2009). However, if the targets are broken down and presented to the children in a personalised, progressive manner children may not feel as disheartened (Dörnyei and Csizér, 1998). If, as the research suggested, almost a third of schools are not assessing PFL (Tinsley and Board, 2015), this would be difficult for children to know where they were aiming for and may lead to a decline in motivation after the initial 'novelty' phase (Bolster, 2009). Dörnyei's Learner Situational Level comprises of the teacher, the learning activities and the syllabus and is interesting to consider when studying young learners of PFL. In this respect, the work of Nikolov (1999) is perhaps the most interesting to start with. She conducted a study which investigated "the attitudes and motivation of Hungarian children between the ages of six and 14: why they think they study a foreign language, how they relate to subjects and what classroom activities they like and dislike" (Nikolov, 1999:33). Nikolov found that the children revealed four broad categories of answers when asked why they study a foreign language: classroom experience, the teacher, external reasons and utilitarian reasons.

What is of significance regarding the findings of Nikolov's (1999) study is that the younger the children, the more likely they were to state that the teacher was the reason why they wanted to study a foreign language. Furthermore, she suggested that young learners' motivation to learn languages is perhaps higher than those of older children and is due to the desire they have to 'please their class teacher' (Nikolov, 1999) while Vilke noted, from her research conducted with PFL in Croatia, that "young children need a leader for their games – a teacher to dance and sing with them, to play, draw and act with them" (1995:90) These young learner factors support the case for class teachers being best placed to teach PFL, rather than a visiting teacher who is 'parachuted in' for one lesson a week, particularly if the teacher is an unqualified teacher. Nikolov also noted that "extrinsic motives in the form of rewards, grades

and approval seemed to be very important for young children, but as they were easily available in these classes, in the long run they lost significance and knowledge as an aim in itself took the leading role" (Nikolov, 1999:46).

It could be suggested that the promoting of intrinsic values over quick rewards in the form of rewards, both tangible and non-tangible, lies also with the teacher. A teacher who truly values the foreign language and models for the children intrinsic motivation is very important. Pupils after a year or so of receiving only extrinsic rewards, as Nikolov pointed out, might become demotivated. In Nikolov's 1999 study, when the children were asked about where they would rate English among other subjects in the curriculum, the majority of Hungarian children involved in the study "listed English among their three favourites" (Nikolov: 1999:48). The reasons that they gave for rating English comparatively high against other subjects varied for each age group. However, "the general tendencies reflected an enthusiasm towards playful language learning activities, intrinsically motivating tasks and materials, and a negative attitude towards tests. The general preference towards 'playing' in general became more specific over the years, as learners listed concrete activities." (Nikolov, 1999:51). This is perhaps a strong argument for all PFL teachers to have some form of pedagogical training for the age range that they will be teaching. This is echoed in Nikolov's later work, with Djigunović, emphasising that "teachers need to be proficient users of both languages and able to apply age-appropriate methodology." (Nikolov and Djigunović, 2006:242). If conditions for PFL are less than ideal young learners can actually develop a negative attitude towards L2 learning (Nikolov and Djigunović, 2011).

Krashen (1982) and Dörnyei (1994) proposed that unless learners are relaxed and comfortable within the language learning setting, they will find acquiring language difficult. In PFL lessons the students' enjoyment and confidence are often catered for through 'fun' lessons, involving game-like activities (Cable et al., 2012). This idea of 'playful activities' is supported in literature elsewhere (Jones and Coffey, 2006; Sharpe, 2001; Driscoll and Frost,

1999). Vilke, in her research conducted in Croatia, also strongly supported this idea of fun, by recommending that "the children should be encouraged to experience the process of learning as a game to which they are eager to contribute motorically, emotionally and intellectually" (1998:90).

Finally, a love of languages can only be realised if transition is also planned for due care and attention must be given to ensure that children do not repeat previous learning leading to disengagement and frustration (Hood, 1994; Hood and Tobutt, 2009; Barton et al., 2009; Courtney, 2014; Courtney et al., 2015). This 'waste of time' through repetition is not a situation which is unique to L2 learning within England, but has been shown to be also present in other countries, such as the Netherlands (Edelenbos and Johnstone, 1996; Bolster, 2009), Italy (Gattullo and Pallotti, 2003) and Scotland (Low et al., 1993; Low and Wolfe, 1996; Low, 1999; Tierney and Gallastegi, 2005; Bolster, 2009). Nikolov and Djigunović, (2006) consider the issue of continuity for schools and learners to have three components: continuity of language studied, continuity of primary pedagogy and integration of prior knowledge. However, if planning, progression and transition were catered for in a thorough manner, then it is possible that the time that children spend learning a language may produce positive results (Bolster, 2009). If pupils experienced a teacher who has confident control of the L2 (Djigunovic and Vilke, 2000), alongside the issues considered above being addressed, more time learning L2 could hypothetically raise achievement. However, if these criteria are not met, Nikolov (2000) warned that a negative experience in primary school could effectively 'turn them off' language earlier. As Courtney et al., (2015) and Bolster agree "a lack of continuity and a lack of acknowledgement of prior learning" can lead to a lack of motivation for secondary school pupils (2009:235) which in England, where post-14 L2 study is optional, is a lost opportunity. There is a further aspect to consider which is political in nature, and this is continuity of support and ownership (Nikolov and Djigunović, 2006). This aspect will be further discussed in the section 'Funding'. However, it is worth noting here that funding is a structural issue which affects the ability of schools and teachers to cater for the needs of their learners, as a lack of

infrastructure and training have been shown to be removed once a programme of L2 learning has commenced.

2.3.3 ICU

The importance of ICU has, according to literature, been expressed in a number of ways. Envers (2011) considered that, in a modern, 21st century global community, the basis of all education is to equip children with the skills, attitudes and knowledge that they will need to operate successfully in such a world. Peiser and Jones, (2012) considered the contribution ICU makes to the wider social cohesion agenda, while Byram et al. (2002) wrote that ICU teaching can prepare pupils:

> "for interaction with people of other cultures; to enable them to understand and accept people from other cultures as individuals with other distinctive perspectives, values and behaviours; and to help them to see that such interaction is an enriching experience." Byram et al. (2002:10)

Teachers and schools are very much in favour of teaching ICU. Driscoll et al. (2013) found that over half of the teachers who participated in their study stated that ICU was the main aim of teaching PFL. They felt it promoted international awareness as well as developing citizenship, empathy and tolerance which positively contributes to the school and the wider curriculum. Teachers also recognised this idea that PFL broadened the primary curriculum and, in this manner, their pupils developed personally and socially (Driscoll et al. 2004a; Cable et al., 2010). However, this declaration of importance does not always manifest itself in practice (Low et al. 1995; Woodgate-Jones, 2009; Driscoll et al., 2013). The literature suggests that PFL training for teaching ICU is particularly inadequate (Driscoll et al., 2013) leading to poor teacher knowledge. This lack of understanding about ICU being located on a continuum of attitudes (Bennett, 2004) is shown in several studies. They revealed that ICU is often interpreted as learning a 'series of facts' about a country and teachers often expect ICU to be developed as a direct result of being exposed to foreign language lessons (Ofsted, 2011; Powell et al., 2000; Woodgate-Jones, 2009; Driscoll et al., 2013). This may mean that surface links to French culture are the only experiences that most children will receive (Kramsch, 1991;

Driscoll, 2000). At one extreme, given recent technological advances, the ability to simply learn facts is becoming increasingly redundant as quick Internet search is available by phone or other device. While at the other extreme, given EU mobility, global migration and an increase in the number of refugees developing an already multicultural England, the ability to understand a range of other languages and cultures is becoming increasingly important. In addition to migration and immigration, globalisation has an important role to play in PFL raising questions of who's culture is taught or as Kramsch (2014:299) labels it "purity/authentic vs. cultural hybridity". Language awareness models of teaching L2 can foster understanding of differences through PFL (Barton et al., 2009). Linked to this, Byram et al. (2002) wrote about intercultural competence (IC) which they believed was comprised of knowledge, skills and attitudes (Byram, 1997). These concepts do not exist in a vacuum but are influenced and affected by personal values from social constructions of identity. They believed that the foundation for developing IC commences with an intercultural attitude of "curiosity and openness, readiness to suspend disbelief about other cultures and belief about one's own" (Byram, 1997:57). Young learners generally possess such open curiosity about most new ideas as they have not yet developed preconceived ideas. This makes them ideally placed to develop what Byram (1997) referred to as the remaining 'savoirs':

> **"Skills of interpreting and relating (savoir comprendre):** ability to interpret a document or event from another culture, to explain it and relate it to documents or events from one's own**… Skills of discovery and interaction (savoir apprendre/faire):** ability to acquire new knowledge of a culture and cultural practices and the ability to operate knowledge, attitudes and skills under the constraints of real-time communication and interaction… **Critical cultural awareness (savoir s'engager):** an ability to evaluate, critically and on the basis of explicit criteria, perspectives, practices and products in one's own and other cultures and countries."** (Byram, 1997:52-53)

There is real scope for meaningful exploration of different cultures, through the 'savoirs' in many English primary schools. Community languages such as Mandarin Chinese, Urdu or Polish could and may increasingly provide 'real life' cultural experiences. Driscoll et al. (2013) suggested that this could provide pupils with an experience "to make connections across languages and explore cultural similarities and differences within their own communities"

(2013:149). This is supported elsewhere by Maalouf (2008) who suggested children choose a "personal adoptive language" (2008:7). However, there is little evidence of schools making use of their community languages and EAL children's abilities (Wade and Marshall, 2009; Driscoll et al., 2013). This is also a missed opportunity as, within England, there are many townships around fast-growing megacities already using their own community language (Mitchell and Myles, 2004). It has been reported that the self –esteem of young learners from minority ethnic linguistic backgrounds can be elevated by using multiple different languages (Martin, 2000). For example, Tower Hamlets has the highest national proportion of Bengali (with Sylheti and Chatgaya) speakers (18 per cent), while Slough has the most residents speaking Panjabi (6.2 per cent). Nationally, Leicester possesses the highest number of Gujarati (11.5 per cent) speakers and, Boston, Lithuanian (2.8 per cent) (Office for National Statistics, 2013). It should be noted that it is not just community languages which 'cluster' in an area. The borough of Kensington and Chelsea has the highest proportions of European languages spoken in England and Wales (French, 4.9 per cent; Spanish, 2.7 per cent, and Italian, 2.4 per cent) (Office for National Statistics, 2013). Using the culture of the locality within which a school is based provides the opportunity for pupils to apply the skills that they have learned. This may prove more feasible for schools which, since the economic crisis of 2008 and the resultant governmental financing cuts, have had limited ability to fund exchanges abroad.

While all stakeholders view ICU as important, it could be suggested that high quality ICU is rarely taught in primary schools. Possible suggestions for this are that, historically, it has never been assessed at secondary school level. Although there was some contemplation of formal ICU assessment prior to the National Curriculum 2014 (DfE, 2013), this was rejected (Peiser and Jones, 2012). This legacy of non-assessment has impacted on the primary context or it could be that a lack of coverage stemming from initial teacher training is the root cause. This means that many teachers and head teachers may simply not fully understand what is encompassed by the term ICU or IC and, thus, misuse the term to mean a standalone cultural

event, or 'cultural anecdotes' (Driscoll, 2000) or facts about the country being studied (Kramsch, 1991) which are 'savoirs' at a superficial level (Byram, 1997). Another related suggestion is that lack of teacher education in the area of ICU prevents teachers from enacting their beliefs in practice. As Driscoll et al. (2004b) concluded from a number of studies that ICU must be delivered as specific teacher training if it is to be effectively taught. It is a source of regret that it is only briefly mentioned in the National Curriculum 2014 (DfE, 2013) aims and has been excluded from the subject content entirely. Without being explicitly covered by the National Curriculum, it is possible that the fragmented approach to teaching ICU which exists in some schools will continue (Driscoll et al., 2013), meaning that many well-intentioned cultural activities appear unconnected and 'factual' (Kramsch, 1991:218, Driscoll, 2000), instead of ICU.

2.3.4 Overall Literacy Development

Most of the research about how languages interrelate has centred on the effect that the learner's L1 has on the L2 studied rather than the other way around (Murphy et al. 2015). For example, a child's proficiency in L1 provides a base for L2 learning, thus the stronger the child's L1 foundations are, the more able they maybe at L2 learning (Courtney et al., 2015) (see section 'The Younger the Better' for a more in depth consideration of L1 affecting L2 learning). There are some studies starting to emerge in the area of L1 affecting L2 such as Taylor and Lafayette's (2010), three year, large-scale, Anglophone context setting (Louisiana) which reported how learning L2 can improve learners' attainment in all areas of the curriculum, not just language. Their study is interesting and has relevance to this thesis because they consider the side-lining of L2 learning as a result of the 'No Child Left Behind' policy (2001) making the case that learning in all subjects is strengthened through the teaching of L2. They conclude that perhaps it is lack of understanding and knowledge about the benefits for the curriculum of L2 learning which has led policy makers and school administrators to focus on

the publically accountable subjects instead, and suggest that perhaps PFL should become one of these reported on subjects.

It is therefore not perhaps surprising that benefits of learning a foreign language can have on a child's mother tongue has no consensus amongst teachers. Some teachers reported that PFL had a positive impact on their pupils' English development, such as developing listening skills and confidence when speaking (Cable et al., 2010). However, not all teachers felt the same, as these opinions were contrasted elsewhere in the literature. Similarly, Woodgate-Jones (2009), revealed that the teaching of PFL to enhance children's English development was rated as the least important aspect of PFL learning by all ITE tutors and pre-service teachers.

The views of teachers maybe fragmented and this may be due to their individualised teaching experiences of Literacy development and PFL. Martin reviewed international literature regarding this topic and concluded that "in theory we might expect a two-way flow of transferable skill, so that early foreign language learning supports L1, [however] this does not necessarily occur" (2000:20) and yet this was not the finding of Murphy et al., (2015). Their study researched the experiences of one hundred and fifty Year 3 children learning 15 weeks study of either Italian, French or no language (the control group). The results of the study are "suggestive that learning L2 can have a facilitative influence on some aspects of English (L1) reading skills" Murphy et al., (2015:1149), and it seemed that, in the majority of tests, learning Italian, rather than French was more supportive in developing this influence. Proposed reasons for this are that Italian is less phonologically complex than English and also the other L2 of French, that is to say that the grapheme-phoneme-correspondence (GPC) is more transparent. The authors acknowledge that the effect sizes, seen in the study, were small, as too was the sample size and amount of L2 instruction, in addition to the effect that the teacher might have and the between-group differences. They hypothesise about the impact of these findings across a larger scale study, questioning the current status quo of language

competency models in French being the PFL L2 pedagogical pathway of choice. They debate whether other more transparent L2s would be more beneficial for young learners through a language awareness pathway given the restricted contact time of most PFL programmes.

2.3.5 Structural Issues

For the reader to be able to better understand the reasons revealed above as to why there can be a disconnect between teachers' beliefs and practice, it would be beneficial to locate these views pertaining to PFL in the more generic educational views that teachers currently express. McLachlan (2009:199) wrote that many teachers felt:

> "too many initiatives are being introduced too quickly with each new one detracting resources, staff and curriculum time…. There is a sense of 'faddism' about the initiatives, and a feeling that many are merely a short-term, knee-jerk reaction to current social or political trends."

The quote above relates to the Labour-led Government's term in office of 13 years. Since the Coalition Government of 2010 entered office and since the 2015 Conservative Government, there have been even further changes to all areas of education from the EYFS through to Higher Education. The areas of workload, curriculum change, funding, and assessment and accountability - about which the three main teaching unions, Association of Teachers and Lecturers (ATL), National Union of Teachers (NUT) and National Association of Schoolmasters Union of Women Teachers (NASUWT) are currently campaigning - emerge as the main concerns for primary school teachers. The following sections, commencing with workload, take each of these issues and explores how they impact on PFL.

2.3.5.1 Workload

Workload for primary school teachers has long been a well-publicised issue. In fact, it is listed as the number one reason why teachers sought to leave the profession (Smithers and Robinson, 2003). The idea that teachers finish work at 3.30pm while other professions 'burn

the midnight oil' was quashed when Price Waterhouse Cooper (PwC, 2001) found that teachers and head teachers work more intensive weeks than other comparable managers and professionals. In fact, they found that class teachers, without management responsibilities, worked approximately 52 hours each week during term time (manager/professional in other occupation 45 hours) with more than a fifth of these hours out of hours (before school/after 6pm/on weekends). Field notes taken at Sakura School revealed how this looks in practice,

> "On the board in the staff room were the dates of the disco, fayre, parents' evening and Christmas do as well as the dates for the teacher performance management meetings. The deputy head said that she just feels so behind at the moment, like she can't keep up, there's so much to do, trips, funerals and then the children." 31st October 2013

The number of worked hours a week has increased, on average, since 2001 to 59.3 hours a week in 2013 (DfE, 2014a). These statistics come from the workload study which was carried out annually by the Department for Education between 2003 and 2010. However, in 2010, when the Coalition Government took office, this annual inventory ceased, with a brief reintroduction in 2013. The 2013 version was conducted using significantly different data collection methods, which, the authors remind the reader throughout the report, means that the 2013 data cannot be compared with previous years' data.

Campbell and Neill (1994) reported that teachers, in 1993, were struggling to implement a new National Curriculum following a change in government from Conservative to Labour, a 'political' landscape which is similar to the backdrop to this research study. Schools, during data collection, were preparing to implement the National Curriculum 2014 (DfE, 2013) which makes changes across all subjects as well as introducing new subjects, such as computing and PFL, as statutory for the first time. This was also documented in the field notes,

> "Christine mentioned that it's hard at the moment as there is nothing out there for the new curriculum. That the guidance that she has is a couple of lines long and that the TES [Times Educational Supplement] has no guidance either... She said it's worse now as no one knows what they are doing." 13th October 2013

And so, perhaps, set against a backdrop of funding cuts, the scale of this current change is larger than previous similar situations. Galton et al. (2002) charted the rise in primary school teachers' working hours since the 1970s, although they make a very interesting point about how this increase in hours worked relates to workload. They stated that there is no simple direct correlation between an increase in hours worked and they explained that teachers often do and have worked 'over-hours' without complaint or without finding it troublesome as this is part of what teachers consider the profession to entail. However, they reported that it is when the focus of this work moves away from the teaching and the learning that it becomes problematic, and integral to this are the concepts of 'intensification' and 'control'. As they explain:

> "Intensification refers to increasing pressure to do more in less time, to be responsive to a greater range of demands from external sources, to meet a greater range of targets, to be driven by deadlines. The more intensive the demand and external pressure the less is teachers' sense of control over their own planning, decision making, classroom management and relationships." (Galton et al., 2002:13)

It could be suggested that both the intensification of primary teaching has increased recently, while the control that teachers have has been lessened. Furthermore, 'the stakes have been raised', as underperforming schools and 'coasting' schools face being turned into academy schools (DfE, 2015). An important feature of being 'academised', which should be noted, is the removal of the head teacher, particularly if the school is deemed as 'failing'. Furthermore, there is the possibility of different pay and working conditions for new staff who join the academy because academies do not need to abide to "School Teachers' Pay and Conditions Document, the Conditions of Service for School Teachers in England and Wales, or other terms and conditions negotiated nationally for school teachers and support staff. They may make their own decisions concerning the level of teachers' pay." (NASUWT, 2015). Staff who transfer from the existing school to the academy are able to transfer their previous contract under the Transfer of Undertakings (Protection of Employment) Regulations 2006 (TUPE) (NASUWT, 2015). This means that it is in a head teacher's interest to ensure that the data for his/her pupils in the core subjects is good or outstanding. It is this data set that Ofsted base their inspections on and, thus, schools are focussing more and more on the core subjects

leading to a two, or possibly three, tier curriculum. In the two-tier model, the core subjects occupy the top of the table followed by all non-core subjects (Alexander, 2010). The three-tier construct follows the two-tier, however with the foundation subjects frequently delegated to outside providers rather than the core teaching staff (most frequently PFL, PE and music) in the bottom section. It should be noted that Alexander (2010) wrote, that this is not a new phenomena, in fact this 'split' seems to be much older than people realise, however it is the "rising of the stakes" since 1997 that has caused such an imbalance in time and quality invested in these areas (2010:243). The CPRT recommended that a "wholesale reform of the testing regime" be undertaken to reduce the obsessions with targets (Alexander, 2010:253). Sadly, however, since 2010 there has been an increase in statutory testing in primary school, more ambitious targets for schools to meet, and the stakes for failing to meet the required standards have never been higher. These are important concepts to bear in mind when considering how teachers feel about a 'new' statutory subject, such as PFL, as it may be, if teachers have reservations about PFL, that it is the additional workload which is a concern rather than the subject.

2.3.5.2 Curriculum, Assessment and Accountability

Literature which examines the perspectives of the teachers involved in PFL delivery (Wade and Marshall, 2009; and Cable et al., 2010) revealed that the teachers appeared happy to teach PFL and be involved in further training. However, key themes which do emerge expose a real sense of an overcrowded curriculum (McLachlan, 2009; Barton, 2014), which creates problems in trying to 'fit in' PFL, and a desire for more funding for resources and further training.

The primary curriculum has been described as 'overcrowded' as early as the Hadlow Report 1931 (Gillard, 2006). The House of Commons, National Curriculum 2008-2009 Report (The Children, Schools and Families Committee, 2009) considered why this overcrowding may have occurred, concluding that testing, inspections and a series of bolted-on additions

rendered it impossible to teach the proposed content in the time available. They noted the 'ring-fenced' time dedicated to Literacy and numeracy, leaving a small proportion of the timetable for all other subjects. This 'ring-fencing' led them to conclude that "in many primary schools, according to our evidence, the 1988 Education Reform Act's vision of 'entitlement to a broad and balanced curriculum' is no longer a reality at the primary stage" (The Children, Schools and Families Committee, 2009:254). There is an alternative view point regarding overcrowding in the curriculum, as Alexander (2010) acknowledged some schools are more adept at managing the same curriculum than others. He proposed that perhaps the issue lies with curriculum planning and organisation, rather than simply the curriculum itself and suggested that local authorities have an essential role in helping schools to manage this aspect. However what Alexander (2010) could not have predicted at the time he wrote the 'Children, their World, their Education' was the slimming down and reduction in number of local authority Education Departments following the funding cuts of 2010. The current primary school context, regarding curriculum pressures and accountability, cannot be separated from PFL when considering its introduction. PFL is becoming statutory for the first time against a backdrop of numerous curriculum reforms, associated pressures and accountability. Since 2010, the Year 1 phonics screening tests and the SPaG (spelling, punctuation and grammar tests) have been introduced, while the SATs requirements remain as demanding as ever. As early as 2002, Galton et al. found over a third of KS2 teachers tested numeracy once a week (Galton et al., 2002). All of these core subject pressures impact on the remaining subjects in the curriculum, including PFL, as well as teachers' perceptions of the subject.

Driscoll et al., (2004a) found that pressures on curriculum time was one of the deciding factors for offering a foreign language and, in fact, was one of the reasons why 27 per cent of primary schools had withdrawn PFL provision. McLachlan (2009) reiterated the idea that PFL cannot be simply added to the National Curriculum without first considering that the curriculum is:

> "already bursting at the seams, with a seemingly endless line of new government initiatives…many teachers feel that the primary curriculum is overcrowded, and too many new initiatives have been introduced within too short a space of time, putting

pressure on schools to include a bit of everything in the timetable." McLachlan (2009:199)

The idea that schools will choose to concentrate their time and resources on other, perhaps more publically accountable, subjects, such as Literacy and numeracy (McLachlan, 2009), rather than other 'new' subjects, seems to be supported by the data that is starting to emerge from academy primary schools. In the recent Languages Trends Survey (Tinsley and Board, 2014), more than double the number of academy schools reported not teaching PFL, 10 per cent of academy primary schools compared to 4 per cent of non-academy schools. This cutting back of the primary curriculum to feature predominately Literacy and numeracy, however, is a trend across all schools not just academies. According to Galton et al. (2002:5), even though there have been two reviews of the National Curriculum since 1993, there has been a decline in the time allocated for foundation subjects and it is commonplace for some of these subjects to be routinely covered in lunchtime and after-school clubs. He stated that as a result of the decline in time allocated for "creative subjects", teachers felt a sense of decline in their own creativity. Since Galton's work, there has been a third review of the curriculum, and this too details the decline of foundation subjects, measured in time allocated as well as quality of instruction (Alexander, 2010).

Alexander (2010:255) reported that "in centralised regimes accountability tends to be one-directional." He goes on to explain that it is those with power that scrutinise those without, ignoring the fact that it is the implementation of policy from those with power that may have created issues in the system being held accountable. It is the drivers of measurements in the core subjects of English and Maths that acts upon teachers and school, limiting the amount of PFL taught, withdrawing of children with poor core subject data receiving L2 instruction and compromising a true broad and balanced curriculum (Alexander, 2010).

2.3.5.3 Funding

Funding for schools is an important issue which has been highlighted in many studies (Cable et al. 2012; Enever et al. 2009; Martin 2000; Hunt et al. 2005). Transparent funding streams and sufficient funding were expressed as two of the prerequisites for a successful future of PFL (McLachlan, 2009). Moreover, 49 per cent of respondents to the primary languages consultation (DfE, 2012) recognised this as an important aspect of future provision. They stated that while confident, qualified and competent teachers who are trained in primary specific pedagogy are the future to PFL, it is "appropriate and sufficient funding for initial and continuing training" that will provide them (DfE, 2013:8). 10 per cent of respondents went further and expressed concerns about the quality of teaching and its links to funding. The DfE (2013:10) concluded that "a high proportion of respondents felt that training of Key Stage 2 teachers and recruiting language specialists were essential and that adequate funding should be made available to meet these requirements." After releasing this statement, primary schools were not provided with ring-fenced PFL funding. This seems to be a familiar trend not one just specific to the English context that after an initial injection of capital as programmes become more wide spread the funding is withdrawn (for example in Croatia (Djigunović and Vilke, 2000) and Scotland (Blondin, et al., 1998). Nikolov and Djigunović, (2006:243) also highlight how the removal of funding impacts on quality when "educational policy fails to keep priorities on the agenda and project money runs out, as has been the case, FL teaching becomes part of routine and the initial enthusiasm and professional quality declines."

Financial support for PFL has not always been so sparse. In fact, during the period from the Languages for All: Languages for Life strategy (DfES, 2002) until the Coalition Government came into power, funding was widely available. Schools, LAs and ITE providers were specifically funded to ensure that schools were prepared to deliver and maintain PFL teaching. This period of time should be explored before examining the funding which has been present since 2010. The date that was set by the Labour Government 1997-2010 as the statutory start

date for PFL in KS2 was originally 2010. This was later set back by a year until 2011. However, what this did achieve was to place a fixed time on when schools had to be ready to teach PFL.

Initially, in 2005, there was a 'boost for languages', a funding increase of £35million (DfES, 2005), to develop the National Languages Strategy Languages for All, Languages for Life (2002) from around £10million per year to nearly £45million. This increase in funding was predominately targeted at supporting the primary workforce development (King et al., 2011). Following on from this, in 2007, after the Languages Review (Dearing and King, 2007), this budget was increased to £55million per year. The entire budget was not specifically targeted at primary schools and their language provision, however a large proportion, approximately £40million, was for primary schools. This £40million was broken down into £35million for primary languages and £5million for Centre for Information about Language Teaching (CILT). During this period, CILT was incredibly productive and supportive in the primary sector, which was lacking in resources and support before 2005. Stephen Twigg, then Government School Standards Minister, was quoted in the TES, breaking these large figures down even further, stating "nearly half the money will go towards recruiting a further 6,000 primary language teachers and training 18,000 existing primary teachers and 9,000 teaching assistants" (Shaw, 2005). There are several ways in which this money was spent in order to achieve the aims above. These are notably ITE, workforce development and the provision of national and regional support.

When the Coalition Government came into office in 2010, the decision to introduce statutory teaching in 2011 of PFL was reviewed and, for a little while, the status of PFL reverted back to 'entitlement' status. In April 2011, funding for the national coordination of PFL was cut and this included almost all of the funding targeted at languages in schools, which, in the words of King (2011:1), "effectively ended the 8 year National Languages Strategy for England". From 2011, primary schools received the once ring-fenced PFL money directly into the schools' general budget. This has caused many schools to stop developing their PFL provision

(Ratcliffe, 2013). In addition to the national and school level funding cuts, LAs were also subjected to a removal of funding for the PFL consultants who were employed to coordinate provision across the region. Many former LA consultants have set up private businesses that schools can now access for a fee. In a press release, the government reported the results of the consultation on statutory KS2 foreign language learning, which led to the statutory inclusion of PFL in the 2014 curriculum (DfE, 2012). Since its introduction, no funding has been released to schools on a national level to assist with the implementation. Small amounts of funding have been allocated to the Centre for British Teachers (CfBT) which merged with CILT after most of the DfE funding was removed. It is interesting that the funded research projects (CfBT, 2013), have been allocated to schools who are participating in teaching school alliances. This reveals that the selection of schools which receive funding is based on those participating with the new ITE training model of 'School Direct'. This programme only includes working with teaching schools and schools in their alliance with a view to sharing and developing "best practice in languages education, initially with schools within their teaching school alliance and eventually more broadly with schools across the country." (CfBT, 2013:3). While Teaching Schools may be allocated funding to have an impact, it is unclear how primary schools outside of teaching alliances could receive funding for PFL, in a subsequent report in 2014, it was reported that "very few teachers appear to have access to CPD provided by Teaching Schools" (Tinsley and Board, 2014: 42). The effectiveness of this strategy in the long term remains to be seen, however, nationally, primary schools are currently delivering PFL with much of the previously free support having been removed and, thus, it could perhaps be described as a shame that more schools could not access this help. While head teachers in Teaching Schools may have access to funding to develop PFL, it is clear that this is not widely available to most schools and yet there has been an expressed need for financial support since 2011 when head teachers were surveyed (CILT, 2011). They expressed the view that funding was one of the resources that they felt that they needed to support and maintain PFL teaching and learning in their schools. This is of particular interest to this study as the funding streams which may have once existed have now dried up, which leaves head

teachers who wish to continue or develop provision with the problem of having to find creative solutions. The Languages Trends (Tinsley and Board, 2014) also reiterated the lack of funding and time for teachers to engage with CPD and noted the impact that this was having on the PFL training of teachers and schools.

Funding has been recognised as important for the success of PFL for a long time because it allows for not only the training of new teachers to be able to deliver quality PFL, but also the development of the current workforce through national and regional support (Hoy, 1976). The 2014 Language Trends survey revealed that there is currently a low level of engagement with CPD. Teachers in the survey cited a number of factors that resulted in their schools being reluctant to release them for CPD. These reasons included funding cuts and workload. Respondents to the survey stated that CPD was increasingly likely to be held in-house or with local schools and lamented the disappearance of LA-organised CPD. While Teaching Schools have access to funding to develop FL, only three per cent of respondents had access to this CPD, while access to local higher education institutions (HEIs) was even lower at one per cent (Tinsley and Board, 2014:43).

2.3.6 Conclusion

The Literature Review has explored the purported PFL rationales from a general primary, European, pedagogical and National Curriculum 2014 perspective as well as the training and support that is in place to make these PFL aspirations a reality. However, as the final section 'Relationship between PFL 'Buzzwords' and Practice' reveals there are gaps between policy intentions, understood concepts and actual practice. Now that the literature pertaining to PFL has been examined, the Methodology Chapter of this thesis will follow. This section will detail my perspective on the world and how this influences my research, followed by the type, ethical considerations and design of the research. Next, the Phase One research methods will be presented, before presenting the case study schools and participants prior to moving on to Phase Two research methods. Finally, issues of quality and data analysis will be considered.

3. METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction to the Research Approach

The aim of this thesis is to illuminate the current PFL situation in primary education in England by focusing on three primary schools in the North West of England. The LA in which they are located will be referred to as Castle Rock LA. The primary schools are not intended to be compared and contrasted with each other in terms of curriculum delivery models, teachers, and successes of PFL nor challenges encountered, but will serve to reveal different aspects of the fragmented mosaic that is PFL learning and teaching. Thus, when designing this study, listening, observing and engaging with the perspectives of the classroom practitioners was of paramount importance.

This thesis seeks to explore the social world, in particular that of the work place from an interpretivist perspective. As such there can be no 'objective truth' as this is dependent on the participants' meaning and understanding of their experiences in this setting (Geertz, 1973). Seeking to understand the meanings that teachers' give to reality is at the heart of this study (Check and Schutt, 2012) because it is teachers who are the agents of teaching. Moreover, how each individual teacher chooses to teach or not teach PFL is important, as it affects each child in their class and contributes to a school culture. Consequently, listening to the participants, their realities and understanding is of paramount importance. Therefore a realist phenomenological perspective, which is located in an interpretivist paradigm, has been taken. By adopting this approach as the philosophical architecture for the study it was felt that the phenomena of post-2010 would be better expressed as a co-creation between researcher and participants. Interprevitism allows for plural meanings and experiences, rather than one which has been exclusively filtered through the researcher's perspective. As Creswell explains the goal of interpretivist research is to celebrate the participants' views, and to rely on these as much as possible "rather than starting with a theory, inquirers generate or inductively develop

a theory or pattern of meaning…the researcher listens carefully to what people say or do in their life setting" Creswell (2013: 25). To facilitate listening to the participants a number of data collection methods were employed such as observation, semi-structured interviews and informal conversation, which complemented by the researcher's self-reflective diary and policy document analysis. It was critical to have varied data collection methods to triangulate the data gathered and to explore if policy stated aims and teacher beliefs expressed in interviews were enacted in practice. Informal conversations and observations also permitted the data gathered to be "glossed with the meanings and purposes of those people who are at their source" Cohen and Manion (1998:37) helping to ensure a rich picture of the phenomena was created. By keeping a self-reflective diary my feelings and thoughts as a researcher could be critically examined, acknowledging that these, too, form part of the plural meanings and experiences emerging from interpretive research, whilst allowing sufficient scope for the participants' views and experiences to lead the research. This was considered useful strategy in documenting the post-2010 working environment within which PFL is taught, as there are no documented theories of this phenomena to date. In order to respond to the 'real-life' situation a Constructivist Grounded Theory approach (Charmaz, 2000) was employed in the belief that it would allow for an 'open research mind' to be adopted, which would allow the study's approaches to be adapted as required. Thus, it did not impose an already created framework onto a new area for research.

The two main vehicles for delivering this realist phenomenological perspective are ethnography and case study. Whilst ethnography was employed as an overarching methodology, case study was used to provide the focus for deep exploration of post-2010 PFL in schools. "It allowed the research to go a mile deep rather than a mile wide", as Johnston maintains (2015:77). It was hoped that through the combination of ethnography and case study commonalities and divergences in the teachers' PFL personal perspectives and practice could be revealed. The aim was not to judge teachers' or schools' practice, but rather to

illuminate the current PFL situation and how it manifests itself in the challenges and successes of each teacher. There now follows a detailed examination of the overall research approach and individual components located within.

3.1.1 A Realist Phenomenological Perspective

This research is located within the paradigm of interpretivism. However, there is no agreed definition for what is meant by this approach. There exists instead a multitude of different sources of 'inspiration' and reference (Hammond and Wellington, 2013) and it would therefore be useful to explore the concept and how it relates to this research. Hammond and Wellington (2013:88) referred to the fact that, over centuries, interpretivism, and its relationship to social science, has been shaped and re-shaped by several key authors (Dilthey (1833-1911), Heidegger (1889-1976), Husserl (1859-1938), Merleau-Ponty (1908-1961), Ricoeur (1913-2005), Weber (1864-1920) and Wittgenstein (1889-1951). They developed a paradigm which is perhaps most succinctly summarised as "the belief that reality is socially constructed and that the goal of social scientists is to understand what meaning people give to that reality" (Check and Schutt, 2012:15). This is of paramount importance to this research study which focuses on illuminating the perspectives of individual teachers. This will be achieved by listening to and observing them in their professional practice setting constructing their own realities based on their own preferences and prejudices (Check and Schutt, 2012). However, it is important to note that I, too, as the researcher, am included in the sphere of creating reality founded on bias, although this will be discussed more in depth within the ethics section.

This research centres on observing 'real life', 'real teachers' in 'real school contexts', which is not necessary identical with policy rhetoric and prescribed practice. In fact, Gvirtz, (2002) and Gvirtz and Beech (2004) highlighted that there can be a disconnect between policy and practice. They, therefore, suggested that in addition to considering curricular documents

actual implemented practice should also be under scrutiny as document analysis alone does not reveal the full picture. The three case study primary schools provide the context for this endeavour. One of its key aims is to provide the participating teachers with a voice, which aligns with Husserl's (Savin-Baden and Major, 2013) concern that social sciences should not use 'objective' research methods and approaches, as borrowed from the natural sciences, as they can exclude from consideration real life, lived experiences, with intentionality at the heart. This particular branch of interpretivism is rooted in the realist phenomenology tradition, which is a cornerstone of this research. The rationale for using this approach is based on the belief that there is indeed no objective truth that can be 'found' but rather it is through the investigation of internal intentionality rather than external responses to stimuli, that a shared understanding of the phenomenon in question can begin to be gained in this particular setting (Savin-Baden and Major, 2013).

A shared understanding of social activities as constructed by the teacher practitioners and oneself as the researcher is another cornerstone of this study. Accordingly, interpretation of the world through research is not conducted in isolation (Hayes and Oppenheim, 1997; Pidgeon and Henwood, 1997). When the views and perceptions of those teachers involved with the learning and teaching of PFL are sought, it is acknowledged and celebrated that social constructivism is not a 'clean, clinical procedure'. By this, it is meant that as research is conducted, the research becomes interwoven and shaped by the participants' ideas and concepts as well as the literature that has been read. The concept of social construction of meaning underpins this thesis and thus the rejection of the existence of an objective reality, "asserting instead that realities are social constructions of the mind, and that there exist as many such constructions as there are individuals (although clearly many constructions will be shared)" (Guba and Lincoln, 1989:43). Underpinned by this belief, this research is embedded within a 'realist phenomenological perspective' (Savin-Baden and Major, 2013). As reflected in the title of this study it places the research participants' (teachers') perspectives at its core

with the aim to gain a better understanding of what the participants felt was their own subjective reality in relation to the teaching and learning of PFL within their school (Merriam, 1995).

It is not to be taken for granted that the way in which I perceive participants' actions and words is the way in which they were intended to be interpreted (Kaplan, 1964; Peshkin, 2000). This is an issue related to the credibility (Guba, 1981; Lincoln and Guba, 1986) of this study, and the steps taken to strengthen it will be considered in greater detail in the 'quality issues' section below. As such, the intention was not to try to remove the "humanness" (Appleton, 1997; de Laine, 1997; Guba and Lincoln, 1989) but to acknowledge it. If reality is a human, shared construct, which it is believed it to be, value is not seen in trying to provide a 'clean, untainted' account. It is believed that in a socially constructed reality, research without an apparent 'human' element is less valuable. Furthermore, this endeavour would be impossible to achieve. To ensure that the 'human' context of the study was considered, the participants' words have been used where appropriate. This has resulted in several long quotes being used within the Data Analysis Chapter, because it is felt that this adds a frame of reference for the reader. In addition to the participants, my 'humanness' has also been recognised. Located in the Introduction Chapter is a detailed section which examines my personal context in relation to this research. This section includes my interests so that the reader is aware, at the start of the study, of some of my biases which form an integral part of my personal and professional identity and biography.

If Husserl's rejection of realism could be described as the 'foundations' of this study, then Heidegger's (1927) hermeneutic approach is the next level (Savin-Baden and Major, 2013). This is because while Husserl desired to answer what people know, through their directed awareness of the object or phenomenon under consideration. He rejected reality and felt that preconceived ideas could be bracketed and set aside (Reiners, 2012) producing what has

been described as descriptive phenomenology. Whereas Heidegger's approach is described as being interpretive in nature, broadening the concept to encompass being in the world rather than simply knowing the world Reiners (2012:1). As a result he felt that it was impossible to bracket previous experiences and in fact these should form part of the interpretations of phenomenological research. Consequently, as this study seeks to explore the 'why' and 'how', without bracketing biases, behind the PFL facts and figures which are available in a post-2010 context rather than simply describe the phenomenon this research can be said to be influenced more by Heiddger's approach rather than Husserl. However, Husserl's and Heiddger's perspectives are not mutually exclusive, as Ricoeur (1991) combined these two approaches, creating "phenomenological description with hermeneutic interpretation, thus bridging the gap between phenomenology and hermeneutics" (Savin-Baden and Major, 2013:27).

As this study is focusing on the perceptions of primary school teachers' views about learning and teaching PFL, the inclusion of both verbal and non-verbal communication is vital. The culture, language and history of PFL initiatives, settings and participants are of equal importance to the intention of the participant operating within this construct. To begin to understand the 'world' that these teachers inhabit, their lived experiences must be explored. These biographies should be framed by the history and culture of their respective primary schools and the PFL agenda locally and nationally. Through illuminating the views and practices of teachers, it can be located in a realist phenomenological perspective (Check and Schutt, 2012). The representations of reality as well as the role that the researcher and the participants play have been explored and clarified. Therefore, it is hoped that the reader can have confidence in the study's philosophical architecture. Grounded theory (Glaser and Strauss, 1967; Strauss and Corbin, 1990; Glaser, 1992; Charmaz, 2000; Charmaz, 2006; Charmaz, 2008) should now be examined as this is the Methodology which was used.

3.1.2 A Grounded Theory Approach

A Grounded theory (GT) approach was chosen for the collection and analysis of data for this study, as it complements my beliefs as a researcher that theory is to be grounded in the data. Furthermore, GT is well suited to this particular study as there is a paucity of research evidence relating to the current PFL situation (Crooks, 2001). Since 2014, PFL has been a statutory element of the National Curriculum (DfE, 2013) for the first time in England and this explains why any relevant literature is sparse and not current. By adopting an open and flexible approach pertinent themes were allowed to emerge freely, rather than be shoehorned into predetermined   existing theories and models.

There exist, currently, several versions of GT: classic (Glaser and Strauss, 1967), evolved (Strauss and Corbin, 1990), constructivist (Charmaz, 2000, 2003, 2006, 2008), post-modern and discursive (Clarke, 2005; Savin-Baden and Major, 2013). The type of GT (approach) which was employed as the main research approach for this study is that promoted by Charmaz (2000, 2003, 2006, 2008). Charmaz outlined the main differences between her constructivist approach and what she perceived as an 'objectivist approach' by stating that her approach endeavoured to answer:

> "*what* and *how* questions. They emphasize abstract understanding of empirical phenomena and contend that this understanding must be located in the studied specific circumstances of the research process [while] objectivist grounded theory (Glaser, 1978, 1992, 1998)…explicitly aims to answer *why* questions…at a general level, separated and abstracted from the specific research site and process." (Charmaz, 2008:398)

It must be acknowledged that all stakeholders create their own realities, both the researcher and the participants (Appleton and King, 2002). It was important, therefore, to declare my interpretations, as a researcher, of what is being studied. This declaration sits within, around and outside of those realities constructed by the participants of the study. It was considered that it was not possible to be a neutral observer within this study, nor any other activity in life.

Researchers, as people, are the sum of their life experiences through which new interactions are filtered and understood. As referred to in the Introduction Chapter, the personal context, including a declaration of my experience, detailed what my perceived realities were with reference to this study. As suggested by Charmaz, constructivist inquiry starts with the experience and asks how members construct it". The aim is to provide the reader with varied views of the phenomenon and to "locate it in its web of connections and constraints." (Charmaz, 2000:510).

The rationale underpinning/informing the decision to follow a constructivist GT approach is derived from Charmaz's (2000, 2003, 2006, and 2008) belief that through research meaning can be created through interaction and interpretation with individuals (Crotty, 1998) rather than that there is an objective truth which can be uncovered. The study was thus based on the assumption that the relativism of multiple social realities recognises the mutual creation of knowledge by the viewer and viewed, and aims toward an interpretive understanding of subjects' meanings" (Charmaz, 2003: 250). In contrast to this view Glaser (2002) took issue with this mutual building of data interpretation, stating in his article, which looked specifically at Charmaz's constructivist GT approach that this can lead to inexcusable interpretation interference from the researcher. Due to the epistemological beliefs, as outlined earlier, these same reservations, are not shared by the researcher of this study. The desire to use constructivist rather than a classic GT approach was further strengthened by the issue of data analysis. When using classic GT, the researcher should search the data to discover patterns of behaviour from within it. However, as constructivism is subscribed to in this thesis, this process would not be considered appropriate due the reliance on researcher influence. Glaser (2002) did make reference to this issue and suggested self-interview as a process by which the opinions of the researcher also join the data set. However, this suggestion does not fully resolve the issue of data analysis being created through an interactive process between the researcher and participants, resulting in a constructed shared reality. Charmaz suggested that

grounded theorists aim to produce a "picture that draws from, reassembles, and renders subjects' lives" (Charmaz 2003:270). It is accepted that constructivist GT has deviated from the original Glaserian model although, and whether or not it deserves still to be recognised as GT, is really a debate for elsewhere. With all this in mind, it was still the approach that was used; after all, "what's in a name? That which we call a rose. By any other name would smell as sweet" (Shakespeare, 1600).

Data collection and analysis ran alongside each other until theoretical saturation was reached as defined by Morse,

> "no new data appear and all concepts in the theory are well-developed. Concepts and linkages between the concepts that form the theory have been verified, and no additional data are needed. No aspects of the theory remain hypothetical. All of the conceptual boundaries are marked, and allied concepts have been identified and delineated." (2007:1123)

The participants' perspectives were interpreted and their accounts examined. Simple constant comparison with the aim of conceptualising behaviour from saturation of concepts was not desired. Moreover, in deciding what questions to ask, what to compare and what to exclude, this could not be completed without bias even if the methodological framework was used rigorously enough (Glaser, 1998). Considering my outsider/insider role, it was not possible to nor should it have been an aim that this experience was guarded against or excluded. Self-interviews are sometimes employed by researchers wishing to formally include their bias as part of the data. However, this could be suggested to be likened to 'self-counseling'. The subject knows all of the answers and yet is unlikely to reach them without a guide. Therefore, it is not considered possible to bracket experiences in this way so that they form part of a 'clean data set'. As considered in the 'Realist Phenomenological Perspective' section, my experiences, bias and knowledge were interwoven throughout the study and were an aspect of it that was celebrated. In this way, the constructivist GT approach complemented the interpretivist paradigm.

As touched upon previously, it is clear that my 'insider' knowledge helped to facilitate school access and this should be further examined before moving on. There were several layers to this knowledge, some of which overlap. These can be categorised into different domains: knowledge of primary schools through having been a class teacher; specific knowledge of working in one of these primary schools; knowledge of the LA and its relationship to PFL; and, finally, knowledge of the teachers at these schools through working there but also through prior friendships. These different domains of knowledge brought both benefits and challenges which shall now be examined in more detail.

The benefits of insider knowledge, with regards to this study, included gaining access to schools and teachers, establishing an easy rapport and being able to build trust leading to open and honest interviews within which teachers could be authentic. However, there were challenges throughout the data collection pertaining to 'making the familiar strange' (Brewer and Sparkes, 2011). In order to ensure an 'analytical distance' (Brewer and Sparkes, 2011) between myself as a researcher and the research settings, several measures were put into place to try to guard against complacency and to encourage critical evaluation and self-reflection. These measures were the usage of the researcher's two supervisors, both previously secondary school FL teachers, as critical friends. Through discussion of the observations and interviews, clarification was sought and the data reinterpreted when explaining the research collection. This is because whilst they have previously taught in secondary schools, the setting of a primary school is 'fresh'. This explanation and re-clarification enabled the data to be viewed differently to when first collected. In addition to the usage of critical friends, a reflexive diary was also maintained. It was decided that this diary would be a paper-based journal rather than an electronic one as it enabled me to have the ability to see in a physical representation my own mistakes and crossings out which would not

be visible in electronic format. The usage of a word processing device would distance myself from my reflections.

3.1.3 An Ethnographic Case Study

This study has taken an ethnographic case study approach and while in the study these approaches were blended, each will be discussed separately below, considering how the key features of each permitted the gathering of rich and varied data. The case study will be presented first so that the reader knows *what* is being studied (Stake, 2005), before presenting *how* it is being studied, through ethnography. As such this study follows Smith's classification of case study research as being a 'bounded system' rather than a methodology in itself (Stake, 2005). In this study the 'bounded system' is defined by time period, workplace and location. Its focus is on three primary schools and their teachers, teaching PFL in the post-2010 educational environment in Castle Rock LA ensuring the focus of the case study is located in a real-life, contemporary setting and context (Yin, 2009). By using a case study approach the research is conducted by investigating the 'how' and 'why' (Yin, 2009) of "current, real-life cases that are in progress" Creswell (2013:98) so that information is not lost in time. Furthermore, the contextual conditions, in this case post-2010 educational landscape, can also be investigated by a researcher that exerts "little or no control" over the behaviour of participants or setting Yin, (2003:13). Research which is conducted in such a way is 'fresh' and contributes to existing research in similar areas, rather than retrospectively reviewing 'dead histories' (Yin, 2003).

There can be said to be three seminal authors in the field of case study: Yin, Merriam and Stake. Each author provides individual procedures and techniques for conducting a case study approach, these share similarities as well as differences (Yazan, 2015). Yin's case study approach leans more towards the positivistic, while Stake and Merriam favour a more

constructivist approach. While in terms of data collection Yin widens the scope of tools to include both direct and participant observation whereas Merriam and Stake simply make reference to observations (Yazan, 2015). This thesis is concerned with investigating the post-2010 PFL context, of which there is little literature and thus a flexible research design was required. As such this thesis draws on all three authors, which through combining approaches has created a unique, flexible and responsive approach, unburdened by having to adhere to strict guidelines and procedures as set out by others which were not conceived of for this particular study.

One of the key considerations was the site of the case to be studied. Located within the boundaries of one LA, a multi-sited research design was adopted, which involved data collection in three different primary schools, although together they created a case, post-2010 PFL teaching and learning in Castle Rock.

There are many advantages to using case study as a research strategy the first being that it permits an "in-depth understanding of the case" (Creswell,2013:98). This is of paramount importance when investigating complex social situations, such as a primary school context. The complexity of a case study is reflected in the multiple layers of information gathering pertaining to teaching and learning in a primary school. These include but are not limited to: national, local and school documentation; the translation of these intended policies from paper to practice and also the relationship between teachers' espoused beliefs and their actual working practices.

Before embarking on a case study approach a number of considerations are required "the circumstances of the case, the conduct of the study and the consequences of the research." (Adelman et al., 1976:146). Each of these considerations will now be addressed. The research

was prompted, as Adelman et al. suggested, out of my own interests, but took place in a setting in which others carried the responsibility and work obligation. The three schools participating in this study formed the one exploratory (Yin, 2009) or discovery (Bassey, 1999) multi-sited case. An exploratory or discovery case study seeks to learn about new phenomena, such as PFL in a post-2010 primary school culture. It aims to investigate and explore the situation under study and perhaps suggest reasons for the situation rather than explicitly set out rationalise the phenomena (Yin, 2009). This is because the post -2010 lacks richness of theories (Yin, 2009) to explain, and as such the case should be explored in the first instance. Adelman et al. (1976:145) then considered the conduct and consequences of the study. Stating that "case study needs to represent, and represent fairly…it can only do so if its own principles of representation and interpretation are made explicit to its informants and built into the 'research contract'." Therefore, before the participants opted into the study, steps (these steps are considered in more detail within the 'Excellent Treatment of Individuals' subsection of the 'ethics' section) were taken to ensure the ethical treatment of participants and data. Adelman et al.'s "research contract" (1976:145) was interpreted and interwoven into both the research and, in particular, the ethics section of this study. Finally, Adelman et al. highlighted the need to recognise "the complexity and 'embeddedness' of social truths" (1976:148). They suggested that case studies, if carefully constructed, can reveal the full perceptions of participants. Understanding teachers' beliefs and actual practice is of paramount importance within this research and as such a case study approach can fully reveal participants' experiences and meaning. One of the main tools in permitting this revelation of thoughts and actions is ethnography which will now be considered.

Ethnography, as it is used in this study is a method of research (Agar, 1980). It is not a singular action but rather the collation of varied data about relationships between with a community members and their concrete and abstract objects. Through collating these data, patterns maybe searched for enabling better understanding of the group being studied and their

institutions, behaviours, objects and beliefs (Flick, 2007). As Creswell (2013) explains, ethnography has its roots in cultural anthropology, however, the study of different cultures, has since adapted to encompass a number of theoretical subtypes. Given the location of this thesis within an interpretivist, realist phenomenological perspective, it is felt that the theoretical underpinnings supporting the study are already clear and appropriate. How this study was designed following the principles of ethnographic tradition will now be explored below, while the specific data collection methods employed used to create the ethnographic approach are described in the section 'Data Collection Methods".

The study was designed following the principles of ethnographic tradition, which Angrosino (2007:15) outlined as: *"field-based…personalised…multifactorial…long-term…inductive…dialogic and holistic."* Each of these considerations will be considered in relation to this study. During the study the researcher was a "participant-as-observer (the researcher is immersed in the community but is known to be conducting research and has permission to do so)" Angrosino (2007: 6). As such, the researcher acted as a teaching assistant (TA) in each of the three schools, consequently the ethnography was *field-based* (Angrosino, 2007). Which provided the 'real-life' setting under study. Work as a TA was undertaken one day a week, for a full term, meaning that the ethnography was also *personalised* (Angrosino, 2007). through working with and for the participants, as well as being *long-term* (Angrosino, 2007).. The description *long-term* in relation to ethnography is not a singular state which equals a specific amount of time, but rather relates to the level of embeddedness which the researcher can attain within a setting, resulting in data collection which is sufficiently rich. It is common practice in primary schools for visiting teachers and helpers to have a set day on which they are present in the school, and as such this mode of interaction is viewed as 'normal'. Observations of practice over an extended stay were enabled through being present in the school for an entire term (each between six to eight weeks long, allowing the research to be conducted in an inductive nature, using accumulation of data

towards creating "general patterns of behaviour" (Angrosino, 2007:15). In the first two schools the research day was a Monday, as this was the day that the PFL specialist taught, while in the final school it was a Thursday, also the day that PFL took place. New Falls Primary School was the first school in which the researcher was ethnographically embedded, between January and April. From April to July research was conducted in New Forest School, and finally Sakura School provided the setting for the autumn term's research between September and December.

Each term in school brought with it different opportunities to become immersed in school life, such as assisting with class assemblies, helping with the Christmas production, listening to children read and covering whole classes for teachers. This can be seen noted in the field notes a full copy of these hand written notes can be viewed in Appendix 12. These notes reveal how embedded in school life I became during my ethnography, that staff and parents alike viewed my presence as a 'normal, regular' part of the school,

> "At break Christine asked if as part of European week of languages I would deliver Chinese in the afternoon…I said I would be happy to…" 26th September 2013

By the time it was next week, the children in school were excited and eager to learn and had spoken to their parents about the Chinese lessons,

> "I was stopped on the way into school by two mums asking if the Chinese lessons were on and I spoke to her about it. One told me her daughter had gone on the Internet and copied down Chinese symbols and wanted to do some more." 3rd October 2013

These small acts are important in ethnographic research, as they establish relationships, helping to embed a 'stranger' into the culture through accepted customs and practice. Furthermore, such varied interactions help to provide first-hand experience of each school (Creswell, 1998; Atkinson et al., 2001), which must be undertaken to be able to begin to construct a representation of the setting and to begin to understand the culture of the school. By being embedded in the natural context of the school "sufficient data could be collected to

explore significant features of the case and to put forward interpretations for what is observed" (Bassey, 1999:47)

An ethnographic approach allowed me as a researcher to be immersed within the setting for an extended period of time, focusing on everyday life through participant observation (Savin-Baden and Major, 2013) while taking on the role of an accepted member of the workplace community. Thus, it was the intention that the teachers interacting with the research would develop trust and feel comfortable, revealing what they believed through the interviews. Trust in the researcher was important as teachers are subject to many tensions, which can pull in different directions. These tensions may come from within the teacher; they may be self-imposed, dependent on how the teachers view themselves and their definition of 'doing being a teacher'. Alternatively, these may come from more senior management and many also come from outside agencies, such as the media. It is with these tensions in mind that ethnographic research was decided to be undertaken. It was planned for the teachers to feel comfortable in revealing their thoughts and opinions, rather than feeling they needed to give a 'correct answer'. In addition, the participant observations and flexible data collection allowed the freedom to gain a *holistic* (Angrosino, 2007) experience of working within a primary school. These *multifactorial* (Angrosino, 2007) data collection methods provided legitimacy and also strengthened the research. The researcher's full engagement in the primary schools is discussed in further detail in the 'participant observer' and 'informal conversation' sections.

As mentioned before, this thesis was informed by 'insider' knowledge of the research topic gained from working as a primary school teacher in the LA that was studied, and also 'outsider' knowledge from working as a teacher educator in Higher Education (HE) specialising in PFL. However, it was difficult to know if my lived experiences would resonate with different primary teachers in varied schools. It was suspected and anticipated that this would happen.

Therefore, ethnography was chosen to systematically study the PFL situation in three primary schools so that the teachers' points of view and what concerns them most intimately (Malinowski, 1922) could be better understood. The question of legitimacy and fiction in the role of ethnography as an approach is an interesting one, which was in part answered by the decision to craft and interpret the data with the participants in a constructivist approach as debated above. Furthermore, by including *a priori* experiences of living and working in the 'culture' to be studied both credibility and transferability (Guba, 1981: Lincoln and Guba, 1986) is strengthened (Charmaz, 2006). Data collection was not approached as an outside researcher unaware of the cultural symbolism and practices (Clifford and Marcus, 1986; Creswell, 2013). And yet, at the same time, I was not obligated to live within this culture, experiencing instead a similar and yet different educational culture in HE. Creswell (2013:96) warns of the possibility of a researcher engaged in ethnographic research going 'native', rending their ability to conduct research as compromised. However, as part of my ITE role involves visiting schools on an almost fortnightly basis, I am familiar with the settings and have used this knowledge to relax teachers in my company. I am also able to distinguish clearly between my various roles as qualified primary school teacher, HE ITE tutor and researcher. This provided a little distance for questioning and reflection rather than simple acceptance.

Although I was operating in familiar territory, the challenges of conducting ethnographic research were not to be underestimated. Ethnography could be considered somewhat of a luxury for the 'full-time-working-part-time-researcher', who may never be able to spend as long as they would wish in the setting that they are studying. As discussed before, my *a priori* knowledge meant that while another researcher not familiar with the setting may have had to spend time becoming familiar, this prior knowledge was activated. This prior knowledge did not come, however, without its challenges. It was important to be aware of pre-judgements of situations due to these prior experiences, particularly in the school where I was employed as a full-time teacher, to ensure that the research was *dialogic* in nature (Angrosino, 2007).

Reflecting back or 'member checking' (Coffey and Atkinson, 1996; Doyle, 2007; Lincoln and Guba, 1985) to the participants the meanings which had been understood was one strategy employed to guard against this issue. While in the role as a part-time TA, asking questions for clarification was easy to do as it was not expected that the complexities of school life would be understood. With these challenges prepared for, the study lent itself well to observation as a data collection technique, as teachers often demonstrate their behaviour through teaching, teaching choices and conversation within the staff room. In this way, they are, if one can gain access, very open research participants.

3.1.4 Positionality

Throughout the Methodology Chapter, Savin-Baden and Major's 2013 Ethical Considerations Framework was used to underpin the decisions that were taken in conjunction with the British Educational Research Association's (BERA) Ethical Guidelines for Educational Research (2011). A visual diagram of Savin-Baden and Major's framework can be located in Figure 2 (pg.121). Savin-Baden and Major suggested that when conducting research not only should the methodological basis be considered, but also the researcher themselves as they are the main instrument in the study. A difficult issue, they suggested, is to consider the researcher ability. This is a challenging area as I know I experienced Imposter Phenomenon (IP), scoring quite highly on the Clance Impostor Phenomenon Scale (CIPS) (Clance, 1985). However, IP can also be seen as a research advantage as it allowed me to view my research from an 'outsider' perspective. For example, when presenting to the teachers, who were interested in opting into Phase Two, I positioned myself as though I was speaking to an interested party without a research background. I feel that this approach worked well. For instance, with regard to my spending one day a week at their school they asked me , "what kinds of things would I be willing to do?", to which I replied jokingly that they could give me any of the various jobs that no-one likes doing, such as 'playground duty'. This provided the teachers with insight into my 'humanity' and removed me from being solely viewed as a research academic.

Furthermore, it revealed my 'insider' knowledge, positioning myself as someone who was familiar with the same professional culture that they shared. IP (Clance, 1985) can also be suggested to have assisted with participant interaction. I did not feel like a typical PhD researcher, which allowed me to present information in a straight forward, 'non-academese' manner, as suggested by Salmons (2014). The teachers were given an information sheet and a participant consent form and told that they could email me if they wanted to ask questions about the study. This was important because as it was realised, perhaps through my own experiences with IP, that they may have felt self-conscious and not wanted to reveal themselves by asking questions in a public forum.

3.2 Ethical Considerations

Although ethical considerations, for the purposes of writing up, are located in this section, in reality they are interwoven and intertwined throughout this research study. They are not bolted on after having been considered, applied for and then ticked off. The ethics of this study, as considered in the section 'My Positionality' were underpinned by the framework suggested by Savin-Baden and Major, (2013).
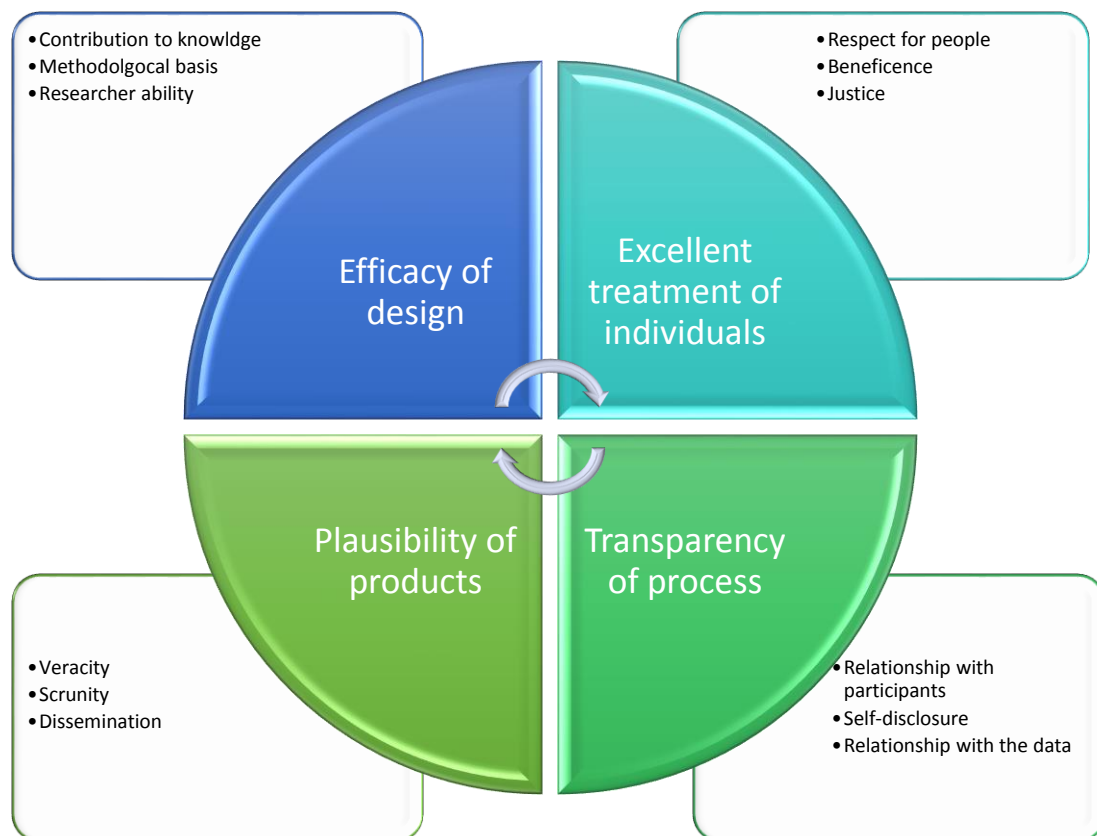
Figure 2: Ethical Considerations (Savin-Baden and Major, 2013)

3.2.1 Efficacy of Design

When this research study was first conceived, it was done so with the purpose of illuminating a phenomenon for a group of people. The people in question were primary school teachers and the process was the statutory introduction of primary languages in primary schools. This study was not, at first glance, centred on researching a sensitive topic, which could lend itself easily to the improper treatment of marginalised groups (Savin-Baden and Major, 2013). However, that is not to say that, given the changing landscape for teachers with the removal of national pay scales and the increased accountability for teachers tied into performance related pay, that this was not a topic which was, if a topic ever can be, neutral. However, there is a duty to contribute to knowledge generation, particularly in this area as there exists little knowledge currently. In addition, the study was ethically justified as there was a research gap in the area of PFL in England, as set against the accelerated 'academisation' of schools.

Savin-Baden and Major (333:2013) made reference to Hammick (1996) and Whiting and Vickers (2010), stating that "if the study will not add to knowledge or if the goals and objectives are not clear, then the study may not be ethical". This is because it would make unnecessary demand on participants' time. And, finally, it should be considered ethically sound, as it provided teachers with a voice which is crucial to understanding PFL in primary schools. It is for these reasons that the aims and objectives for the study were located in the Introduction Chapter, so that they were clear from the start of the thesis.

3.2.2 Excellent Treatment of Individuals

The excellent treatment of individuals is an aspect of everyday ethics to be considered and applied each and every day of the study by implementing the 'The Golden Rule' of 'do unto others as you would have them do unto you.' And while this sentiment can be traced back to, at least in western civilization, the Sermon on the Mount (The English Standard Version Bible, Matthew 7:12), it appears to be embedded in human consciousness as it has been written about by Confucius, Aristotle, in the Mahabharata, in the Islamic writ referred to as the Traditions, Buddhist text Udanavarga, and Jewish literature (Schwantes, 2007). Implementation of 'The Golden Rule' to transcend from basic requirement to ethical excellence can be considered to be actioned, according to Savin-Baden and Major, through three principles, "respect for persons, beneficence and equal treatment or justice" (2013:333). These principles were considered as part of the research design from conception.

In the initial mapping survey, all information gathered, unless the school wished to participate in Phase Two, was anonymous. Furthermore, care was taken when speaking to schools not to reveal the identities of other schools which had expressed an interest. When a school opted into Phase Two, they were sent an information sheet about the study by email and also a consent form for the head teacher to allow access to the school. This information sheet was

purposely sent by email so that head teachers had the space to consider the information in their own time. Thereafter meetings with each head teacher were conducted. It was at these meetings that each head teacher offered their signed consent forms. These were not formally requested, but all head teachers had them ready.

Subsequently, a date was arranged to present myself as a researcher, the aims and project at a staff meeting. At this session, potential participants were provided with an opportunity to ask questions. This was important because it was initially the head teachers of the schools who gave written permission (gatekeeper consent) for the study to take place. Therefore, this presentation of the research study as well as a requirement to opt-in ensured that each participant was informed and could provide voluntary, informed consent. This process ensured that the research undertaken complied with not only Liverpool John Moores University's (LJMU) institutional ethical guidelines but also those developed by BERA and thus aimed to enhance the quality of my research. Technical research jargon was consciously avoided and care was taken to ensure that teachers were not coerced into opting in. This was of particular importance at the school where I used to work. This led to a situation where consent forms were not personally chased up as to not apply any form of pressure. The staff were informed that they could return the opt-in forms to myself or if they preferred they could hand them in to a member of staff. The teachers who opted in were reminded at key points, such as before the commencing of interviews that they may withdraw from the study at any point without having to give a reason. All information that was gathered from the participants was kept confidential. They were assured that electronic data would be stored on the central, pass-word-protected LJMU drive and that hard copies would be stored in the locked cupboard in my home office.

3.2.3 Transparency of the Process

As examined above, the teachers were introduced to the research study at a staff meeting. It was at these sessions that my epistemological position was disclosed to participants. This initial 'formal' presentation was supplemented throughout the study with informal one-to-one conversations. Again, in these meetings, care was taken to present the research and ideas in 'plain English', without using 'academese' (Salmons, 2014). In addition to these steps for transparency, my contact details were provided to all participants and the offer of more time to ask questions and discuss the process was given. Furthermore, any questions that were asked (relating to the study or not) were answered in an open and honest manner. This approach led to some interesting questions of a personal nature concerning a lecturer's salary, where I attended school and where I live. This showed that the participants felt more than comfortable asking questions and that the potential 'power' differential (Stangor, 2014) was not an issue for them. Furthermore, by acting in a TA role this enabled the participants to direct my time throughout the day which placed me in a less 'powerful' position. It is not to say that the possible 'power imbalance' ceased to exist, but was not explicit when the participants were interacting with myself. As discussed in detail above, through the concept of 'member checking' (Coffey and Atkinson, 1996; Doyle, 2007; Lincoln and Guba, 1985), participants were asked to provide further explanations if there was ambiguity of meaning during an interview. When observing lessons, teachers were invited, at any point, to read the notes. These were purposely not shielded and left open on the table when I left the room. Through this, a high degree of 'self-disclosure' transparency was provided. The relationships with the participants were also conducted in an open manner. For example, 'extra' activities were undertaken such as helping out at the Christmas play, going to the shop for people at lunchtime and covering lessons to alleviate staffing issues, sometimes at the last minute. And, while the participants cannot be spoken for, it certainly could be suggested that strong, positive relationships were developed whilst working and collecting data in each school. Transparency of the data collection process has been addressed in the first part of this Methodology Chapter.

A critical stance towards the research was taken, which acknowledged my philosophical and epistemological beliefs and efforts towards declaring any personal and professional bias (Savin-Baden and Major, 2013).

3.2.4 Plausibility of Products

This section examines the research process itself in ethical terms rather than considering ethical issues in relation to individual participants. Therefore, scrutiny and accountability (Savin-Baden and Major, 2013) are the first two aspects to consider. From the first conception of the study, 'checks and measures' were applied, firstly by my thesis supervisors, secondly by the university's ethic committee, and then in the long term by my colleagues through research seminars and formal and informal conversations. As the focus of this study was concerned with gaining an understanding of teachers' lived experiences and perceptions of FL within the primary school, the issue of veracity is key. It is of fundamental importance that the stories (Clandinin and Connelly, 2000) and opinions of the participants were at the forefront of the research endeavour and this was considered and planned for in the data analysis section. Finally, the issue of dissemination, it is important to note that the chosen topic is timely and of relevance to teachers, student teachers and ITE institutes. Therefore, it is very much my 'duty', as a researcher, to share the findings of the research study with all of these stakeholders. In addition to the participants of the study, the findings should also be shared with PFL policy makers to inform and shape future decisions.

3.3 Research Design and Methods

The data was collected using, for the main part, qualitative methods, including semi-structured interviews, informal observations and conversation. Through these methods, it was possible to engage with the participants, exploring with them what their PFL views were within their school and also by observing their behaviours related to this topic. It is in this way that the

research study was one which was subjective rather than objective. Issues arising from this subjectivity in relation to credibility (Merriam 1995) will be considered later.

In Phase One of the study, a mixed methods data collection tool was used. This was a survey which was predominately quantitative with limited free text comment sections to further illuminate some aspects of practice. It was used initially to map the territory in Phase One. In Phase Two, the data collection methods that were employed yielded thick descriptions. These were qualitative in nature. It is important that the methods employed are akin to the methodology underpinning the study as a whole throughout. This consistency is something which Wellington (2000) stated is sometimes missing. Geertz (1973), in constructivist interpretivist tradition using phenomenological description with hermeneutic interpretation, suggested that there are two different types of description which could be used: thin description, which is the process of describing the act, or thick description, which looks at what has led to the act, the internationalism and the culture and history.

3.4 Phase One – Mixed Methods Mapping Survey Across LA

The aim of Phase One was to gain an understanding of PFL teaching in Castle Rock before commencing the study, particularly in light of recent policy changes. It was not clear if the primary schools in Castle Rock had continued to offer the PFL 'entitlement' as per pre-2010 or if they had made changes to their curriculum. In brief, many primary schools, especially those in Castle Rock, under the strong leadership of the former languages consultants, had been ready to make PFL statutory in 2011. However, then the Coalition Government of 2010 came into office, the statutory date of 2011 was removed, the funding ceased and the LA languages consultants were made redundant. Against this backdrop of change, schools were told to 'continue with the PFL status quo'. Many schools ceased to teach PFL, while others joined local networks and paid for the once-free support of the consultant.

It was decided that a previously-validated questionnaire by Wade and Marshall (2008), which had been used in another, much larger scale, longitudinal research study, also concerned with mapping the PFL territory, would be employed. The 2008 version of this questionnaire was chosen as this was the most recent version used and a copy can be located in Appendix 2. The aim of using this questionnaire was to assess the nature and extent of language learning provision at KS2 in schools in England (NFER, 2010). In addition, its remit was to also chart progress towards implementation of the non-statutory target set in the National Languages Strategy Languages for All: Languages for Life. A Strategy for England (DfES, 2002).

A consideration was that head teachers are busy professionals who would perhaps find it difficult to engage with a paper copy of the questionnaire and that it might perhaps be confused with the multitude of unsolicited mail that schools and head teachers receive on a daily basis. It was also considered time-consuming for head teachers to post back the questionnaire, not to mention costly in terms of providing stamped addressed envelopes. Therefore, it was decided, after considering these issues that an electronic link would be emailed directly to each head teacher. The questionnaire was anonymous, although there was the option to leave contact details if respondents were interested in opting into Phase Two of the research study.

Initially, it had been hoped to email the survey out to all head teachers using the Castle Rock emailing list that provides information regarding a variety of topics and issues. A telephone conversation was undertaken with the LA Education Department and I was asked to place the request in writing to the Assistant Director of Universal Services. The Assistant Director of Universal Services was emailed, outlining the nature of the research project, the benefit to the LA and the schools for taking part and asked if he would forward the link to all head teachers using the list and if it would be possible to place a small article in the internal news bulletin,

highlighting the survey. A short correspondence ensued, and then a pause. When the Assistant Director of Universal Services replied, he stated that in the busy run-up to Christmas he had become "distracted by other things" and that it was too late to get anything out to schools. It is suspected that given the unprecedented scale of the rapid changes to education affecting Castle Rock LA at this time, participating in a research study was perhaps not possible. It was suggested that personal contacts should be used to forward the survey; this had already been done given the delay in response. The head teacher who received the forwarded link sent it out to all head teachers in Castle Rock, through an internal head teacher mailing list, he also then went on to champion the study in person at various meetings that he went to and this lent legitimacy and gatekeeper endorsement to the study. It allowed other head teachers to feel confident completing the survey and opting into the study as 'one of their own' had endorsed the research project.

From the email that was send to head teachers, all of the 69 primary schools within Castle Rock LA were invited to take part in the research project. They were informed that they could participate in Phase One and opt in for Phase Two, or simply participate anonymously in the mapping questionnaire in Phase One. The primary schools were initially invited to participate though completing an online survey, hosted through Bristol Online Surveys (BOS). From the possible 69 primary schools that were emailed the survey, 14 replied. From these respondents, five schools opted to receive more information about Phase Two. From the schools that asked for further information, it was hoped that purposive sampling (Todres, 2005) could be used to choose different models of PFL practice. However, one school later declined to take part stating that the pressure of a poor Ofsted grading meant that the school would make the focus on the teaching of 'the core' subjects of Maths and Literacy their priority. Another teacher, in a different school, expressed an interest in participating in the study but was advised by her head teacher not to take on any extra work due to the current focus on improving their 'Creative Curriculum'. The research project was presented to the head

teachers of the remaining three case study schools and then to the staff. They all opted into Phase Two of the study.

3.5 Phase Two – Qualitative Ethnographic Research in Three Case Study Schools

Phase Two was primarily concerned with investigating primary school teachers' beliefs and practices relating to PFL. Its aim was to illuminate the motivating and limiting factors that teachers are currently facing in light of the funding cuts to educational support, increased accountability and PFL implementation in 2014. Several data collection methods were used: participant observations, semi-structured interviews, a self-reflective diary, informal conversation with staff and analysis of policy documents.

The data collection tools which were chosen to investigate PFL teaching and learning will be more closely examined in a later section. However, it should be noted that, when used together, these methods complemented one another and created a mosaic of data from which a more detailed picture of PFL in Castle Rock emerged.

3.6 Phase Two: Sample of Schools

Access to the three schools selected for the research project was facilitated through the head teacher that sent out the email on my behalf, and spoke about the research project at head teacher events. From the initial survey which was emailed to all 69 Castle Rock primary schools, three opted in to part two of the research study. It should be acknowledged, with thanks, that it was through this professional relationship that this study was more easily facilitated than had an alternative LA been approached. While this use of 'convenience sampling' is often referred to as the weakest of all sampling procedures (Gravetter and Forzano, 2015) because it uses participants who are simply available as a subject in the study,

it was only through this method that the study could be undertaken. Castle Rock LA was chosen as the authority to study due to my familiarity with the setting. This 'insider' information and existing links to contacts proved to be invaluable when negotiating access. This study was carried out at a time of immense change and intensified pressure for schools: no notice Ofsted inspections, increased accountability, reduced funding and the erosion of the pay grades to name but a few.

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It soon became apparent that, of the three schools that opted into Phase Two, all of them had progression in a single language, French, although all had a different delivery, for example a fulltime French teacher, a FL assistant and a TA. When in dialogue with the head teacher of each school when negotiating access for Phase Two, the lead question for many of these meetings was, "could you tell me a little more about the model of language teaching that you currently operate?" Although the schools differed considerably in almost every aspect, socio-economic demographics, age at which the children started the learning a foreign language and the person delivering the foreign language, there was one common denominator between them, the overarching aim of developing language competency in a French, language competence programme. An overview of the participant schools will now be presented.

3.6.1 School A – New Falls

New Falls is a large, two form entry, with approximately 500 children on the roll. The percentage of children eligible for free school meals (often taken as an indicator of socio-economic status) is below average as is the number of children with EAL and from a minority ethnic background. New Falls Primary School employs a fulltime internal peripatetic teacher of French to deliver all language throughout the school from Years 3-Year 6. The teacher has a degree in French and used to work in the business sector using her language skills before retraining as a teacher. The model that the school follows is language competency.

3.6.2 School B – Forest School

Forest School is an average-sized single form entry school with just over 200 pupils on roll. Most pupils are from White British backgrounds and none with beginners level EAL. The proportion of pupils known to be eligible for free school meals is below average. The percentage of pupils who are supported by School Action Plus or who have a statement of special educational needs is broadly average (Ofsted, 2009). Forest School has bought into a local private languages consultancy which provides the school with a Foreign Language Assistant (FLA), and an external peripatetic teacher. The FLA is very experienced, both in languages and the teaching of primary languages. She possesses a BA (Hons) degree in French and Spanish and completed a PGCE with a French Specialism. It is interesting to note that the consultancy for which the FLA works is owned and managed by the former Castle Rock LA consultant who, when the funding cuts and PFL ambiguity of 2009 came into play, was 'let go' and set up her own firm. While acting as the LA consultant, she was incredibly proactive in setting up support networks, helping schools to deliver PFL through providing them with many forms of support including schemes of work, training and cultural insights. The school follows a language competency programme.

3.6.3 School C – Sakura School

Sakura School is located in an affluent suburb of Castle Rock LA. It is an average-sized primary school, with 211 pupils, who predominately are from White British heritage with fewer than average EAL speakers and none of beginner level. Sakura School is in the fortunate position of having a fulltime class teacher who has a languages (French and German) BA (Hons) degree as well as a PGCE with a French specialism, who delivers French to all Key Stage 2 classes on a Thursday afternoon. When asked, the school stated that they followed a language competency approach.

3.6.4 Participant Profiles

Each school had a different number of teachers who participated in the research study and it would be useful to consider a brief overview of their profiles, including their main roles and responsibilities as well as if they teach PFL. Gender has been presented as a category as it was identified as a key theme in the Literature Review, and is thus of relevance.

Table 1: Teachers Participating in the Research

School	Teacher Code	Role and Responsibilities (as defined by teacher)	Gender	Teach PFL
New Falls	A	Class teacher YR 4, subject leader- Literacy	F	N
New Falls	Thomasina	Subject leader- FL	F	Y
New Falls	C	Class teacher YR 5, subject leader- science, Child Protection Officer	F	Y- links made in lessons
New Falls	D	Class teacher YR 1, subject leader-phonics and geography	F	Y- links made in lessons
New Falls	E	Class teacher YR 1, SENCO	F	N
New Falls	F	Class teacher YR 6, teacher of YR 5 Maths	F	N
New Falls	G	Class teacher Foundation Stage, subject leader Foundation Stage and Senior Child Protection Officer	F	N
New Falls	H	Class teacher YR 3	F	Y- Links made in lessons
New Falls	I	Deputy head teacher, management of English and Maths across the school	F	N
New Falls	J	Class teacher YR 2, subject leader P.E. and management of School Sport.	F	Y- links made in lessons
New Falls	Seymour	Head teacher	M	N
Forest School	Rothschild	Head teacher	M	N
Forest School	Andrea	FL teacher	F	Y
Forest School	N	Class teacher YR 4, Inclusion Coordinator	F	N
Forest School	O	Class teacher Reception, FL Coordinator, Early Years Coordinator	F	Y- links made in lessons
Forest School	P	Class teacher YR 3, Geography and Library Coordinator	F	N

Forest School	Q	Class teacher YR 5, Assessment and Science Coordinator	M	N
Forest School	R	Class teacher YR 2, Numbers Count Teacher, Maths and Art Coordinator	F	N
Forest School	S	Deputy Head, class teach YR 2, management of the curriculum and curriculum development, Reading and the Writing Coordinator.	F	N
Forest School	T	Class teacher YR 6, ICT and Dand T Coordinator	F	N
Forest School	U	Class teacher YR 1, P.E. Coordinator	F	N
Sakura School	V	Class teacher Yr 4, SENCO, ICT Coordinator , member of Senior Leadership Team	M	Y- links made in lessons
Sakura School	Christine	Class teacher Yr 2, FL and Geography Coordinator	F	y
Sakura School	W	Class teacher YR 1, R.E. and Science Coordinator	F	N
Sakura School	X	Class teacher Yr 6, Maths Coordinator	F	N
Sakura School	Y	Class teacher YR 5, Deputy Head, Mid-Day and teaching assistants manager, coordinating a study on spirituality, Art and Design, Creative Arts Coordinator, Residential Visits Coordinator	F	N
Sakura School	Z	Class teacher YR 2, PSHE Coordinator and Chairperson of the PTA	F	N
Sakura School	Priory	Head teacher	F	N

3.7 Data Collection Methods

As outlined previously, there were five data collection methods which were used in this research study. These were semi-structured interviews, participant observations, informal conversation with staff, a self-reflective diary, and analysis of policy documents. These data collection methods contributed to the inductive nature of the study. They sought, in an open-

ended and flexible manner, to investigate the phenomenon. Each method and its relationship to this study will now be considered.

3.7.1 Semi-Structured Interviews

Semi-structured interviews were used because questions planned in advance permitted deep thought about the information that they were designed to yield (Tierney and Dilley, 2002). At the same time, a flexible and adaptive interview structure (Robson, 2002) was needed so that new, unexpected themes and ideas could come to the fore and be fully explored. The ideal balance of conversational preparation and spontaneity was discussed by Burgess who described semi-structured interviews as being a "conversation with a purpose" (Burgess, 1984: 102). Drever (1995) perceived the advantages semi-structured interviews have, particularly when using a case study approach, as offering a more flexible approach to deep exploration, probing answers which are interesting to further explore and 'chat about' freely.

These semi-structured interviews are one data collection tool which form part of the GT approach. It is therefore important to look at the role which interviewing plays in relation to "theoretical saturation" (Bloor and Wood, 2006:164). Theoretical saturation is achieved when no "new conceptual insights are generated" and for the purposes of this study was reached when participants, when interviewed, repeated topics or themes. Creswell (1998:56) described saturation, through interviews, as requiring "in-depth interviews with 20-30 individuals with knowledge of the phenomenon under investigation". Through interviewing 29 primary school teachers, saturation was planned for and achieved both at an intra-school as well as inter-school level.

When planning the semi-structured interviews, much time was dedicated to researching how to interview participants effectively. Research revealed employing the more nuanced skills

such as listening and establishing a rapport with the interviewees worked well (Savin-Baden and Major, 2013). These strategies help to put participants at ease rather than solely researching and considering the question types to ask and the recording apparatus to purchase for recording the interview. Videoed interviews were watched as well as reading widely on the topic. Perhaps the most informative information came from Savin-Baden and Major (2013) who made the implicit skills of good interviewing explicit, by discussing listening and observing in clear plain language before setting up an 'aide memoire' for establishing rapport. One of the challenges which was expected was the eliciting of authentic responses, encouraging the teachers to express their own opinions and sharing these. Savin-Baden and Major (2013:361) observed that participants "will not talk freely if they believe that you do not agree with them or are being judgemental". Having made a mental note of this ahead of time enabled me to gain 'interviewer distance' when someone expressed an opinion about PFL that did not align with my own beliefs. The ultimate purpose of the study, to illuminate teachers' beliefs rather than to debate the 'rights and wrongs' of issues, was considered before each interview. 'Sensitive Silence' (DeWalt and DeWalt, 2002) was also a conscious resolution that was made, because I know that I have a natural tendency to 'ramble' and to fill silence in conversations if feeling a little awkward. Rowe (1986) found that when the average teacher asks a question, in class, they wait only around one second per question, even though they describe feeling like they have waited for a longer time. Therefore, a method was devised to ensure that participants were given enough time. In this instance, it was achieved by counting backwards in Mandarin in my head from 10 to 0. This also provided visible cognitive challenge so that I was not simply staring and waiting for the interviewee. This, while a highly personal strategy, worked well. Nuanced, soft interviewing skills, 'interviewer distance' (Savin-Baden and Major, 2013), 'sensitive silence' (DeWalt and DeWalt, 2002) and appropriate waiting time (Rowe, 1986) ensured that the skills of an 'ethnographic' interviewer (Woods, 1986) were met. It is now appropriate to examine participant observation as an ethnographic data collection tool.

3.7.2 Participant Observation

In each of the three case study schools, the role of overt participant observer was adopted, one day a week for a term. This was generally in a TA role, although when required whole class teaching was also included, often at short notice to provide cover. This role enabled observations of the teachers both teaching and in the staffroom at break times. Both the formal aspect of the teachers' professional practice, as presented to the pupils, and the more informal professional behaviour at break times were visible. It was decided that the regular pattern of attendance at the schools would result in improved access and acceptance by staff and pupils and would be preferable to an infrequent, scattered pattern of attendance over several days a week for a couple of hours at a time. It is common practice for primary schools to have guest teachers and volunteers as visitors on a set day. Mondays were chosen as the day to attend the first two schools in the role as participant observer, as this was the day that they taught PFL, and Thursday at the final school. As a participant observer, it was interesting to be able to compare what the teachers said with what the teachers practised.

Participant observation was chosen as one of the methods of data collections because of the nature of the research being conducted in an interpretive tradition with the aim of illuminating perspectives and practices of teachers. The data gathered through this method enabled observation of the teachers to consider if their practices corresponded with their perceptions and espoused theories revealed in the interviews. In this way, watching the lessons and school interactions was useful evidence of practice. They often overlapped with informal conversations, either at the start, during or the end of the lesson, which provided rich description (Geertz 1973, 1988). After all, "social process is not captured in hypothetical deductions, covariance and degrees of freedom. Instead, understanding social process involves getting inside the world of those generating it" (Rosen, 2007).

3.7.3 Informal Conversation

Through working in each school, participation in a number of different activities took place. These provided different opportunities to interact and talk to the staff, not only about PFL but about other topics of 'normal' conversation. Scribing while having a 'chat' was considered to be 'off-putting' and would render the interaction into a formalised data collection process. To avoid this impression being generated among the participants, such conversations were written up at a later time. A consequence of this strategy was that these narratives were not 'word for word' accounts and have been filtered through the lens of the researcher. It is noted that, within this research project, all data collected was interpreted by the researcher, but that, in line with interpretive research "there is no objective reality which can be discovered by researchers and replicated by others" (Walsham, 1993:5).

Engaging in informal conversation with the teachers was one strand of data collection, listening to the informal conversations of others in the staff room or in the classroom was another. These informal conversations never, with the exception of two, centred on the specific topic of PFL. However, they touched instead on the interweaving of a primary school teacher's daily life in school and the impact this has on teaching and learning. For example, in one school the field notes (Appendix 12) revealed that the teachers did not always feel that they were respected by the parents

> "In the staff room the teachers were talking about parents asking them to spend their time finding things like [lost] hoola hoops and jumpers, but the parents don't [bother] to label them. [The teachers discussed that the parents did not seem to understand that] that teachers are professionals with degrees. They also talked about a mother who said she had seen a video of guided reading and that the teacher [at school] wasn't doing what she saw on the video, but then she was [too] busy with her kitchen extension to come in to school [to discuss]. A parent called at lunch to speak to a teacher to ask why their child had lost their 'golden time', she [was annoyed] and said she was having her lunch." 3rd October 2013

These notes reveal that the teachers felt that they were questioned and scrutinised by parents in a way that they felt other professionals would not be, that they were not always respected

in a manner they would like to be. The teacher that had received the phone call was a little annoyed that parents called the school to discuss their child's progress at lunch time, when she had been working through part of her lunch preparing for a parents' evening later that week. She expressed the view that these parents did not respect her right to have a lunch break and that they did not understand that parents' evening was the space to discuss these issues. This then led on to a discussion in general about what the public think of teaching, media coverage of the profession and the recent policy changes. Listening to this debate helped to provide context to understand the pressures that the teachers felt were incumbent upon them.

3.7.4 Self-Reflective Diary

At the start of the research, an observation diary was kept, containing the data gathered at school. The diary was not used to chart my feelings during the research, as the act of writing of a daily reflection was considered to be a little cumbersome or just another job to complete. However, after a 'critical incident' (Tripp, 2012), it was realised that fluctuating emotions and feelings about my PhD research were experienced. It was considered that journaling would help to explore these and support the research process. The term 'critical incident' (Tripp, 2012), when used in educational contexts, refers to commonplace events which only through analysis become critical. This led me to acknowledge that the researcher is one of the main tools, some could argue the main data collection tool, and as such it is important that these emotions are acknowledged and explored. The idea of maintaining a dialogue journal (Drevdahl and Dorcy, 2002), which would act as a communication between thesis supervisors and myself, about issues which are perhaps hard to verbalise, was considered. However, while the advantages of such a journal, swift feedback and support at critical moments, are appreciated, it also demands a level of such vigorous honesty to which it would not be possible to commit. This is because I was also working at the same place of study.

Instead, because it was felt that this reflective log would be valuable, it was decided it would be maintained as a personal diary which was not to be shared with anyone. It was for myself, as the researcher only to explore feelings and how they may or may not have influenced and informed the research project. The personal journal was not used in any way to 'bracket' emotions and feelings from the research and the research data, as the ability to 'switch on and off' ideas, feelings and thoughts is not a notion to which is subscribed. By ascribing to this belief, the research is positioned with Munhall (1994) and Koch (1996) who felt that, in qualitative research, emotions and feelings should not be separated as it is not a negative attribute. The reflective journal did highlight that possible bias in interpretation and description (van Manen, 1990) should be considered, resulting in more careful data analysis.

3.7.5 Analysis of Policy Documents

In addition to listening to the perspectives of the teachers and observing their practice, key policy documents from a range of sources were analysed. From the school, the documentation included were the PFL policy, the assessment policy, the teaching and learning policy as well as the Equality Act Policy (this, since 2010, has replaced the various different policies covering the protected characteristics). These documents were examined, compared and contrasted with the LA policies and also the national key policy documents, namely the National Curriculum 2014, Key Stage 2 Framework, Marking and Making Progress, Languages Ladder, The Junior Languages Portfolio and the draft National Curriculum for PFL. It is hoped that by exploring the teachers' words and actions in a policy context a fuller picture, in terms of how well they align, can be gained.

3.8 Trustworthiness

Qualitative studies differ from quantitative ones, demanding tailored methodologies and methods. Therefore, it is logical that the trustworthiness of a qualitative study should be determined by specific criteria. Guba (1981) and Lincoln and Guba (1985) suggested that there are four qualitative study measurements which can replace traditional quantitative ones (LeCompte and Goetz, 1982). Guba (1981) put forward the term 'credibility' which should replace internal validity and transferability to act instead of external validity. For the concept of reliability, Guba (1981) proposed using dependability, and finally confirmability can replace objectivity. Regarding confirmability, Guba (1981: 87) suggested two steps that the researcher can take to ensure that this is as strong as possible. He recommended "triangulation… collecting data from a variety of sources… [and]… a variety of perspectives" and also practising reflexivity to reveal intentions and epistemological assumptions. As both of these strategies have already been explored in depth in the data collection methods section, the remaining three terms and how they apply to this thesis will now be considered.

3.8.1 Credibility

Credibility, according to Savin-Baden and Major (2013:475), centres on "the notion that study results should be convincing and, therefore, are to be believed [it]... implies that findings represent some sense of reality." It is therefore of paramount importance that credibility is established as, without it, there is no research legitimacy. The strategies which have been used to strengthen the credibility of this research are twofold. The first strategy is academic colleague examination which is using other HE professionals as critical friends to augment this research. This was implemented through actively seeking feedback and discussing research data both formally and informally with colleagues and asking for comments on the emerging results. The second strategy was the provision of a statement of the researcher's experiences which includes assumptions and biases to enable the reader to better understand how the data might have been interpreted. While Yardley's (2000) criteria for assessing qualitative research quality were not being 'strictly' adhered to, consideration was given to

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these principles when designing the research study. In particular, 'sensitivity to context' was felt to be important and as such was an underpinning strategy, and further examination of how this was achieved can be located in the data collection methods section, in particular within the interview section.

3.8.2 Dependability

Issues of reliability usually centre on whether or not findings from research could be replicated (Merriam, 1995). However, it is understood that this interpretation of reliability, as touched upon above, is not applicable to qualitative research of an interpretive nature. It has been suggested instead that interpretive researchers should aim for "dependability or consistency" (Guba, 1981; Lincoln and Guba, 1985). In other words, instead of comparing inter-research studies, they advocate comparing within the same study. Merriam is clear "the real question for qualitative researchers… is not whether the results of one study are the same as the results of a second or third study, but whether the results of a study are consistent with the data collected" (1995:56). As a result of the research design being well considered and robust, this is indeed the case.

3.8.3 Transferability

It would be useful before considering the issue of transferability to define what is meant by the term as applied to this project. Some (e.g. Miller, 1998) considered transferability to be the generalisability of the study, while others, according to Mejia (2009:2), have labelled transferability with a different adjective. This case study sought to   illuminate the PFL situation in three primary schools by uncovering the perspectives of the teachers working there. In this endeavour the intention was to gain deeper insights and understanding of a phenomenon rather than employing a quantitative data collection tool, such as a survey, in order to make generalisations. Bassey (1999) further developed the concept of generalisation by introducing

the idea of uncertainty, by use of modal verbs to express that the findings of this case study may apply to other cases, that other teachers could feel the same way as the teachers in this case study. Accordingly, it is likely that non-specialist teachers view PFL in the same way, however, there are no certainties. Instead, this study followed Bassey's (1981) notions of transferability as relating to 'fuzzy generalisations'. Fuzzy generalisations (Bassey, 1981) can be said to refer to the idea that it is possible to make predictive statements based on professional judgement which are likely to happen, although not guaranteed. This is because there can be said to be, in real life social settings, too many uncontrolled variables for straightforward generalisations to be made. These 'fuzzy generalisations' were further strengthened by using the transferability strand of Lincoln and Guba's Evaluative Criteria, (1985).

3.9 Analysis

As this research adopted a constructivist GT approach, the analysis of data was a continuous process. As there were two phases to the data collection, how the data was analysed in each of these will now be considered in more depth.

In Phase One, there was a low response rate of 14 primary schools to the online survey. The low response rate of 14 schools to the mapping questionnaire meant that there was little point in inputting such data into statistical software packages such as Statistical Software Packages for Social Science (SPSS). Instead, the data was analysed by first using the tools that BOS has built in such as visual representation and filtering, and then was exported into an Excel spreadsheet. BOS is a survey tool which is hosted online for academic research. It has a number of functions for data sorting such as the Excel graphical functions. These inbuilt tools allowed the data to be presented in clear, visual representations and provided clarity to the written commentary.

This study is based on constructivist GT (Charmaz, 2006) rather than Classic Glasserian Theory (Glasser, 1978) which normally begins by seeking to find out and research the topic before the Literature Review is conducted. This means that, during typical Classic Glasserian Theory data analysis, there is no literature base to relate to, however this was not the case in this study. The Literature Review related to the research topic, although from a different time period, was considered at the start. It would not have been possible, due to *a priori* knowledge, to have started from a traditional Classic Glasserian Theory blank slate position. Therefore, it is reasonable to acknowledge that this awareness informed the formulation of the research aims and objectives. In this manner, the study contains a deductive element as well. There are still further differences between constructivist GT and both Classic Glasserian and the subsequent Straussian (1998) in terms of data analysis. While Glasser (1978) used two data analysis procedures; substantive and theoretical, Strauss and Corbin (1998) used open coding, axial coding and selective coding. In this study, the constructivist approach was adopted and three stage of coding was used: initial, focused and theoretical (Charmaz, 2006). It is during initial coding that *a priori*, researcher/'hunch-codes' and open coding provided the initial categories. Subsequent focused coding produced umbrella categories from the initial ones and finally, theoretical coding led to saturation (Charmaz, 2006). As PFL in primary schools in England is a relatively new phenomenon, an open approach to the data and emerging theory should be used to best respond to this topic. Charmaz (2006:66) described this as "avoid[ing] imposing a forced framework", a stance which provided this study with a guiding principle to be responsive to the data.

In Phase Two, the interviews were transcribed and then initially coded as soon as recording had taken place. This meant that coding of the data, "line-by-line, and incident-by-incident or situation by situation" (Charmaz, 2012:9) started straight away, during the first ethnographic placement. In the initial coding process, there were three categories that were used. Firstly, there were the pre-existing/*a priori* codes, which had been generated from the Literature

Review. Secondly, there were the codes that emerged from the line-by-line coding (empirical) and, finally, there were 'the researcher codes' which could be described as 'hunch–codes', based on observations, insider *a priori* knowledge, and ethnographic immersion. In defence of this strategy, it should be acknowledged that a central tenant of the GT approach is that data should be discovered and that theory emerges from the data and that existing theory is not imposed on to the data. However, a decision to use the pre-determined, so-called *a priori* and 'hunch-codes' was taken, because "an open mind is not an empty head" (Dey, 1993:229) and, as discussed previously in the Methodology Chapter, it is deemed impossible to be a 'neutral' researcher (Charmaz, 2000). Conducting interviewing and open coding at the same time allowed emerging issues, not considered in the original interview questions or identified in the Literature Review, to be continually planned for and incorporated into the data collection. This process continued until by School Three, theoretical saturation had been achieved.

In the next phase of data analysis focused coding was undertaken by using the open codes as a starting point to generate more frequent broader codes which could be applied to paragraphs and chunks of interviews. It was this focused coding which permitted the sorting of large amounts of data through analysing for syntheses and larger explanations. Focused coding also provided conceptual labels. It is at this point that categories were examined and links between them developed and examined on further interviews (Creswell, 2013:196).

Charmaz (2006) suggested theoretical coding as an alternative approach to Strauss and Corbin's (1998) axial coding as it is less rigid and facilitates reflection more easily. Therefore, theoretical coding was used to consider the relationships between the concepts, and the properties and dimensions of each were also considered. A visual representation of this interrelated web can be located in the Data Analysis and Findings Chapter. It was from

studying this concepts image that the sections and subsections of the next chapter were planned.

Memos summarising thoughts and reflections about the data were written during transcribing and coding. It was through the use of memos the ability to record and document questions and hunches about the data was provided. Furthermore, this allowed for signposting to review and explore further future interview analysis ideas (Clarke, 2005). These memos helped to ensure methodological triangulation (Denzin, 1978) by using them in addition to the Literature Review, policy analysis and data generated by means of interviews and observations contributing to the trustworthiness of the study.

Using this process enabled the study to be "… open to all possible theoretical understandings,… developing tentative interpretations, about these data through codes and nascent categories [and] returning to the field site(s) and gathering more data to check and refine major categories" (Charmaz, 2012:3). This process ensured theoretical saturation by the final set of interviews and, through this inductive and deductive process, theory was developed.

3.10 Conclusion

The Methodology Chapter has presented a clear and logical 'backbone' to the research study that supports the reader in understanding and appreciating the realist phenomenological perspective at the heart of this research study. Furthermore, as the methods have been considered by exploring the constructivist GT approach to the ethnographic case study, this

further strengthens the 'subjective' and 'interpretivist' nature of this research. In each aspect of the research design, attention has been paid to the ethical considerations and ensuring excellent treatment of individuals. This has strengthened the plausibility of the final data and given credence to the research findings.

The following chapter follows the processes as discussed in this chapter and is entitled Data Analysis and Key Findings. The Data Analysis and Key Findings Chapter presents the data in two parts as per the study itself: Phase One, mapping survey results which provides an overview of key themes in Castle Rock primary schools which include: language rationale, age, time, resources, staffing, planning, assessment, transition and professional support. Phase Two data analysis, concerned with the ethnographic enquiry in three case study primary schools, presents the key findings from the head teachers, the specialist teachers and the generalist teachers. This is shown through the use of participant quotes and supplemented with observations from ethnographic residence in the schools.

4. DATA ANALYSIS AND PRESENTATION OF FINDINGS

The data collection for this study was undertaken in two phases. Phase One was concerned with mapping PFL provision across the LA of Castle Rock by means of a questionnaire-based survey. Phase Two involved an ethnographic enquiry in three schools. The questionnaire which was sent to 69 primary schools and was completed by 14 head teachers, resulting in a 20 per cent return rate. It consisted of predominately closed questions and included opportunities to expand on several responses, to provide some understanding behind the numbers. Schools were invited to participate in Phase One and Phase Two or simply in Phase One. Only three schools decided to take part in the ethnographic enquiry which involved semi-structured interviews, participant observations and informal conversation.

The Data Presentation and Analysis Chapter is presented in two parts. Phase One focuses on the themes emerging from the mapping survey: PFL rationale; age at foreign language learning commencement; amount of time allocated to foreign language learning, staffing and who delivers PFL within the schools, professional support and classroom practice. Phase Two commences with a brief explanation of how the data analysis produced the code and themes from which theory emerged. This theory can be seen in diagrammatical format in Figure 8 and has been used to structure the section by participants' consensus, overlapping and diverse, individual views.

4.1 Phase One – Mapping Survey: PFL Teaching in Primary Schools

All of those primary schools who participated in the survey offered FL in class time to all Key Stage 2 classes. The most frequently taught language was French, followed by German and Spanish. Thirteen of the 14 schools reported that they provided discrete lessons in all Key Stage 2 classes once a week. Teaching of PFL across all year groups is probably higher in the schools that agreed to participate in this study than the national average (Tinsley and

Board, 2015). One school also commented that they felt that PFL should commence in Reception. There is evidence of this becoming an increasingly popular opinion, with just under half of the respondent schools in the Languages Trends Survey revealing that they are teaching at least one language to children in Key Stage 1 (Tinsley and Board, 2015). There has never been nor is there a statutory requirement or entitlement for schools to teach PFL in Key Stage 1. Reasons for teaching PFL to children below seven years old were not provided by this school. However, it might be reasonable to conclude that the 'Younger the Better' argument, as debated in the Literature Review Chapter, could be an influencing factor.

4.1.1 Rationale

The most frequent reason (12) given for teaching PFL was that it was taught by the local secondary school which may indicate a consideration of the 'seven to 14' language policy as put forward by Dearing and King (2007). The second most frequent reason given for choosing a language was that first of all there are teachers (Wade and Marshall, 2009) and secondly resources available to deliver this language. PFL staffing both in Australia (Lo Bianco 1987, Ingram, 2007, Liddicoat et al. 2007), the USA (Rhodes and Pufahl, 2010) and England has been shown to be problematic for decades (Driscoll, 2004a; Wade and Marshall, 2009; Cable et al., 2012). It would appear to still be a concern for schools in Castle Rock. None of the schools surveyed stated that parental preference or LA policy played a deciding part in the offering of the PFL. This indicates that, in the absence of a long-term planning policy, PFL provision in this LA is haphazard, inconsistent and fragmented. While it could be suggested there is some form of joined-up thinking from the 'ground up', as shown by the consideration of the language that their local secondary school offers, there is no overarching strategy. Perhaps this lack of coordinated approach stems from the declining role that the LAs have played in PFL management and direction.

Since 2009, only one school had stopped offering one of its two languages, although still offered another L2 in class time, in this case French. Another school had introduced German, a decision that was influenced by the fact that they had recruited a native speaker of German as a class teacher in KS2. Two other schools had introduced Spanish, one as an extra–curricular club, which may have been motivated by its growing popularity (Tinsley and Board, 2015), aided by its cultural offer (Wight, 2014).

The aims of PFL teaching can be wide and varied, and so the first question which was asked was if the school had a written policy or statement on primary languages provision. While two did not have a policy and one school respondent was not sure, the majority of schools (11) had such a written policy in place. Two head teacher respondents stated that their schools' aims had changed since 2009; two other respondents did not know if that was the case. The aims of these two schools had changed in different ways. One school was trying to increase the amount of written Spanish, at the same time adding that the main emphasis would still be on the spoken language. The other school stated that, as a result of completing and evaluating termly learning journeys, they had concluded that cultural awareness needed to be made a key aim of the school, which aligns with Driscoll et al.'s (2013) finding that the teaching of ICU is often given as the PFL rationale. Tinsley and Board (2015) reported that the introduction of statutory Key Stage 2 foreign languages provision in September 2014 had not had a radical impact on schools and this is shown by the remaining schools participating in this study, particularly with regard to their aims. The majority of schools stated that their aims for PFL teaching had remained unchanged since 2009. Approximately half of the respondents stated that each aim (Oracy, Literacy, and ICU) were equally important across every year group. While it was not possible to investigate if these espoused views matched the actual practice in all seven of these schools, nationally, the research presents a picture of unequal teaching. While teaching is usually heavily weighted towards the Oracy strand(Cable et al., 2010, 2012), the Literacy strand is taught much less frequently and the ICU element tends to be

misunderstood and is therefore the weakest (Wade and Marshall, 2009; Cable et al., 2010, Ofsted 2011). When considering the specific aims and year groups, there were several key themes which will now be more closely examined.

In Year 3, the first year of statutory study, the reported aim of creating a love of languages was most common. With this being the required commencement year group for L2 learning, it was understandable to see that the teaching of speaking and listening is a focus. Providing an oracy base for beginner L2 young learners is accepted practice and also mirrored in the literature (Skarbek, 1998, Cable et al., 2010). Unsurprisingly, the teaching of reading and writing was not a Year 3 aim, but was more prominent in Year 6. There was an overall trend of aiming to teach about culture most commonly in Years 3 and 4. This data, which can be seen in visual format in Figure 3, also revealed that teachers focussed on Language Learning Strategies (LLS) more frequently in Years 5 and 6 while Knowledge about Language (KAL) is fairly consistently taught throughout the year groups. The two cross-cutting strands of LLS and KAL occupy much less of the literature than Oracy, Literacy and ICU (DfE, 2005) and thus it is difficult to ascertain if the teaching of LLS in Years 5 and 6 and KAL across the year groups is commonplace.

Figure 3: Aims of Teaching Across All Year Groups
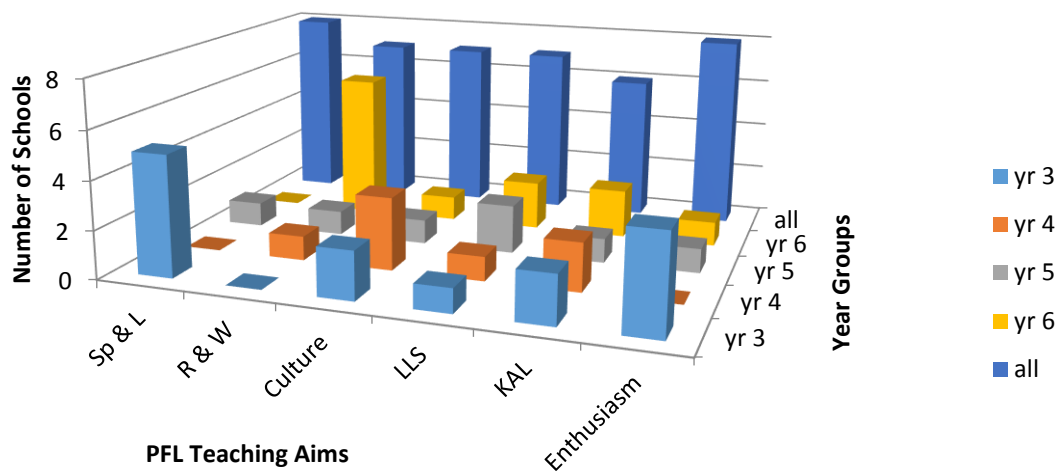
4.1.2 Time

While the survey showed variation across most responses to questions, there was surprisingly little variance in the amount of time reported as the number of minutes per week dedicated to PFL across Key Stage 2. This can be seen most clearly in visual format in Figure 4. The most frequent response was 30 minutes, which is half of the 2010 recommended entitlement of 60 minutes per week (DfES, 2005). However, the 2014 NC Programme of Study for Languages Key Stage 2 (DfE, 2013) does not legislate for teaching time. Four schools did deliver the former recommended 60 minutes a week (DfES, 2005), while two schools taught 45 minutes. Nationally, only 13 per cent of schools offer more than an hour of PFL per week (Tinsley and Board, 2015), while allocating three quarters of an hour to PFL is standard across all year groups. It is interesting that even Year 6 was allocated 45 minutes teaching time as teachers sometimes neglect the foundation subjects, such as PFL, in favour of the nationally-tested core subjects. This is in contrast to research (Tinsley and Board, 2014; Cable et al., 2012, Ofsted, 2008a; Wade and Marshall, 2009) which showed an increase in PFL time for Year groups 5 and 6. There is no rationale proposed in the literature for this, although, while

reducing PFL in the SATs lead-up, schools may then play 'catch-up' in the weeks after the tests, providing lessons of an hour and above.

Figure 4: Minutes Taught Across Year Groups Per Week
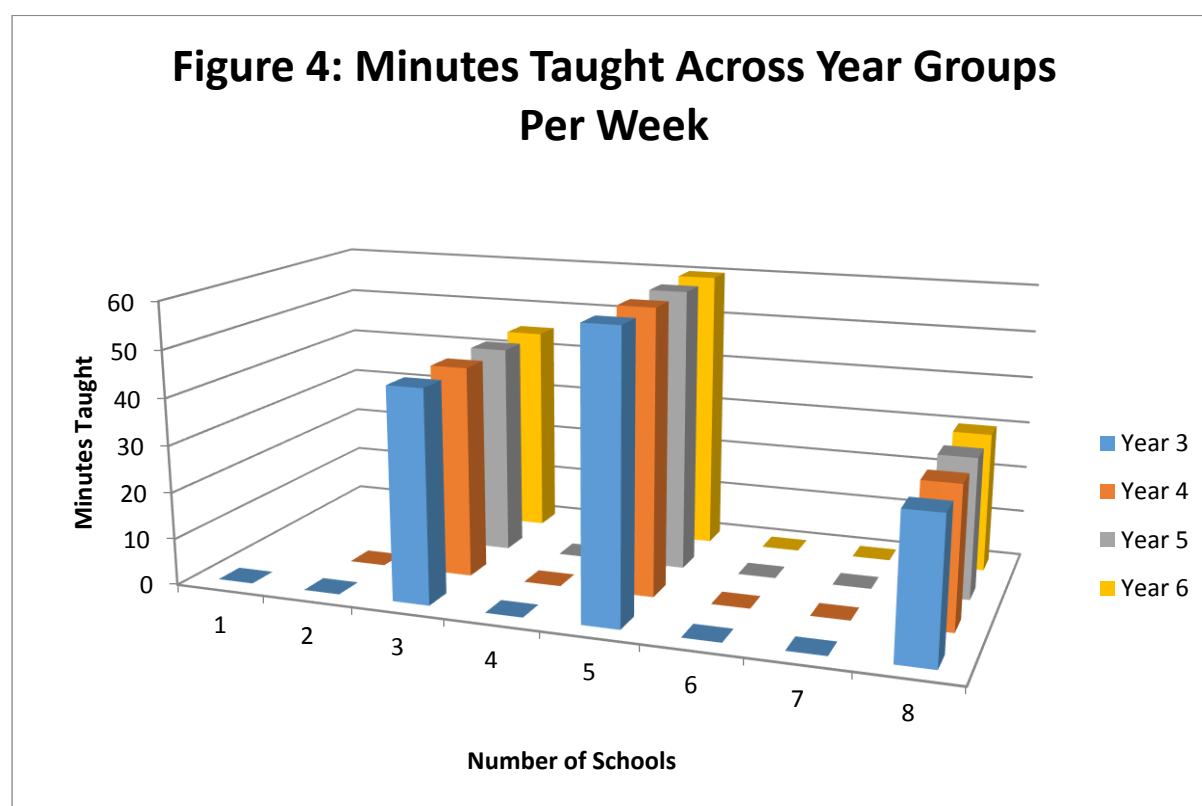
4.1.3 Staffing

As shown in Figure 5, in some schools (six), there was only one teacher delivering languages across KS2; in others, up to seven teachers were involved. The one school which replied that all staff delivered PFL was not included in Figure 3. This was because it was unclear how many staff to which the quantifier of 'all' referred. It should also be noted that there was no control for the size of school and so larger schools may have more staff members who are involved with PFL. The only conclusion that can be drawn is that there is no standard PFL staffing which sits across schools and that further investigation would be required to understand the rationale for variance. These trends echo the national picture, with 57 per cent of schools using the class teacher for PFL teaching in addition to a variety of 10 different staff sometimes delivering the teaching of PFL (Tinsley and Board, 2014).

Figure 5: Number of Staff Delivering PFL

Y-axis: Number of PFL teachers (0–7)

Legend: Number of PMFL teachers

X-axis: Number of Primary School Respondents (1–9)

* 1 school replied all however unclear how many staff that relates to.
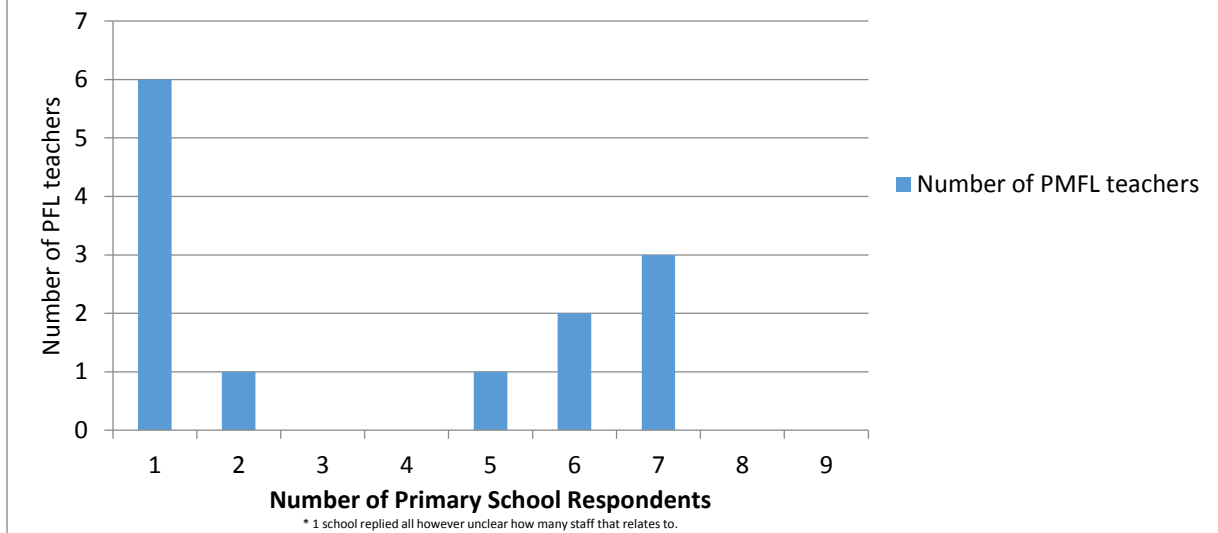
has one contact lesson a week per class which results in teaching a large number of children in a single day. Furthermore, with the class teacher not being present, the lesson cannot be embedded in a cross-curricular manner, nor is the class teacher provided with an opportunity to upskill in the foreign language or primary foreign language pedagogy.

The survey revealed that in six schools the primary class teacher working alone was the most common form of delivering PFL. In addition, three other combinations were also reported: class teacher and TA (one), class teacher and FLA (three), and higher level teaching assistant (HLTA) and head teacher (one). As can be viewed in Figure 6, internal peripatetic (one) and external peripatetic teachers (two) made up the remaining delivery models.

Figure 6: Who Teachers PFL?

Legend:
- Class teacher
- Class teacher and Teaching Assistant
- Class teacher and Foreign Language Assistant
- Higher Level Teaching Assistant
- Internal Peripatetic
- External Peripatetic
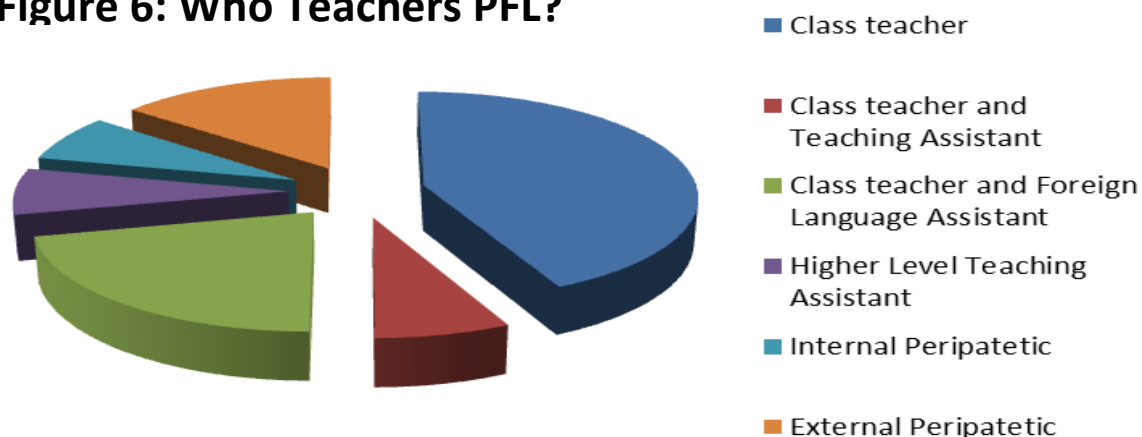
4.1.4 Planning, Assessment, Transition and Professional Support

Schools are using a variety of different sources as the basis of their language programmes. The majority of schools (11) who responded to the survey were using the Key Stage 2 Framework for Languages to inform their language programmes, while over half (eight) were using locally produced schemes of work. Five schools used the National Curriculum guidelines, while three schools used the QCA units of work (QCA, 2007) as a basis. The remaining schools used schemes of work produced in house (two), commercial schemes (three) and schemes produced by the ex-LA PFL consultant who now runs a private consultancy business (two). It is interesting that the Internet as a resource was not mentioned by the respondents.

While the schools participating in the survey showed that they were all using planning documents and some were using a variety of planning tools, the data collected regarding assessment and monitoring procedures was more varied. Just under half (six) of the schools monitored and assessed progress in language learning, while approximately (six) schools did not have procedures in place. Two head teachers did not know what arrangements were used.

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Tools that were used by the six schools which monitored and assessed progress in language learning tended to be assessment materials made by the school (three), followed by the European Language Portfolio (two), the Languages Ladder (one), E-Learning Portfolios (one) and the KS2 Languages Framework (one).

The lack of assessment and monitoring procedures may have implications for transition from KS2 to KS3 as half of schools (seven) did not have specific internal arrangements to support KS2 to KS3 transition. Those schools (five) that preferred to use attainment reports did so to communicate with parents at the end of Year 6 to share information about language learning. Two schools were part of network clusters which were considering the issue of transition, while one school employed assessment-based evidence and another school used language specific information for pupils in transition from KS2 to KS3. Variable and 'patchy' transition arrangements such as those above have been revealed also in a number of recent studies (Barton et al., 2009; McLachlan, 2009; Courtney, 2014; Tinsley and Board, 2015).

The relationship that primary schools have with secondary schools, especially when considering transition, can be described as weak. Six primary schools had no arrangements with their local secondary school to support transition, however two schools did take primary pupils to the secondary school to see language classes, while twice as many (four) had secondary school language teachers visiting the primary school. There was some evidence of communication and relationship forming between primary schools and secondary school colleagues to discuss pupil progress in the form of joint meetings (two), telephone/email contact (one), information on pupil progress and attainment (two), information on pupil attitude and motivation (one) and language profiles sent to the secondary school (one). Finally, the arrangement that some schools had was for the primary school teacher to visit the secondary school. When asked what would improve transition, two schools cited standardisation of policy

and practices regarding PFL. One school suggested that the "Local Authority [could] produce learning outcomes for each year group, which are regularly revised as FL learning improves, so children don't repeat work in year 7." While another head teacher felt that a common assessment method would improve transition. Another school believed that simply sharing assessment data was the best method. However, without an LA PFL Coordinator to manage this overview, it is highly unlikely that this standardisation of transition issues policy and practice will occur across Castle Rock.

Figure 7 shows that head teachers would most welcome 'Continuing Professional Development' (CPD)/ training for staff (four) to be ready for statutory teaching in September 2014. Others felt that funding (three), assessment support (two), time (two) and general support (two) were also important. Only one head teacher highlighted the need for transition support, despite it being revealed as a weakness for most schools.

Figure 7: Welcomed Support for PFL
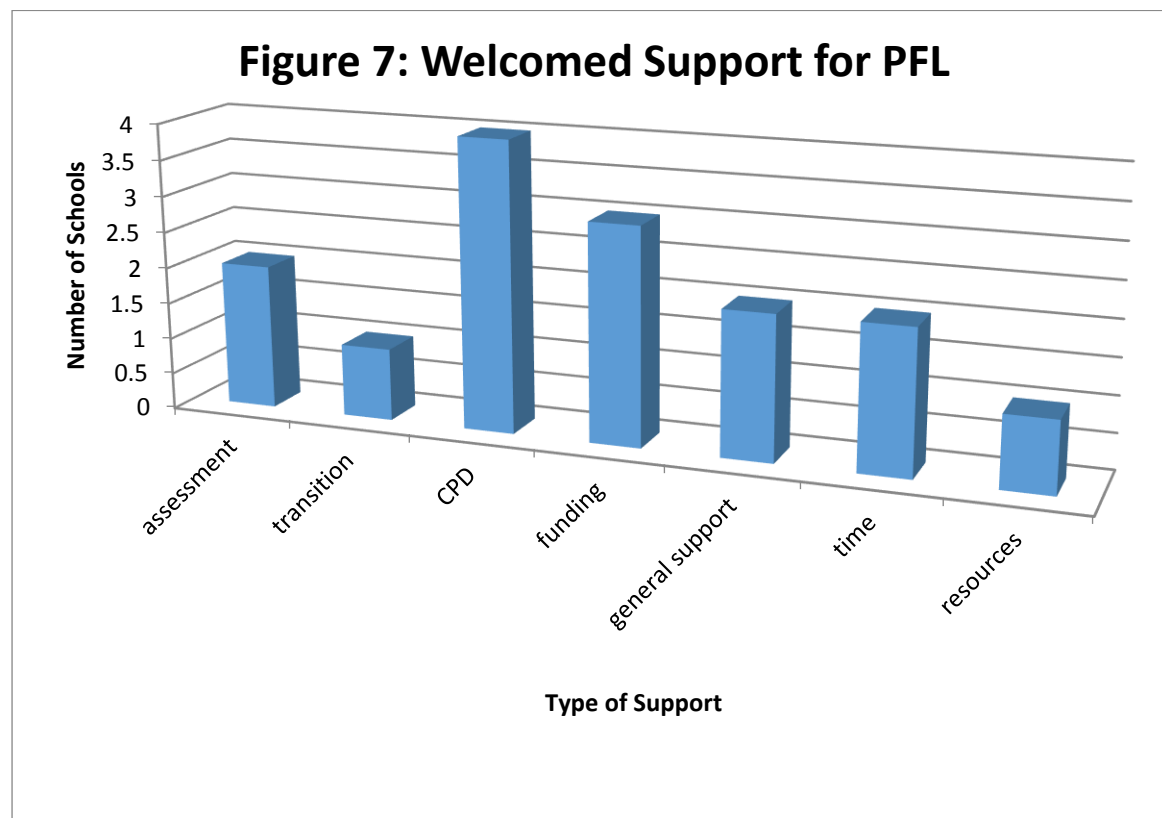
The additional comments section on the survey questionnaire provided the opportunity for schools to express any further opinions that they had not been asked about in the main survey. There were several interesting comments: "Teaching the 'basics' is easy, but then moving the developing learning from this level was difficult if L2 had only been studied to GCSE level; The children were enthused and could use the language and the skills across the curriculum." While one school had taken children on two residential trips to France in the past five years. Overall, the schools expressed a general level of confidence that these arrangements are sustainable, only three felt very confident and one not very confident.

The results of the 'welcomed support' question are interesting as they reveal that respondents appear to be perhaps more concerned with the immediate physical delivery of PFL in primary school as evidenced by CPD and funding for teachers to deliver it, rather than meeting longer term aims such as language progression. This can be seen as desired support for transition to high school was the least frequent response given.

In conclusion the mapping survey revealed, for the 14 participant schools, that there was no standard model of PFL provision, and variance across schools in terms of aims, contact time, staffing and welcomed support.

4.2 Phase Two – Ethnographic Enquiry in Three Case Study Schools

In Phase Two, the data were collected through interviews, participant observations, field notes and documentary evidence. Multiple data collection methods were used in order to construct a "picture that draws from, reassembles, and renders subjects' lives" (Charmaz 2003:270). The data analysis which followed a constructivist GT approach was conducted in three stages involving initial coding, focused and theoretical coding.

Initial coding employed three coding strategies. Firstly, *a priori* codes which had emerged from the Literature Review and scrutiny of policy documents were used. Secondly, 'the researcher codes', which could be described as 'hunch–codes', based on observations, memos and insider knowledge, were utilised. Thirdly, open coding by employing line-by-line analysis of the interview transcripts allowed new and unexpected codes to emerge. By employing these three coding strategies, initial key categories were developed as can be viewed in Table 2.

Table 2: Initial Key Categories

Categories developed from a priori codes	Categories developed from the researcher's codes	Categories developed from open coding
Age	Lack of knowledge	Confidence
Support	Assessment	Disjointed Policy
Fostering love of language	Disjointed beliefs and actions	Personal experience
Globalisation	Confidence	Specialist teacher
'Knowledge About Language' across curriculum	Support	Time
Workload	Workload and pressure	ICU as a rationale
Inconsistent policy		Staffing
Transition		Transition KS2 – KS3
Time learning language		Workload and pressure
ICU as a rationale		Language Progression
Staffing		Support
Withdrawing pupils		Penny Wise Network
		Inclusivity and SEN

By employing a strategy of focussed coding, initial categories were analysed and organised into broader categories, so-called umbrella categories. These were examined and the links between them developed and followed up in-depth in further interviews. There was constant comparison of incidents throughout this process. Events and ideas relating to teachers were compared within and across stakeholder groups, within and across schools. Emerging concepts and 'preliminary analytical notes called memos' (Charmaz, 2006:5) played a key part in the constant comparison process until saturation of categories was achieved and clarity of relationships were confirmed. These memos captured and signposted possible comparisons and emerging links between the codes and categories and helped to elevate the focus of data analysis from the linear (participants' ideas) to the conceptual (theory generation). Finally, theoretical coding (Stern, 1980; Strauss and Corbin, 1990; Charmaz, 2006) was undertaken until saturation of categories had been reached and potential hypotheses and emergent theory could be developed. A conceptual map which details the relationships between the codes and overarching categories can be found in Appendix 10.

From the data analysis, several conceptual ideas have emerged, which will be presented through the head teachers', generalists' and specialist teachers' perspectives. By providing the teacher participants with a voice (Charmaz, 2006), this research sought answers to the research questions, as presented in the Introduction Chapter. Through combining participants' views, a social construction of PFL teaching and learning in primary school (Hammersley, 1992; Charmaz, 2000) was facilitated. As such, the Data Analysis and Findings will be presented in three sections in terms of commonalities, overlapping and then finally the diverse, and individual views.

The concepts to which all stakeholders ascribe were: support for PFL; the L2 learning concept of 'the younger the better'; ICU: rhetoric and reality; increased accountability and high stakes; broad and balanced vs two-tier curriculum. These are presented in an order which moves from the teachers' beliefs to their practice. A constant presence which affects all of these themes is the Penny Wise Network. Themes which are linked, although not agreed upon, by all participants include: confidence catch-22 (head teachers and generalist teachers) and language competency model (two head teachers and specialist teachers). Fragmented themes, such as quality of PFL, language development knowledge and SEN and PFL were views expressed by individuals and point to areas for future research. The format of the Data Analysis Chapter is best viewed in diagrammatic format for clarity and can be located in Figure 8.

Figure 8: Diagrammatic View of Data Analysis Structure.

<u>**Commonalities**</u>
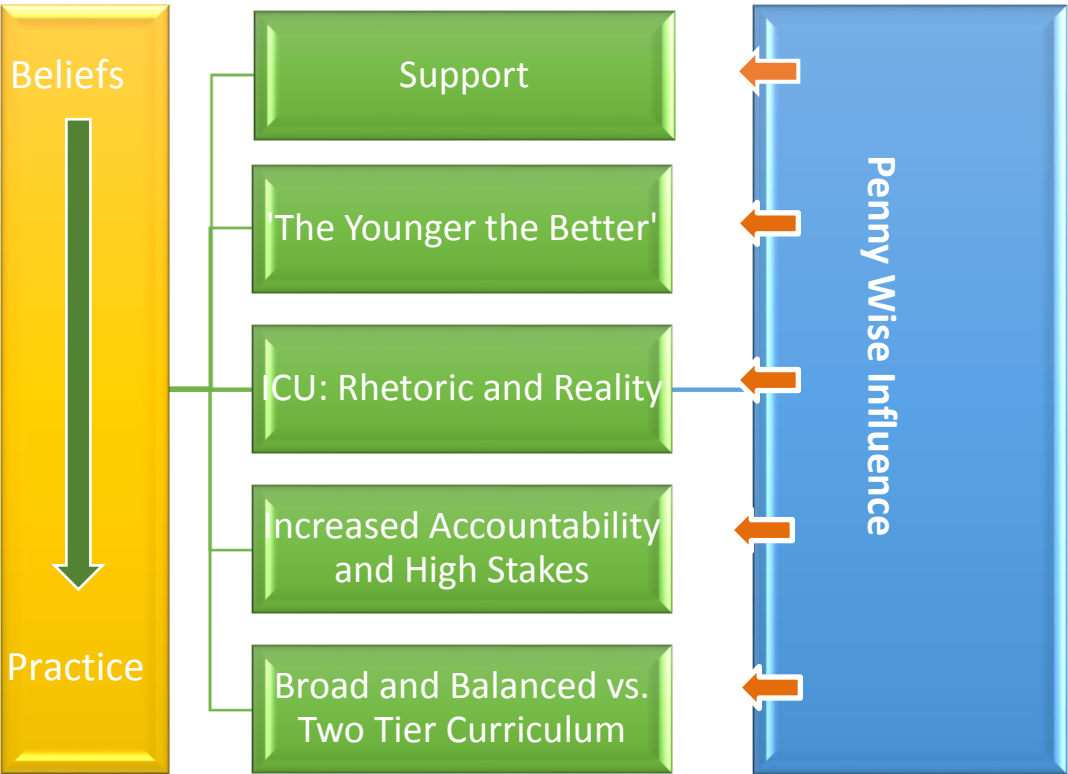
<u>**Overlapping Views**</u>

<u>**Confidence Catch-22**</u>
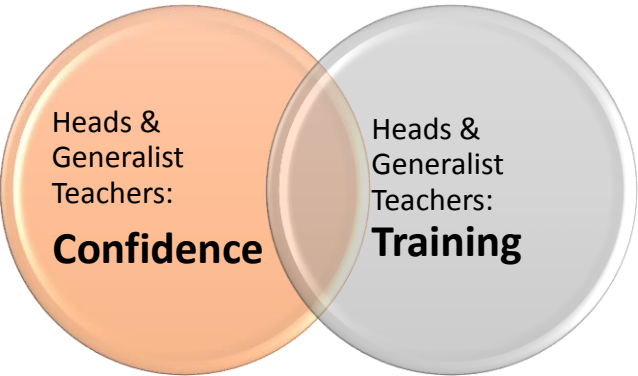
<u>**Language Competency Model**</u>
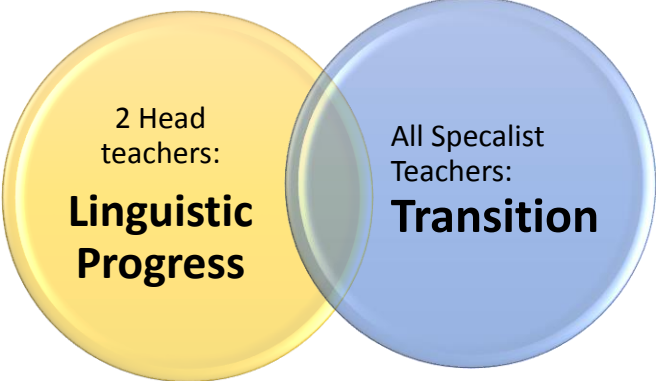
<u>**Individual Views**</u>
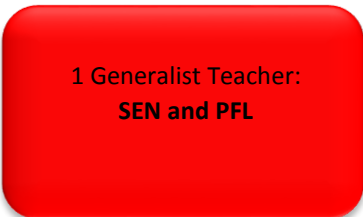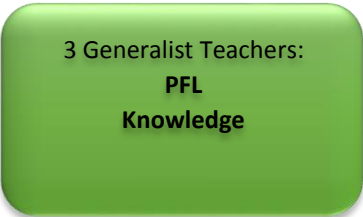
Participants' biographical backgrounds, presenting why and how the participants became teachers, their thoughts on teaching PFL and their cultural experiences, can be located in Appendix 11. These 'pen portraits' are relevant in that teacher identity can be said to be related to cultural experiences, through family or through being a 'teacher' (Byram et al., 2002) and so it is important that the participants are able to identify and present themselves as 'real' people rather than simply participants. The usage of direct quotes allows the participants to speak for themselves, with the researcher as an 'insider' and 'outsider' observer/narrator. It is important that the beliefs of all the participants are clear and in full because it is their ideas about PFL which influence the way in which PFL is planned, taught and delivered (Driscoll, 2000).

4.2.1 Teachers' Perspectives: Commonalities

4.2.1.1 Support

All of the teachers, regardless of job role or status, felt that foreign languages should be taught in the primary school. Several expressed the view that it should be taught as early as Reception or in Key Stage 1. All recognised and frequently spoke about the value of PFL. The impact that all the staff valuing PFL has on the schools cannot be underestimated. Rather than being seen, as some teachers described from their own experiences, as a 'waste lesson' or a 'mess about lesson', it is now accepted as a legitimate part of the curriculum for the three case study schools. Whole school support is considered crucial "in developing and supporting the teaching of PFL practice" (Driscoll et al., 2004b:5). However, care should be taken not to conflate the teachers' opinions about promoting PFL with the desire or willingness to teach the subject. Given that this study is an opt-in piece of research, the responses of participants who felt passionate about PFL and the contribution it makes to primary children's education will inevitably introduce a certain bias.

The head teachers, generalist and specialist teachers entered teaching through a variety of routes, as presented in their biographies section (Appendix 11). These different entry points were reflected in their PFL views and, also, their broader, general education perspectives. The head teachers were committed to operationalising PFL and the specialist teachers actioned this promise. Perhaps unsurprisingly, each of them had very positive foreign languages experiences. Of the generalist teachers, while all believing that PFL has a place in the primary school, only a minority were confident or willing to teach it themselves. Most of them spoke of the negative experiences that they had learning foreign languages at secondary school. This past history led many of them to feel unconfident, but did not affect their support of PFL as a curriculum subject, regardless of their individual positive or negative experiences.

All of the head teachers and specialist teachers, perhaps due to their positive L2 experiences, had a variety of qualifications and training experiences. The specialist teachers all completed a dual award foreign languages undergraduate degree as well as a PGCE Primary French Specialism award. Head Teacher Seymour also received an Undergraduate language degree, while Head Teacher Rothschild attained an A-level in German. Head Teacher Priory possessed an O-level in French and had attended many of Penny Wise's training sessions prior to becoming a head teacher. A note of caution should be raised however, as mentioned previously, this thesis is an 'opt-in' case study and thus those head teachers who do not value PFL may not have participated. The head teachers and specialist teachers often drew on personal L2 experiences, and used this to provide a reason for supporting PFL. These foreign language experiences were not solely relied upon, in fact, they were heavily supplemented by generalist teaching experiences. Head Teacher Rothschild, several times, touched upon how his experiences working with disadvantaged children had impacted on his educational view, resulting in him wishing to provide wide educational opportunities, including PFL, for all. Head Teacher Seymour also spoke of the educational significance of L2 learning referencing his positive experiences teaching English abroad. He felt, given a 21st century global context, PFL

was an important skill. Head Teacher Priory has not worked abroad but has been influenced by teaching multilingual children whilst working in culturally diverse areas and has witnessed the importance of L2 learning. This view has cemented her support of PFL, both from a cultural and linguistic aspect. The specialist teachers encompassed all of these beliefs: educational opportunity, 21st century global importance of L2 learning, cultural and linguistic aspects of PFL. They made repeated reference to the enjoyment that speaking a foreign language has given them and how they felt such educational opportunities were important for all pupils. They felt, as teachers, it was important to provide children with the skills for the 21st century so that they could experience foreign travel and have improved career prospects. It was clear how their own biographies had influenced their PFL ideals.

The head teachers occupied an operational role within the schools and, thus the influence of these positive experiences had been fundamental to the introduction and maintenance of PFL within their schools. Their commitment to the subject was not recent, in fact these school leaders could be described as 'early adopters' of PFL, having commenced teaching within their respective schools a number of years ago, some as much as a decade. All the Heads described feeling ready for the former statutory teaching requirement date of 2011, and even though government direction and policy has been, at times, unclear, the three case study schools have never rescinded the PFL offer. This commitment while perhaps instigated by policy has been maintained by the value that head teachers place on PFL.

> "It [policy] has almost been stop, start, stop, start, you have to do it instead of doing it because they [the children] want to and because there is going to be fulfilment and enjoyment and that has been the big problem and the big kind of, I would think, issue in all schools that we have to get over." Head Teacher Seymour

> "I think the Government should just have, be more clear about what they want because they seem to switch from one thing to another, they haven't got a clue…" Head Teacher Rothschild

These Heads also demarcated themselves from other Heads in the LA, showing that they felt proud about their school PFL status, provision and longevity.

> "I think that Foreign Languages in school is something which …I would say in part, they [other head teachers] haven't really bought into it. I would say that they have done it because they knew that they had to and because … they probably haven't bought into it as much as they should do and made sure that the children engage in it as much." Head Teacher Seymour

The generalist teachers, when discussing why they were overwhelmingly supportive of L2 being taught in primary school, spoke in depth about feelings of regret. This remorse centred on the fact that many of them wished they had pursued L2 study. However, the reasons for further study were fragmented and highly individual. They ranged from a general sense of a missed opportunity to develop a skill, to specific reasons concerning travel and study, and also career prospects. Teachers K, H and X were amongst those who felt a general sense of loss at not continuing to learn L2 when younger. It could be suggested that these teachers feel that this is now a '*fait accompli*' and they now have no power to change this.

> "I now wish I had learnt more whilst I was younger because I can't speak French for toffee." Teacher K
>
> "Apart from going abroad with my family [I] didn't see that I'd ever use it, which is wrong because I'd love now to speak a different language." Teacher H
>
> "Wherever I might go in Europe, I meet children who speak very fluent English at a very young age and it concerns me a little bit that I can't do that because I didn't have that experience when I was a child in order to learn it." Teacher X

The idea that it is not possible to learn a foreign language when as an adult was quite common, with teachers expressing the view that it was possible to improve skills in other subjects, using books or Internet resources, but not PFL. However, it may be that contextual factors such as lack of time, perceived accountability and workload are operating on teachers and preventing them from feeling they have the space to engage with L2 learning. These contextual factors and their relationship to PFL will be fully explored in the section Confidence Catch-22. The teachers were also influenced by personal experiences and friends. Teacher E felt, from

speaking to a friend, that she missed enriching life experiences through not travelling and studying abroad.

> "I regret not having carried on with it [German] and done it to A-level and may be gone on and spent some time like my best friend did. She went to Germany and lived in Germany for a year and she got to the point where she was dreaming in German. She was living with German people." Teacher E

It appears that it is simply the experience that Teacher E wished for rather than it being for extrinsic reasons (Gardner and Lambert's, 1972). Conversely, Teachers I and T were amongst those teachers who pondered the possible career opportunities that it may have provided.

> "The thing now is that I wish if I had my time again it would be worth doing a language because I do think it's another string to your bow particularly more so in a globalised society probably opens a few more doors." Teacher I

> "I think what I've seen of the way it is taught when I have been watching Christine and I have watched other teachers come in, I just wish that I had been taught like that because …I would be quite happy teaching French." Teacher T

After speaking about this regret, many of the teachers went on to speak in depth about their experiences learning a foreign language while at secondary school. This is interesting as none of the interview questions or informal conversations focussed on their experiences at high school; however, this was something that many of them chose to discuss. In relation to this theme, there were two distinct groups, with very little ambiguity in the middle. The teachers either stated that they enjoyed or disliked languages as related to their schooling experiences. The first group explained why they enjoyed L2 learning and how it related to their personal experiences,

> "A lot of people have quite a stigma about learning languages themselves don't they? Because I think it's just from their own schooling I think most people class themselves as somebody who does languages or somebody who doesn't and I class myself as somebody who doesn't." Teacher H

> "I really did enjoy it and we had a really old-fashioned teacher, Mr Arthur but he was good and yeah, I really enjoyed it. It is just that, conversing isn't it. Maybe it is a lack of reading and writing, it was one of those lessons where you just did and you were always talking with the person next to you and no, I really enjoyed French." Teacher O

"I think I loved French in my first and second year of high school I had a French teacher who is very much like that and sings songs and I know that French stayed with me, but that's maybe how I learned. I just think that that was quite inspirational" Teacher E

"You see I've always enjoyed it, my school experiences I've always enjoyed. I've always got on with any teachers, I did French at Primary School." Teacher L

An alternative perspective was offered by the teachers who did not enjoy languages, with many of them accrediting their dislike of learning a language to their teachers.

"I didn't like it, didn't like the teacher, the way it was taught." Teacher H

"My own education put a bit of a dampener on it because I didn't have very good modern foreign language teachers." Teacher H

"I didn't do languages past year nine because I didn't enjoy them. It was the teacher really. We did French and German, and the German teacher used to just talk, rattle off and make us stand up and say in answer and very Victorian style teaching and the French teacher was the opposite. Not very enthusiastic and gave you a lot of the grammar side of things" Teacher I

"…a lot of it is through repetition and I know that now but I don't know if that is what just switched me off it. I don't know. I just didn't like it. Maybe a mixture of both [the subject and the teacher] 'cos she was an elderly teacher so it may be her experiences of teaching, sort of through the ages, you know, but people have different styles and some people are less reluctant to changes that come in in education than others and it was a subject that I had to really force myself to do." Teacher N

"The biggest problem really for me at school was that my teacher was French and if you had a go and you said it wrong it was just a nightmare, the blackboard rubber usually came in your direction at high speed. So, it is getting rid of that fear and being able to have a go at speaking." Teacher T

It was not expected that the teachers would place such significance on their own L2 learning experiences, especially considering these were, for some, a number of decades ago. It clearly underlines the importance of Dörnyei's 'Learner Situational Level' (1994) and the effect that this can have on students, even decades later. Furthermore, it may provide insight into why, for almost all of the participant teachers, 'fostering a love of languages' is of paramount importance. The teachers wished to provide the pupils in their care with positive learning experiences so that they did not go on to develop the regret that the teachers themselves feel. The importance of the teacher for young learners is perhaps even more important than for pupils attending secondary school as discussed in the Literature Review considering the work of Nikolov (1999).

In conclusion, biographical experience has impacted on all of the teachers and, for very different reasons, has culminated in 'value-adding' to PFL. These converging opinions meant that, in each school, all stakeholders were supportive and valued PFL. This is important as "a positive attitude is essential for all participants: learners, teachers, parents and heads" Vilke (1998:91), due to the influence that this can have on young learners' attitudes, with the class teacher holding the most amount of 'influential power' (Nikolov, 1999). A note of caution should be added here though, as this desire from generalist teachers does not automatically translate into practice, it is augmented by supportive factors and challenged by the constraining factors.

4.2.1.2 'The Younger The Better'

All of the teachers referenced the concept of 'the younger the better'. The 'younger the better' is a popular teacher belief which, as discussed in the Literature Review section, can be found echoed in the research (Driscoll, 2004a; DfE, 2013). The concept is an umbrella term covering a variety of reasons biological, contextual and developmental (Penfield and Roberts, 1959; Lenneberg, 1967; Bialystok and Hakuta, 1994; Dörnyei 1994; Singleton, 1995; Nikolov, 1999, Bellingham, 2000; Johnstone, 2002). These different reasons for the rationale of the 'younger the better' have been separated and presented by specific theme: Non-specific biological factors; confidence; fostering a love of languages.

<u>Non-Specific Biological Factors</u>

None of the teachers' groups made specific reference, by name, to biological factors which may be operating on young learners such as Critical Age Hypothesis (Penfield and Roberts, 1959). However, all of the groups used very similar language to suggest that young learners are imbued with language learning qualities that diminishes with age.

> "I have taught Reception before and they are just like little sponges and they repeat what you say and pronounce things perfectly where as they get older they don't seem

to absorb it as much… they seem to enjoy it more and embrace it more at a younger age and that's why, I wish we did do it in Key Stage 1 as well." Christine

"…at such a young age you just soak it up." Teacher K

"The younger children, they are like sponges, when you say something to them, they just absorb it and they give it back and the more you work on that, the more they retain it so… Well, it is like I was saying earlier on, it is giving them a foundation and a place to start and as I said earlier, in my opinion, the earlier they start the easier it is to learn so we might as well make it easy on them and get them starting earlier so that they are building on that knowledge all the time… I really like working with the infants because like seeing them pick it up is almost like a miracle, likes I'm seeing them pick up little things and retain them is amazing… in my personal opinion, the younger you are, the easier it is to learn." Andrea

"Learning a Modern Foreign Language is easy, if you start it off early enough. Children will really buy into it and they will engage in it and eventually start thinking in that language and not translating from their language to another language and it becomes second nature… " Head Teacher Seymour

The use of the terms 'sponge' and 'absorb' are quite striking as these are not terms which are referenced in key policy documents and yet are terms which also appeared frequently when talking to all stakeholders about their perspectives on PFL. The specialist teachers expanded on this idea and spoke about wanting to make PFL compulsory in Key Stage One and Reception which would be an extension of the current legal requirement to teach PFL from Year Three onwards.

"I do think, well I think the younger you learn a language, to be honest I think it should probably be compulsory in Key Stage 1 as well because the younger you learn a language the better." Christine

"I would encourage [it] in Key Stage 1 and Reception as well." Thomasina

In Forest School the children in reception were taught French by the specialist teacher. The group sizes (groups of ten learners at a time), the contact time (each lesson was 20 minutes long) and the lesson pedagogy were adapted for the younger learners as field notes revealed,

"Andrea read the children the story of the 'Petit Poisson' again. Then she explained how to play the 'petit poisson' game. She modelled for the children the question to ask and also how to answer it. Each sentence was complete with actions and the children joined in. They made sad faces and happy faces. Then afterwards she listened to the children saying it on their own when she did the actions, during the drilling she was looking for children who weren't sure. Last week they didn't finish the PowerPoint and so she made sure that they used this, this week. The PowerPoint had the game on it

with the pictures and all the children, were able to join in apart from one boy." 24th June 2013

These expressions of desire to commence PFL teaching earlier were usually accompanied with the explanation that children find languages easier when they are younger. The specialist teachers are not alone in voicing this preference for Key Stage One PFL as 49 per cent of respondents to the 2015 Languages Trends Survey reported already introducing PFL into Key Stage One (Tinsley and Board, 2015).

Confidence

Some of the contextual and developmental factors (Nikolov, 1999; Bellingham, 2000; Johnstone, 2002) acting on young children learning PFL were also considered by the stakeholder groups, including confidence. They discussed the role of confidence, explaining that L2 learning while young was important because it would.

> "…get them confident in using the language. Confident in using it independently… just mainly building their confidence and actually enjoying it, I think, is a big aim, like getting them enjoying and excited about learning a language because then if they are then they are more likely to carry it on when they go to secondary so, yeah, I think that's the main aims, I think" Andrea

> "I think that teaching children a language at an early age is a lot easier than when they get to secondary school when they tend to become a lot more self-conscious" Head Teacher Priory

However, it would seem that developing confidence was not as popular a reason as fostering a love of languages which was a frequently referenced concept.

Fostering a Love of Languages

All of the specialists and head teachers and the majority of the generalist teachers felt that while children were younger, it was the ideal time to foster a love of languages. They felt that PFL was a 'fun' and 'exciting' lesson (Cable et al., 2012; Jones and Coffey, 2006; Sharpe, 2001; Driscoll and Frost, 1999; Vilke, 1998).

"The purpose of learning a language, well, to develop enjoyment I think is number one, just to develop a love of learning languages, you know, from an early age" Christine

"I think if you can get them interested early on, I don't want to stuff them full of all the lists of words and things but I think it broadens your outlook on life generally and the world" Thomasina

In general, the specialist teachers felt that developing a love of languages was an intrinsic motivational pursuit (Gardner and Lambert, 1972), while the head teachers and generalists felt that by developing L2 passion in young learners would confer educational advantages at high school.

*"…*you have to start it in high school anyway, [so if you learned it at primary school] you would find it easier. I do think it is really important because as they are young, so they do soak it up …I think it is a lot harder to go into high school having no French and having to learn French then. It is a lot harder to learn it whereas if you have had that already lower down, they find it a lot easier because they're like 'oh, I understand that, I remember that bit'." Teacher K

"I think it helps them and puts them all on a bit of an even keel when they get to high school …You need to start early on if you want to inspire them really to enjoy it. When you go to high school it is just so quick and you are aiming towards a qualification and, at primary school, obviously English, Maths and science are the really important parts but all the other things is just to give them a taste of it and to see what they like and what they don't like and give them a flavour of the kind of history things they'll be doing but at high school you are gearing towards a qualification." Teacher E

"I want to ensure that our children at our primary school have access to good Foreign Languages so that then when they go to high school they will be further ahead than other children but it is still not perfect in this school." Head Teacher Seymour

"…starting it in primary school, if it is going to be continued into high school then they will get that secure knowledge… kids who enjoy language tend to enjoy it and thrive in it don't they." Teacher S

"…. I suppose it is to sort of get them ready for high school to give them some of the basics. When I started I just remember starting with numbers and starting with colours, which is what our children are doing now so it is giving them that sort of step up and the confidence to have a go at high school really." Teacher N

This argument of starting children learning L2 when young for educational advantage is an interesting one. It is difficult to ascertain where these concepts have their origins, however they may be located in the National Languages Strategy for England (2002). This strategy's aim was to increase the number of children studying languages post-14, through positive experiences when younger. Its foundations were built upon and strengthened by the

Excellence and Enjoyment document (2003). When these ideas of enjoyment and promoting a love of languages are considered in light of these two key policy documents, it may provide an understanding of why teachers talk about this aspect of the subject frequently. Their own personal experiences learning foreign languages at high school, as discussed above, may also influence their ideas. However, there is no research, based in England, which shows a correlation between a PFL early start and attainment in high school. In fact, the Burstall Report (Burstall et al., 1974) put a halt to the Primary French Project because this link, between starting in primary school and educational attainment, was not proven. It did however, reveal an improvement in attitudes concerning foreign language learning and so perhaps this hypothesis is correct regarding intrinsic gains although, when discussing the extrinsic reasons for accelerated academic progress, the issue of transition should also be explored.

Issues of transition are well documented in the English literature, as children who repeat previous learning can disengage and become frustrated (Hood, 1994; Hood and Tobutt, 2009). It is also reported within international literature (Edelenbos and Johnstone, 1996; Gattullo and Pallotti, 2003; Low *et al.,* 1993; Low and Wolfe, 1996). While the issue of transition was not raised by the school leaders, it was a concern for the specialist teachers who were interviewed. A possible reason for this omission from the head teachers is perhaps a lack of realisation or understanding of the issues surrounding PFL transition. In many schools, sharing of data and transition arrangements are well embedded between secondary schools and their feeder schools in the core subjects. However, there is often little assessment or data shared about the pupils' achievement in the foundation subjects. This means that the Languages Review (Dearing and King, 2007) ideal of foreign language provision supporting the age range 7-14 years old is often not as seamless as it could be, leading to a patchy learning experience for young learners. Ultimately a "clean slate approach" (Martin, 2000:70) can impact on enthusiasm and attainment, rendering all stakeholders' hopes of 'fostering a love of languages' as redundant. All of the head teachers referenced an educational advantage but Head

Teacher Seymour had been influenced by his experiences abroad, having seen an L2 immersion model in operation. However, what he had not perhaps considered was the limited contact time that most primary school children receive for PFL compared with those in the models of immersion he witnessed abroad. This concept of learning time will be explored further in the Language Competency Model section below.

4.2.1.3 ICU: Rhetoric and Reality

ICU was referred to frequently and throughout the ethnographic stay in all case study schools. Almost of the participants discussed how they felt that the teaching of ICU was important. Two of the three head teachers were very much in favour of ICU being taught during PFL, referencing it as being a skill which pupils need to be able to successfully operate in a global society.

> "Understanding the other cultures especially with our school being sort of 90 per cent plus White British and so they are not getting that natural diet of seeing people from different cultures and backgrounds and so I think that that is important for our school... widening their experience and developing their understanding that we don't all speak the same language and we do have different cultures and having that diversity brought into the Curriculum." Head Teacher Priory

Head Teacher Rothschild had a different view to the teaching of ICU through PFL. He felt that they were both important subjects and yet not necessarily linked, feeling instead that it is through other subjects that ICU should be taught.

> "I have to say the inter-cultural understanding is important but I see that being covered in other areas in terms of other subjects. You know, we do a lot of work on that but I wouldn't see that as part of FL, you know, I wouldn't really be that bothered if Andrea didn't cover that within an FL lesson because I would expect that to be covered within Geography in particular, you know and perhaps PHSE and looking at, you know, other international, global learning that goes on so I would look at more of the language side which as I say, speaking and listening and to some extent reading and writing and how the learning." Head Teacher Rothschild

This was also repeated by the head teacher during a conversation at Forest School, as the field notes revealed,

> "We [Head Teacher Rothschild and I] were talking about why PFL is taught in primary school. He said that he felt that is was for children to be able to speak it and then he asked me. I said I thought that is was so that they could better understand 'the other'. He said that in the area around Forest School there is no 'other'. I said what about disabled or gender or sex as 'the other'? He said oh we do about that but that's not languages. We do about that stuff but not through languages and I wondered if developing the skills of empathy and understanding were the same regardless of 'otherness'." 8th July 2013

It seems reasonable to suggest that Head Teacher Rothschild was considering the teaching of PFL from an operational angle. This may be a strategic move given that Andrea, an external provider funded by the school, was only in each class for between 20-60 minutes per week. By relocating ICU teaching to other subjects, there is more time for Oracy and Literacy. However, this strategy only works if the generalist teachers are trained, willing and able to deliver ICU through their lessons. While the generalist teachers in this research viewed ICU as important and so could be described as willing, they had not been trained and, as will be discussed in the 'Increased Accountability and High Stakes' section, may not be able to teach it well.

Prior to conducting the research, it was suspected that the specialist teachers would be trained, willing and able to teach ICU. While in conversation, two of the specialists stressed ICU importance. In practice, this was not always manifested. Andrea, who worked in Head Teacher Rothschild's school, also felt ICU could be linked to the wider curriculum, perhaps through PSHE. She explained that ICU is not simply the learning of facts but the development of attitudes, helping the children to understand themselves and the concept of 'other'.

> "…linking to PSHE, being aware that not everybody is the same and where things are different and where people are different and why it is good that people are different and just, languages are a gift… inter-cultural understanding is one of those real essential things because otherwise it has no basis, it has no meaning." Andrea

Andrea spoke frequently and passionately about this belief although her practice did not always exemplify it and was often reduced to cultural anecdote teaching (Driscoll, 2000). Similarly, Thomasina explored issues of helping children to navigate a 21st century global community. However, when she was asked how she taught ICU, she stated,

> "…we do about Bastille Day and the inter-cultural understanding stuff as well." Thomasina

Andrea explored a more conceptual approach to 'the other' while Thomasina's theoretical view of ICU seemed a little more restricted. It could be suggested from speaking to Thomasina informally that she had personal, good intercultural understanding and was able to demonstrate this when abroad. However, it is not clear if she understood how to 'unpick' the concept and then teach it to young learners. It could be suggested that her 'pedagogical content knowledge' was not as developed as her 'subject content knowledge' (Shulman, 1986). This seemed to be supported in the observations conducted on Thomasina's lessons as they generally relied on the presentation of foreign country facts, and the occasional 'cultural anecdote' (Driscoll, 2000). While Thomasina felt confident in her 'pedagogical content knowledge' and her 'subject content knowledge' (Shulman, 1986), her practice and in conversation suggested that she considered the ICU strand of PFL to be a set of ideas or facts that could be conveyed rather than a development of attitudes (Bryam, 1997).

All three teachers made reference to what Driscoll (2000) referred to as "cultural anecdotes whilst teaching the language" and more often than not "the four Fs…food, fairs, folklore and statistical facts"." (Kramsch, 1991:218). However, from lesson observations, the development of attitudes from ones of ethnocentrism towards ethnorelativism (Bennett, 2004) were not apparent, however the consideration of 'facts' and lower order cognitive skills were present. This is quite common (Driscoll et al., 2013). Woodgate-Jones and Grenfell (2012: 334) explained why this "iceberg approach" to culture can be an issue, "these superficial, more obvious reflections of culture are visible above the surface, but below the surface, nine tenths

of the culture remains hidden (e.g. values, ideals, conceptions, etc.)". Peiser (2015), in her research into telecommunication cultural exchanges, noted that learners in the early years of secondary school, when left unguided by a teacher, focused also on the visible practices than the more 'hidden' beliefs. Therefore, it could be argued that the teachers' role, particularly with primary school children is to guide and facilitate intercultural understanding and, if appropriate, competence as it is unlikely they will develop this individually. However, Bennett (2004) and Rantz and Horan (2005:211) felt that it is this move from the factual to the "ability to 'decentre', to see things from someone else's perspective", is one of the main components of ICU. Perhaps the conceptual differences amongst the teachers about ICU can be explained by the fact that the teaching of ICU was not planned in advance as it was felt to be an embedded part of the lesson, in that through teaching French the ICU would happen.

> "[When planning] I actually normally only refer to the L and the O (Oracy and Literacy). The other ones I just put those in anyway, the Knowledge about Languages, I don't usually write that on although I do, do those and I point them out to them. The inter-cultural understanding just comes in anyway because of what I am teaching them. I try to bring in things about France." Thomasina

Conversely, Christine did not talk about the term ICU or culture at all during the interviews or conversations. However, in her lessons she would frequently use "cultural anecdotes" (Driscoll, 2000). She would use these anecdotes to highlight similarities or differences for the children such as how to greet people in France with cheek kisses or as field notes detail the teaching of Halloween in Sakura School,

> "Christine said it is important for the children to also know about ICU as well as the language so she asked me to look up about Halloween in France for her on the Internet. Christine explained to the children that Halloween was celebrated by some people in France but that it wasn't as popular as in the USA. She said that it was a little bit like Halloween used to be in this country, but that it was becoming more popular in France." 31st October 2013.

These moments were always very sensitively handled and embedded within the lesson and the children found them interesting. While some of these anecdotes were planned for and others occurred naturally, none were part of a long-term framework underpinned by theory.

It was suspected that the specialist teachers would reference the Key Stage 2 Languages Framework as the 'theoretical' underpinning for their ICU, however only Andrea referred to this aspect of the document. However, this framework is not and has not ever been statutory, and the National Curriculum (DfE, 2013) made little reference to ICU, if at all (see Literature Review for a full discussion). The lack of policy underpinning perhaps provides an explanation for the lack of ICU planning and teaching. There was an attempt at implementing ICU in the KS3 curriculum, however it was not successful, and indicates perhaps how challenging it is to implement ICU teaching (Peiser and Jones, 2012).

ICU was in fact most commonly referenced by the generalist teachers as one of the most important reasons for teaching PFL. The generalists did not usually give ICU as a reason on its own. Due to the numbers of generalist teachers, the relationship between the links that they offered is a little complicated to fully understand using qualitative form only, and thus is best viewed in a visual format, as can be view in Figure 9. In this diagram the rationales that the generalist teachers gave for teaching PFL are shown. The most popular reason occupies the circular central position. Other less frequent explanations for teaching PFL circle the outside of the diagram. Some teachers gave simply one, while others gave two or three different reasons. Therefore when teachers gave multiple rationales these can each be seen where the circles overlap. The letter initials on the diagram correspond to the participant pseudonyms which can be located in Table 1: Teachers Participating in the Research, located on p.132

Figure 9: Generalist Teachers' Rationale for PFL

Inclusivity

Communication

Knowledge about Language

Enriches the Wider Curriculum

Secondary School Progression

Language Learning Strategies

'Younger the Better'

R

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P
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L

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ICU

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K
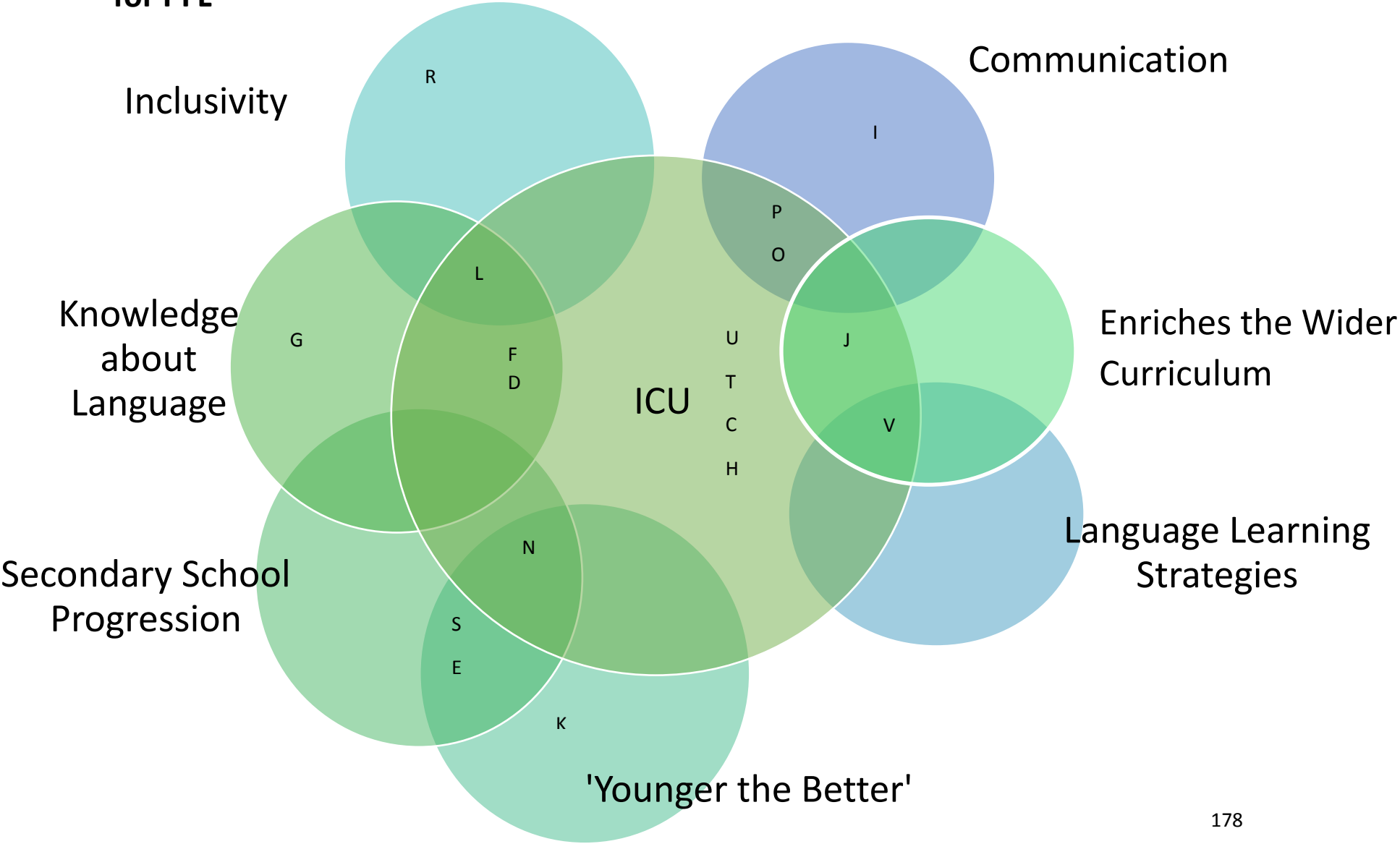
It is clear to see from the Venn diagram (Figure 9), the most frequent reason given for the teaching of PFL was to develop ICU. Driscoll et al. (2004b:13) described developing ICU (along with language competence) as "an essential part of being a citizen" in the new millennium and this was echoed by the generalist teachers.

> "I think links with the wider world and knowing about something other than your own community and your own place you live and your own language that actually, there are no barriers out there for you, you can go out and you can get along and you can get on and it is not difficult…The world is actually a small place, isn't it, it is making it, bringing that whole word into, yeah, because the village where we are is a very insular village and the children haven't got a lot of experiences of the wider world. They might get on a plane but they go to a beach and it is exactly the same as being in England when they come home but they don't actually learn about culture and they don't learn about using, you know, the language and how it links and that. Other cultures and that, even though they're different, are valuable to those other communities as well. They are similar and different. It is just bringing the world to them really…." Teacher V

> "…it just helps to develop an understanding as well, doesn't it, and realise that we all speak different languages but essentially we are all the same and you know, we just speak in different languages but we have still got lots of the same interests and that." Teacher P

> "I think we're in a sort of global society now, to a greater extent." Teacher I

> "So that they can communicate with other people from different cultures and being more cultured and understand, it's not just about learning the language, it's about learning the culture and where the language comes from." Teacher O

> "I just think children are very, very receptive... I think children need to be aware of different cultures and aware that other children don't always speak your language" Teacher E

The teachers felt that children are ideally placed and are open to learning language and culture when young (Bryam and Doyé, 1999). Through incorporating the teaching of ICU into PFL, the subject could be one of "broader educational experience" (Enever, 2011:20), rather than simply language learning.

In practice, within the PFL lessons, there was an absence of ICU, as per the Literature Review definition, being taught or referred to by the teachers. Outside of PFL lessons, in each school, there were a variety of different cultural activities which were observed (singing in Afrikaans, celebration display boards and assemblies). The curriculum in each school was

internationalised and the 'global aspect' of the curriculum was often promoted; this could be seen in lessons as well as round the school. In addition, the field notes revealed that there were rich, cultural experiences involving all pupils, such as the singing of songs in a foreign language at New Falls. In Sakura School, a guest speaker who had been doing aid work in Africa visited in an assembly presenting her experiences, and, at Forest School, a school link with China was being celebrated. However, none of these experiences were mentioned by any of the generalist teachers during conversations or interviews, perhaps revealing that the link between these activities and PFL ICU had not been made. Perhaps this disconnect is due to PFL being the sole responsibility of the specialist teacher. Furthermore, all of these activities existed separately and independently of each other and were not included in a long-term planning framework. Theoretical underpinning of the term ICU was not apparent, which suggests perhaps a lack of ICU knowledge and a 'surface approach' to culture (Kramsch, 1991). This desire to develop ICU, without theoretical underpinning, is perhaps illuminated by Head Teacher Priory. When she was asked what resources she would like for the teaching of PFL, she stated,

> "[I would welcome] additional resources that the children could use signs to put up around school, that we are not just creating ourselves, that are professionally made….some actual French artefacts would be nice, a real French flag and things like that…the opportunity to have a French food day or a French dress up day and spend some money on that, to be able to buy the resources." Head Teacher Priory

These are what could be described as very visual resources, which are often used for 'bolt-on' celebration days rather than the everyday resources used for teaching and learning in the classroom. These resources can be located in what Kramsch (1991:218) described as the four Fs. This may reveal Head Teacher Priory's willingness to support PFL teaching and teachers within her school, and also a lack of knowledge about the resources which are actually employed in a typical lesson. It may also reveal a lack of understanding about the ICU element to PFL teaching. The majority of teachers were not aware of theoretical underpinning that could assist them to plan or cross-reference ICU within lessons. Some of the generalist teachers had received foreign language pedagogy and content training but none had received

ICU specific training. Furthermore, Driscoll (2004b) reviewed a number of studies (Driscoll, 2000; Blondin et al., 1998) which all put forward the idea that teachers must have received specific teacher training if they are to deliver effective ICU lessons.

In some generalist teachers' classrooms, there did appear to be fragmented and patchy ICU teaching and learning occurring using community language speakers as the vehicle to deliver this. Although, this was not planned for using theory or a model. As Driscoll et al. (2013:157) concluded, without whole school mapping against an agreed framework,

> "…the potential of reinforcing specific aspects of cultural development in language lessons and across out-of-class activities is, therefore, lost. Maximising the possibility for cultural development would require collaborative planning and an overarching intercultural frame of reference which links the activities, experiences and events and which provides explicit intercultural connections between subjects."

All of the generalist teachers valued the diversity of the pupils in their classes and some used these community speakers as a resource within their classroom. They shared stories, compared lives and experiences, as well as language. These findings are in contrast to the findings from Wade and Marshall (2009) who found little evidence of using EAL speakers. By using the children's classmates to explore ICU, the teachers, perhaps unwittingly, are helping to move the pupils from their own ethnocentrism (one's own culture being central to reality) to ethnorelativism (one's own beliefs and values being just one organisation of reality amongst many possibilities) (Bennett, 2004:62). By doing this, the teachers embody their desire to 'prepare 21st century global citizens' (Lustig and Koester, 2013). Due to the limitations of this study, a single researcher with fulltime lecturing commitments, it was not possible to fully explore this identified practice, and this area certainly requires further investigation in future.

It is regretful that the PFL PoS did not provide more support and guidance in the area of ICU for all teachers, especially given the well-documented literature base which suggests it is

poorly taught (Ofsted, 2011; Powell et al., 2000; Woodgate-Jones, 2009; Driscoll et al., 2013). The current National Curriculum (DfE, 2013) focuses instead on language competency. Given technological advances, the simple act of translation does not retain the same previously held status. Words and sentences can be located and read or spoken aloud at the click of a handheld device, however there is no technological replacement for ICU. While the cultural aspect could be described as missing from the National Curriculum, it appears in a 'bolt-on' form as part of the primary school SMSC agenda, requiring all pupils to,

> "…be encouraged to regard people of all faiths, races and cultures with respect and tolerance. …It is expected that pupils should understand that while different people may hold different views about what is 'right' and 'wrong',…. further tolerance and harmony between different cultural traditions by enabling students to acquire an appreciation of and respect for their own and other cultures." DfE (2014)

This highlights a lack of understanding of ICU by not only all stakeholders within this study but also by policy makers at the highest level. The opportunity to broaden out the definition of PFL to include "laying the foundations of positive and open attitudes to language variety, intercultural awareness and all those related elements that combine to develop a flexible and mobile world citizen." Enever (2011:20) has been missed. Therefore, the ideals and beliefs which the teachers espoused have only been partially realised (Driscoll et al., 2013).

4.2.1.4 Increased Accountability and High Stakes

Each of the stakeholder groups felt that they were 'time poor', under pressure and with a heavy workload. These themes also emerged from the Teachers' Workload Survey (DfE, 2014a) and finding sufficient curriculum time remained the largest challenge for primary schools wanting to deliver PFL (Tinsley and Board, 2015). This was unsurprising given the changes which have occurred in primary schools with the introduction of the National Curriculum 2014. Many teaching expectations have been introduced further down the year groups, meaning that some teachers are having to play 'catch-up'.

> "We are under a huge pressure. Ofsted is far more pressurising than it was even five years ago. If you are good they leave you alone but God help you if you drop down to

requiring improvement or special measures. In my job I'd be gone, you don't last as a head teacher if you need Special Measures in a school and the problem is that you are never quite sure, to get those test levels you know every other school is pushing that little bit harder so in order to hit those national averages you have got to push that little bit harder. You can't just take the foot off the pedal because if every other school is doing three months of SATS preparation and you don't then there will be children who fall down in which case that will show on your data and in which case brings more Ofsted pressure and having been" Head Teacher Rothschild

This perceived pressure impacts on the subjects which are taught in primary school, in particular those subjects which are not accountable to statutory testing, such as PFL. generalist teachers felt they could not spare enough time to be upskilled in PFL (Wade and Marshall, 2009) as they are concentrating on the 'high stakes' core subjects. The head teachers showed that they are aware of these demands and are also empathetic with their staff.

> "… I know the biggest gripe, as you know, from teachers is that there is not enough time in the week to cover everything and there are so many demands on their time. "Head Teacher Rothschild.

> "…a bit more time really [if a resource could be requested] because we do try to upskill the rest of the staff …but it all takes a lot of time that, doesn't it." Head Teacher Priory

> "…it takes years to learn a language and you can't expect Primary School teachers who have got a fulltime job, you know, who are working all hours and everything else, who have got a huge pressure on them and families, 'cos a lot of them are mums, you know, suddenly to just learn a language in their spare time because it is huge." Head Teacher Rothschild

This is interesting as it points to the idea that the primary school workforce is considered by some as an engendered workforce. In fact, as shown by the participant list located in the Methodology Chapter, almost all of the teachers in the three case study schools were women. The majority of teachers in English primary schools, 87 per cent, (World Data Bank, 2015), are female while the majority of household work is still undertaken by the female partner (if in a heterosexual pairing) (Sofer and Rizavi, 2008). The number of hours worked by the average primary school teacher per week was recently revealed to be approximately 60 hours per week (DfE, 2014a). These three factors, when combined, illuminate the workload and time constraints for over four-fifths of the primary workforce both inside and outside the home.

These demands mean that teachers tend to concentrate resources on the teaching of the core subjects. This then creates inequality for pupils and also schools, going against a state education system of universal entitlement (Alexander, 2010). As discussed fully in the Literature Review Chapter, schools located in socio-economically challenging areas have less established histories of teaching PFL as well as being less likely to assess in the subject (Tinsley and Board, 2015). This is because of the link between socio-economic deprivation and weaker core subject data therefore schools prioritise the teaching of English and Maths over others including PFL. The schools in this study were not located in areas of particular social deprivation, however it was clear to see how these factors do still impact on teachers and their practice. Teacher K illuminated how these pressures impacted on her classroom priorities and the time that she has available.

> "I think it's because, I think it's just the Government. That by the end of Year 1 they are supposed to be reading, they are supposed to be writing, they are supposed to be doing this and if they are not, they are deemed as SEN or you have not performed well enough or … so I think there are a lot of different pressures on you but do you know what I mean, you have your mild panic that these children, especially the lower ability, still struggle to read and write in English and shouldn't really be worrying about speaking French… I reckon probably when you get to Year 6 they are probably a bit like 'well why are you teaching French when they have got SATs to pass so I reckon it just depends on the age group and how much pressure they have got on certain things." Teacher K

> "There's just no time left and then all of a sudden the new curriculum coming into Key Stage One. They've upped the ante a great deal in most of the areas but you can only do so much because there's only so many hours in the day." Teacher D

Even though the generalist teachers were supportive of PFL, their workload and perceived pressure resulted, in practice, that they were not responsible for any aspect of PFL. This resulted in each of the specialist teachers shouldering all of the workload.

The specialist teachers each had slightly different job roles and, thus, slightly different workloads. Christine has the workload of a generalist teacher in addition to PFL planning and

delivery across KS2. Even Christine, when considering the needs of her own class, prioritised the core subjects over the teaching of PFL.

> "…I do bits of French with them [my class] but you know, language isn't even in my timetable. My priority is those thirty three kids and getting them to achieve in Maths and English cos my performance management targets are linked to that and so at the end of the day, they, my class and Maths and English are the priority." Christine

Andrea delivered PFL across Forest School from Reception to Year 6 in a single day of 40 minute to an hour slots, and Thomasina taught French across KS2 in addition to teaching PSHCE one day a week for Year 6. Andrea, who moved from being a generalist teacher to a peripatetic specialist teacher across schools, felt that, while she would always welcome more time, not having generalist teacher responsibilities in addition to her PFL work has been helpful.

> "I suppose more time is something all teachers want because there never seem to be enough hours in the day, and with this job I feel like I have got my work/life balance back...I am very grateful for that." Andrea

All the specialist teachers discussed how their jobs gave them satisfaction and that they really enjoyed their jobs. This is really important because all of the teachers who were observed were 'parachuted into' classes, where they had to deliver short, sharp exciting lessons for half an hour to an hour for a group of approximately 30 children who they only saw once a week. This can be contrasted with the role of a generalist primary teacher, who remains with one class all day and for the majority of the week until their 'planning, preparation and assessment' (PPA) and another teacher, sometimes PFL will provide cover. Through working with one class all week, the relationships for personalisation of the learning and behaviour management are stronger than when a teacher 'parachutes in' for one lesson a week. Furthermore, while not in all cases, most lessons follow a pattern of some form of teacher input, controlled practice and then independent work (usually in the form of writing) over the timeframe of an hour. This leads to a working pattern for generalist teachers of 'peaks and troughs' whereas for the specialist teachers their format is more one of a series of mini peaks throughout the day and

the 'down time' is minimised. One of the teachers, Andrea, spent from 9am-4pm delivering 40-60 minutes sessions across the school, each lesson was the same high energy. Naturally, by the end of the day, she was exhausted. Andrea's working pattern was not dissimilar at different schools throughout the week. Christine and Thomasina also delivered languages to different classes, although only in the afternoon one day a week. Similarly, the amount of time that was available to them led these teachers to want to maximise the learning experience for the children, which was again very labour intensive. And yet, when Andrea was interviewed, she did not refer to the labour-intensive nature of her role, although this was evident from observing her and also in informal conversations. In contrast, actually Andrea felt that her work/life balance had improved. Observing her teach all the children in the school in one day, in addition to teaching a club for 'gifted and talented children' after school, did raise questions about daily workload. Christine, who taught half the children in her school in an afternoon, explained how this workload made her feel,

> "I do love teaching it. I do find it quite intense sometimes because the way it is this year. I teach four classes in the one afternoon, so it is Year 3 for half an hour, Year 4 for half an hour, Year 5 for half an hour and then Year 6 for half an hour and I'm just always drained by the end of it, I do find it really tiring. So, in that respect I wish it was broken up a little bit really, but I do love teaching it, you know. I try to keep it fun. I try for the lessons to be lively; you know, and play lots of games, fun activities" Christine

This was also documented in the field notes (see Appendix 12),

> "We talked about the challenges of delivering 4 x 30 minute lessons and having to maintain such energy throughout each one, to prepare for each one and also then to be able to do her own class teacher is difficult. She said she is always most tired after a Thursday. In Year 3 the white board was broken, so it was hard for her to have the resources to teach and in Year 5 she said it's difficult too." 19th September 2013

> "In the afternoon I was teaching. Christine introduced me and I did the numbers 1-10 and set the scene. Dan [EAL Chinese child] assisted me in year 3. He was a bit shy. He wasn't sure how to write the number 5, I told him me too sometimes so I showed him. Then we did the same thing round the other three classes. This was quite tiring. Finished teaching and went home happy, it was hard but good to teach." 26th September 2013

"Christine, at lunch time, said that she feels most tired on a Thursday and I said I wasn't surprised at all – I told her that Andrea at Forest School also felt like this. She said she loves MFL but that she doesn't always look forward to it." 14th November 2013

The effects that Christine outlined, being tired and exhausted at the end of the day, was observed for all specialist teachers. And while all primary teachers work on average a 60 hour week (DfE, 2014a) and are under increasing pressure so are likely to also be tired at the end of a day or week, there are specific PFL features which should be considered. Recent research showed that most PFL teaching is concentrated on the Oracy strand (Cable et al., 2010) which is usually led by the teacher. This means that the 'dip' in the teaching aspect which can be seen in other subjects, when the children work independently on a written task, is not available to the same extent or, if the children are participating in a written task, usually requires more teacher assistance. In addition, the specialist teachers wanted to inspire and motivate the children and one of the ways in which they tried to achieve this was by high energy, 'fun' lessons, using songs, games and quick-fire activities; again, this is different to the format of other lessons. Andrea acknowledged and illuminated these differences between PFL and other curriculum subjects,

"[PFL]… is one of those subjects that I don't think will be the same. I mean I've got nothing against the other National Curriculum subjects, but let's take geography as an example, like I don't know, it just doesn't seem, it doesn't feel the same or as exciting. I could be saying something wrong there but I might be doing geography an injustice there but for me, it [PFL] is an exciting lesson to be a part of and that is the way that I feel when I am teaching the children and that is the response that I get when they are learning with me." Andrea

These elements are further compounded by the length and frequency of PFL lessons with them happening for less time and less frequently than other curriculum sessions. As the teachers feel that they are teaching for progression, they felt the need to 'maximise' the time available to ensure progression, creating a pressure on their lesson alone to ensure the success of PFL. The specialist teachers saw and worked with a large number of different children every week. Andrea taught literally hundreds of different children, never teaching the

same child twice in a week. Teachers Thomasina and Christine also saw all the children in Key Stage 2, however this was confined to one school only. This has been common practice for specialist teachers since the PFL first made inroads into English primary schools (Driscoll et al., 2004a). When seeing so many children for such a short space of time, for high-energy lessons once a week, behaviour management can be an issue especially for teachers who are perhaps not considered by the pupils as main staff members. In Driscoll's (2000) study, into contrasting approaches to delivering languages, it was found that through the specialist model of teaching, development of close pupil-teacher relationships was more difficult. This, coupled with a general lack of pupil knowledge and school knowledge, led to some behaviour management challenges for the specialist teacher. In this research, through observations and interviews with the specialist teachers, this was not revealed as an issue. Perhaps this is because all the teachers were fully trained primary school teachers in addition to being a specialist and Thomasina and Andrea worked as staff within their schools, although not exclusively with one class.

The specialist teachers' workload was greatly influenced by being the only teachers responsible for PFL teaching, with the exception of the Languages Co-ordinator at New Forest School. It is clear the effect that having other staff members to share the responsibility of PFL with and to embed in the wider curriculum is important. In fact, it was Andrea who felt the most supported. Even so, Andrea would have still welcomed more staff involvement in the development of PFL. At the same time she understood, having been a generalist teacher, the demands that are placed on such teachers. All of the specialists felt isolated and would welcome a community of practice within the schools,

> "…the only thing I would say could improve the subject is if teachers extended what was done in the lesson. That would be the only thing I think and I understand the Primary timetable is so packed and there is not enough time to do that really but if I would say there was anything that would assist what I am doing it is just them getting to practice what they have done, outside of my lesson." Andrea

"I think a lot of them think it's [PFL] good but they are quite happy to leave it to me, you know, leave it to somebody else to teach that is the general view in this school… it's compulsory isn't it and I don't think it can be just left to one person to do it all." Christine

"I don't know how you can get other people interested in it and get them to do it [PFL]. That is always a problem…most people think everything else is more important…they don't do it in Year 6 and they now don't do it in Year 5 either...Teacher X refuses…Teacher Y does it sometimes and not others and they won't…they don't think it is relevant maybe, I don't know. It's a shame."…"Thomasina

Perhaps by welcoming the generalist teachers into the community of specialist teacher practices (Driscoll et al., 2004a) through the sharing of beliefs, team teaching, conversations and lesson study about PFL teaching, the subject and associated practices could be demystified. This may be support which the generalist teachers would welcome if there was time safeguarded for them to engage in professional dialogue. It would also mean that the subject and the specialist teachers would feel less isolated.

4.2.1.5 Broad and Balanced vs Two-Tier Curriculum

All of the stakeholders referred to the teaching of PFL as contributing to a 'broad and balanced' curriculum. The contribution of PFL to a rich curriculum was expressed by all of the participants. Two of the Heads explicitly stated that they wished to provide a curriculum which was 'broad and balanced'. And this was echoed by many generalist teachers and all of the specialist teachers, who often made reference to what they perceived to be the introduction of a National Curriculum that did not value 'broadness'. Teacher J provided an insight into what several of the teachers expressed,

"I think it [PFL] enriches the curriculum for the children as well. It is all part of the cross-curricular experience, especially if you can make it a link, drawing links…I try to link…a range of skills so your ICT skills, your language skills, your communication skills and things like that as opposed to well, this is before 2014 comes in isn't it?...all bets are off and it is open up the child's head and pour in the facts…[Whereas] I think it is the cross-curricular side of things it enriches, …I think it is part of the whole multi-cultural thing, you know, I have taught in Oldham and I could sort of see at the time that there was going to be trouble down the line because everything was so ghettoised and insular." Teacher J

The Heads wanted to ensure that children in their school were able to experience a full and rich range of subjects, so that they could all excel in a curriculum area. They felt that PFL was an inclusive subject that could provide a positive learning experience for some children.

> "I think that those children that struggle with Maths and English need the opportunity to shine in PE or Art or Music and so if we give them a wide range of experiences then hopefully everybody has that chance to shine." Head Teacher Priory

> "I am a real believer that children should have a very broad and balanced education and we are here to find their talents… It could be art, it could be music, geography, it could be our forest area out there. There are some children who love that, they can't wait until the next time they are out there and it improves attendance, it improves children's enjoyment and enjoyment…" Head Teacher Rothschild

The inclusivity of PFL is also echoed in the literature. Martin (2000:70) stated "pupils with learning difficulties can be fully integrated into foreign language programmes." The specialist teachers too felt that PFL provided a unique aspect, particularly when compared with the core subjects in the National Curriculum. Although these teachers did not express their opinions in terms of specific PFL pedagogical approaches, it was clear that, through the use of songs, rhymes and games as teaching tools, they felt that the children saw learning a foreign language as fun.

> "I have taught other subjects before and the response that you get in FL is just amazing and they are just so excited because of the nature of the lesson and the fact that we do games and songs and all different things like that means that they get really excited and they really look forward to the languages lessons and I sometimes feel a bit like a celebrity when I walk in." Andrea

This form of multi-sensory approach is recommended for teaching SEN pupils (Vickerman, 2007). Furthermore, as the lessons contained limited writing, two of the teachers felt that this contributed to an inclusive environment for all children to contribute to the lesson. In particular, they made reference to the children with Special Educational Needs not only being able to take a full role in PFL lessons but also to excel.

> "I often find that Special Needs children, because they are quite good at talking quite often, even if they can't write, quite a few of them blossom with languages and then it takes me by surprise when I find that they can't write it so I think it is another side to, I think it is another opportunity to excel for some children. Some children are good at

everything and that happens all the time and I don't think doing languages does anybody any harm, and they need it at high school so anything that can help them for when they get to high school is good. I just love languages and the enthusiasm of children at primary school as well." Thomasina

"They like it to be fun. They like having fun but I would say you see kids who don't normally, maybe kids who aren't that academic, you will see them, you know, really joining in and which is nice to see, you know, your Special Needs kids, you know, some of them really, you know, pick it up and seem to have a bit of a flair for it. So that is nice to see, you know, some of your kids who are less confident in other subjects" Christine

In spite of Christine's espoused views, observations, conducted in the three case study schools, revealed that some children were removed from PFL lessons to take part in interventions, usually relating to core subjects. This is echoed in the most recent literature as Board and Tinsley (2015:39) stated "that small numbers of pupils are being excluded from language lessons at some point in Key Stage 2 for extra Literacy, numeracy or English as an Additional Language."

Some of the generalist teachers echoed the inclusive nature of PFL. They felt it built confidence, because of the specific pedagogy of songs and active learning favoured in PFL lessons,

"It builds confidence in some children but then you have got your brighter children and it can be sometimes who just hate the lesson and you don't hear them speak and I have had the SEN enjoy it a lot….I doubt that they would be able to speak sentences as they move up the school but because it was one word answers they could remember the picture or they would remember the word associated with that action. …I don't know whether the children just because it is a different language and they don't understand, switch off, so for some it increases confidence but I wouldn't say all." Teacher R

"The other thing I find with language because it is access for all, a lot of the SEN children seem to fly with your foreign language as well so they are actually achieving something." Teacher L

PFL is considerably more oracy-based and, in addition, the pedagogy, multi-sensory, kinaesthetic and auditory-visual, is more comparable to that found in the Early Years or Foundation Stage in that there are many rhymes, songs and games. This PFL specific

pedagogy was clear from reviewing the field notes taken in each school, the terms 'drilling',

'modelling', and singing appear quite frequently and often in the same lesson, for example,

> "Sing 'salut and bon après midi song. Children threw the ball around, 'asking what is your name?' when they caught the ball they stood up and answered, and then passed the ball to someone else. This chained around the room. Christine showed the back of the days of the week cards, saying 'what are there seven of?' and the children guessed what they could be learning today. The she showed them the names and modelled for them how to say each one. Next, they drilled each one. Each day was on different coloured backing paper. Each child then got a card and when she said a day the children with that card had to stand up as fast as they could. Then she challenged them to get in the right order." 31st October 2013

Participating in these activities with their peers at a similar level can be very powerful for the

SEN child who may suffer from poor self-esteem (Wilson, 2014).). The field notes taken while

at Sakura School revealed some exciting and interesting SEN provision for a child with

cerebral palsy and could not speak which enabled her to participate in French lessons,

> "The pupil in the Year 4 class with cerebral palsy has a computer and this can speak French for her, this is really interesting. And she used it in the lesson to speak. Her 1:1 support showed me how this worked, they have to input the phonetic sounds for it to be able to speak properly. This meant that she could play in the 'Jacques a dit' game with the other children." 19th September 2013

The head teachers, some generalists and the specialist teachers felt that PFL had an

important language specific benefit which the children could apply within the wider curriculum.

They referred to the idea of L2 Knowledge About Language (KAL) feeding to a child's L1 and

improving it (Martin, 2000), although none of the teachers, even the specialists, made

reference to the specific term KAL. The head teachers and generalist teachers used generalist

teaching terminology, supplemented by personal experiences of learning a foreign language

and about different cultures. Teachers supplementing L2 specific knowledge with more

general reading is common, although in a secondary context rather than a primary one (Peiser,

2012). As all of the specialist teachers were trained under the Labour Government (1997-

2010), it could be expected that they would reference the term KAL (DfES, 2005), rather than

the more popular term, currently in use under the Conservative Government (2015-) of

grammar. However this was not the case; these specialist teachers made repeated reference

to the term 'grammar'. This may be due to the gravitas that grammar now plays in the English

curriculum, culminating in a spelling, punctuation and grammar test (DfE, 2013) as part of the

Key Stage 2 SATs.

> "…it provides a lot of skills that the children can use in other areas of the Curriculum, listening skills, grammar, you know, those kind of areas that are really important so I think it is a really integral part." Head Teacher Rothschild

> "I think knowing any parts of language is helpful for the development of what they know about their own language." Teacher F

> "I do think it helps with English. I do think the grammar and certainly grammatical things, you know, you can apply to English…., I think the skills that they learn help with, you know, the linguistic skills that they learn, they can apply to English" Christine

> "I think that primary Foreign Languages can be used to underpin the grammar in Literacy…to get a better understanding in the children of how the language works, where the adjectives go for example and the fact that they have to have endings on them and the fact that you have got feminine and masculine and in German." Thomasina

> "I remember reading some articles, I know I said I didn't read but I remember reading something where they said "And it said if you teach them a foreign language they can get their tongue and stuff round other things, you know, some of them have trouble with 'ff' and 'th' and all those and then they said if they start with a foreign language they actually can get their mouths around and make the sounds in English so I don't know whether that is true or not. So that is an interesting thing to look at and they do enjoy it and they can pick up, what I have found is that when I was in Reception I did do a little more then, I taught I think it was animals and they remember the name of animals far better than me, you know, you just played a few games with some animals and things and they do pick it up but I think it is how much you do." Teacher D

> "I think it is great that we do it in Primary Schools and I think it is very important that we do. I know a lot of schools don't include it in Key Stage 1 and Reception and I think that's hugely important and it should be part of the Curriculum from the word go… they are learning new words every day as it is in their own language so they are open to new words and new learning and new sounds and I think it introduces them to new phonetic sounds which helps them with our language as well." Teacher D

> "I like the idea of children learning a foreign language think it is quite important with a view to the European market that we are in we are in we are in and the countries that we're linked with., I do think it's a good idea because I think it takes away the fear. I think it feeds into the Literacy. It feeds into their grammar, think it's a good thing." Teacher G

While most of participants expressed the view that L2 could aid pupils with their L1, it was observed in all three primary schools that children were withdrawn for 'extra' lessons in the core subjects of English and Maths. The specialist teachers had no legitimacy in preventing this from happening as it was at the class teachers' discretion. However, Andrea and Thomasina expressed that they wished that it did not happen as it was detrimental to learning, however they also understood why this took place. It was accepted practice that, within the case study schools, the opinion was that the more time spent on the teaching of the core subjects, the more the pupils would progress. This is also highlighted in the literature. Tinsley and Board, when reporting on a school which has ceased to deliver PFL in class time, reported "there is so much and with increased demands on English and Maths we want our children to be successful learners in this." (2015:36). It is unfortunate that schools are not aware of the literature on how PFL can support children in learning their L1, (Blondin et al., 1998; Driscoll et al., 2004b) and so they feel that PFL and other areas of the curriculum are mutually exclusive.

The specialist teachers were not able to prevent children from being removed from lessons however, through their employment, they did safeguard PFL teaching time for most children. Head Teacher Rothschild was aware of the time constraints on staff and the temptation that might exist to use PFL lesson time for another subject. Enever and Moon (2010) noted that the use of PFL time by teachers for other more high priority subjects is also commonplace in Europe. To avoid this Head Teacher Rothschild employed a specialist Teacher, so that the subject was definitely taught.

> "That is why I have kind of got this sacrosanct French half hour in or 40 minutes in, on a Monday which is there all the time because if it wasn't there I feel it would get squeezed…The pressures that primary schools are under, I do think sometimes you hear of stories of it being squeezed, of children being taken out for intervention groups so they are not actually part of the French lessons and everything so I don't know whether that is a typical view. I also think as well that I think that the biggest problem in primary schools." Head Teacher Rothschild

However, while Head Teacher Rothschild managed to safeguard PFL for most children, it was not for all children. Some pupils in all three primary schools were withdrawn during PFL lessons for 'core lesson boosters'. Head Teacher Rothschild appeared to disapprove of this practice but also to confirm *a priori* knowledge that it is indeed commonplace in primary schools. Perhaps this indicates it may be more common than the three per cent of schools reported by Tinsley and Board (2015).

All the stakeholder groups referred to the contribution which PFL made to a 'broad and balanced curriculum'. It became clear, through observations, interviews and informal 'chats' that there was a 'two-tier curriculum' operating in practice. A 'two-tier curriculum' has Maths and English on the 'top tier' as these are measured by national tests and published data which are used and considered by Ofsted when inspecting a school. The foundation subjects are therefore relegated to the tier below as they are not as accountable to public and Ofsted scrutiny as Maths and English. The values which may have previously been attributed to PFL (Driscoll et al., 2013) under the National Languages Strategy seem to have disappeared, are instead replaced by a model of 'high stakes' accountability in the core subjects. The head teachers and generalist teachers were aware of the idea of a 'two-tier' curriculum as they explained,

> "The pressure is huge there and, let's be honest, Ofsted look at your English and they look at your Maths and I know if they look at those and they are outstanding then they kind of assume everything else is outstanding and if you can produce evidence of that to show it… Now that is very cynical but I think there is an element of truth in that because I know that it doesn't matter what you have outside, if your English and Maths is inadequate then the rest doesn't matter and that is Government pressure for you, that is the way education is …" Head Teacher Rothschild

Teacher K felt under pressure to ensure that the children in her class achieved high standards. This 'pressure' led Teacher K to subconsciously create the three-tier curriculum in her classroom. In this model, foundation subjects rest in the second tier, below English and Maths,

and as she personally did not deliver French, it was relegated further to the third tier that someone else delivered. She explained further,

> "I did just think 'oh, another thing to fit in', it's like the PHSE, the art,, RE and music, those subjects that are just like for 20, 30 minutes and it is trying to fit them in… it's all the pressure of reading, writing, sentence work, spelling work, handwriting and it is just every spare minute is about that and you forget sometimes about the importance of foundation subjects. I do think it is a good thing. But at the same time when you are in Year 1 and you are trying to get the children to read, write and count and do the basics I don't think it is necessarily the most important thing cos I think there are other things that I could be spending my time doing… a lot of Year 1 teachers, feel under pressure to get that happening so when somebody else comes in to teach French it is not necessarily important." Teacher K

There is clearly a disjuncture between the espoused views that PFL enriches the curriculum and the actual practice. However, through the head teachers' operational decisions to employ a specialist teacher, this PFL time is, for most pupils, safeguarded. It could be suggested that if the teaching of PFL was left solely as a generalist teacher's responsibility, this may not happen.

> "It wouldn't happen…if they [generalist class teachers] had to do it. I don't know how they would keep it up, I don't think it works. I have never seen it work properly…so bringing someone in is definitely the answer I'm afraid." Thomasina

Andrea confirmed this hypothesis was true for her as a generalist teacher,

> "Well, before I went to specialise in languages, I was just a general primary teacher and I didn't actually manage to do many languages during that time…the workload then was considerably more…" Andrea

As a result of languages not being embedded within the wider curriculum, it could be described as being annexed, and this may be due to the specialist teacher delivery mode. PFL often occurs in a vacuum, as the specialist independently plans and teaches across the school. In two of the three case study schools, PFL planning, delivery and assessment was the responsibility of one teacher. This can be said to isolate both the specialist teachers and the subject. The exception to this was within New Forest School where the nomination of a staff

member as Languages Coordinator, in addition to the specialist teacher, ensured that PFL status was raised and it was further embedded into the wider curriculum.

It is perhaps ironic that PFL is often relegated to the bottom tier of subject status due to the high pressure stakes of the core subjects pertaining to an Ofsted inspection. And yet, during 2014, aspects of PFL formed an important part of a Section 5 Ofsted inspection (DfE, 2014b). This section 5 guidance has now been withdrawn, and SMSC education now replaces some of these PFL related aspects. During such a visit to a school, Ofsted inspectors will consider pupils' SMSC development when forming a judgement. Ofsted outline the key features of SMSC,

> "…ability to be reflective about their own beliefs, religious or otherwise, that inform their perspective on life and their interest in and respect for different people's faiths, feelings and values …sense of enjoyment and fascination in learning about themselves, others and the world around them…interest in investigating and offering reasoned views about moral and ethical issues, and being able to understand and appreciate the viewpoints of others on these issues…understanding and appreciation of the wide range of cultural influences that have shaped their own heritage and that of others…understanding and appreciation of the range of different cultures within school and further afield as an essential element of their preparation for life in modern Britain…interest in exploring, improving understanding of and showing respect for different faiths and cultural diversity, and the extent to which they understand, accept, respect and celebrate diversity, as shown by their tolerance and attitudes towards different religious, ethnic and socio-economic groups in the local, national and global communities." Ofsted (2015)

This guidance when compared and contrasted with the Key Stage 2 Languages Framework is incredibly similar and not new as links can be made across the curriculum (Rantz and Horan, 2005:214). However, while the Ofsted guidance simply states what will be inspected, the Framework at least provided teachers with some guidance albeit at a factual and knowledge based level (Woodgate-Jones and Grenfell, 2012). In the absence of key policy documents outlining, with theoretical underpinning exactly what is ICU (as discussed above) and how to teach it a plethora of private consultancy businesses have appeared offering to support schools with SMSC teaching. Even before this situation arose, Driscoll et al. questioned how

"without a shared understanding of how to achieve the deeper aspects of cultural learning, their vision of developing respect for multiculturalism, broadening cultural horizons and promoting global citizenship remains only partially realised." (2013:1). And while it is difficult to assess what theories, if any, underpin these companies as their 'content' is located behind a pay wall it seems reasonable to suggest as has happened with ICU in PFL that there will be a fragmented, non-consistent approach.

4.2.1.6 Influence of Penny Wise

Penny Wise, the former LA foreign languages consultant, has worked with schools in the LA of Castle Rock for over a decade and this impact was exemplified well by Head Teacher Priory. She revealed an example typical of personal linkage between Penny Wise and the teachers she has trained in Castle Rock.

> "….probably about five years ago I went on Penny Wise's Language Training for French quite intensive, had a day and then it was weekly sessions after school and she gave me strategies and the other teachers that I was working with, strategies to be able to deliver French in school….so I did start teaching languages to children in Key Stage 2 but I am by no means an expert and I just kind of follow the programme and we did songs and we did the basics and the children enjoyed it, I enjoyed it and I felt that it was important but I don't currently teach French because I'm now the Head Teacher and we have got Christine who is very capable of doing that." Head Teacher Priory

It could be perhaps suggested that, by developing the workforce in Castle Rock over a decade, Penny Wise has created support for PFL. This may have been strengthened as teachers who once attended training were now responsible for PFL as a school leader or PFL co-ordinator. It could be suggested that it is the network and, moreover, the ex-LA consultant who still charts the direction of PFL in many of Castle Rock's schools, and the specialists.

> "I think she's the only one, every single language course I've been on, thinking about it, has been led by her." Christine

This was certainly the case in the schools which participated in this research. Furthermore, it is possible that this training, and the removal of fear associated with teaching an unfamiliar subject and 'getting it wrong', could be one of the reasons for this particular head teacher's support for PFL in the primary school and an issue which has impacted her teaching which she described in her own personal biography. Ideas around removal of fear of teaching and 'getting it wrong' are clearly evidenced in the data as she described the biggest issue for teachers was confidence.

> "…the course with Penny Wise was excellent. It was very fun, interactive, very engaging. She reassured us all that you don't have to be an expert and that there are resources out there that can support you so she kind of built up my confidence and then having the twilight sessions afterwards helped as well. There was that support that was ongoing for it." Head Teacher Priory

This was echoed in the field notes which were taken at Sakura School,

> "She [Christine] said that none of the other staff would be confident to teach it [PFL] but that it is better now that head teacher Priory has made them stay in class." 19th September 2013

The Penny Wise Network has had a large impact, on not only PFL, within the case study schools, but also the LA of Castle Rock. She now works with over 100 local primary schools in a private capacity. It should be noted that this service can provide a specialist teacher from the Penny Wise Network (such as at Forest School), or provide other forms of support such as resources and plans (such as at Sakura and New Falls primary schools). Apart from local diocese religious studies schemes of work that a local area agrees to follow, it is hard to consider another subject whereby the planning and resources seem to stem from a single source, in this case the Penny Wise Network.

All of the head teachers spoke favourably and often about the influence that the ex-LA PFL consultant has had and the enabling role the network has played. This is because, without the

network's help, the head teachers may have had a very difficult job in trying to staff PFL. Whereas the generalist teachers (with the exception of the Languages Coordinator at New Forest, Teacher J) did not refer to the Penny Wise Network, they were more likely to refer to the specialist teacher. This may be because the generalist teachers were working 'on the ground' and only see the specialist teacher as enabling PFL teaching and learning within the school, and alleviating their workload. The specialist teachers all spoke of the support that the Penny Wise Network provided them with, in the form of planning and sometimes resources. This continued support was important to the specialists as they felt isolated within their schools, bearing all the responsibility for PFL. Prior to 2011, there were many forms of support for PFL teachers, including a Primary Languages website, funding for LAs and revised schemes of work (Wade and Marshall, 2009), however these have, in the main, disappeared.

Planning was a topic which was commented upon in a variety of ways by the head teachers and specialist teachers. In general, all three schools to a lesser or greater extent relied on the Penny Wise Network for planning documents.

> "Well, Penny Wise provides schemes of work for planning so all the planning is done through her and she emails them to us and I give them to our FL co-ordinator who then passes them round to the teachers." Head Teacher Rothschild

> "[If I had to plan a lesson] I would have a look at Penny Wise's Primary Modern Language Network as there are loads and loads of resources on there." Head Teacher Priory

> "….there is a network which she works with [for assessment] but there has been nothing really ideal." Head Teacher Seymour

> "every year they [the network] give me their long-term plan, their medium-term plan and then I get weekly plans so I have got the bank of those resources in school." Teacher J

There are several reasons why the schools rely on the network for planning. It could be testament to the confidence that the head teachers place in Penny Wise's schemes of work and resources.

Andrea who was a PFL specialist, peripatetic teacher was given work by the Penny Wise Network (Andrea was registered as self-employed but the network provided her with schools who required PFL teaching). The Penny Wise Network is an online and physical service, it provides help and support through emails and a log in page for users online, and also has regular meetings, held at various primary schools to discuss, develop and support PFL teaching in Castle Rock primary schools. Andrea used the Penny Wise Network resources, such as planning and resources. Working closely with the network she also contributed to the network's bank of resources showing a clear ability to create, plan and deliver,

> "I tend to make a lot of my own [resources], I have looked at what is it, FL Sunderland before….through the network that I work with, we come up with resources together but we tend to build those and bank them in together so that we each use each other's within the network that I work with. We [the Network teachers] kind of help each other out by making things and then if they are in one language we might put them into another language so that we can kind of use them together yeah but that is about it." Andrea.

This explanation was very interesting as it had not been clear how the network was organised and managed resources, or indeed where the schemes of work and resources originated. Although, it should be noted that certainly before 2010 probably the majority of the resources and the plans were created by Penny Wise herself. As Andrea was a former generalist teacher, and this can be evidenced through the observations and interviews due to her demonstration of 'pedagogical content knowledge' (Shulman, 1986), her impact on the plans will be noticeable. This is not to state that Penny Wise, a former secondary foreign languages teacher, is unable to plan PFL lessons as she has successfully done this for a large number of years, but that perhaps the lessons that Andrea planned may show both her 'pedagogical content knowledge' and 'subject knowledge' (Shulman, 1986).

It is helpful for the specialist teachers, such as Christine, to receive planning as it helps to alleviate constraining factors such as not having the time to plan for PFL.

"I think it's just time as well. I think, yeah, more time 'cos I do find, you know, I do my French on a Thursday afternoon and then I literally don't have time to think about it until the following Thursday." Christine

However, by using these plans means Christine had not personalised the teaching for specific classes and school-wide curriculum. As such, it does not allow linkage between her specialist and generalist primary knowledge, meaning that PFL is taught in a vacuum. This can lead to the annexing of PFL as it is not joined to the school curriculum. As discussed in the 'Literature Review', this has been revealed in the research and common practice is to view PFL as separate subject, taught from a topic-based scheme of work unconnected to the rest of the curriculum (Cable et al., 2012). Thomasina supported this and stated,

"We subscribe to that [the Penny Wise Network] as a school… she sends us PowerPoints and things by email and some of them I use and some of them I don't. The most useful ones are the ones in the summer like 'how to make a ratatouille' and she did a wonderful one on the wedding one with lots of photographs and things when it was the Royal Wedding so special ones like that and I don't have to make them myself so, you know, I use her for ideas. " Thomasina

However, from my experiences of having shadowed and provided 'teaching cover' for Christine, it could be suggested that she would not have had time to produce such planning even if she wanted to; this is due to the intensity her heavy workload. One of the most common ways in which Christine personalised the planning that she received from the Penny Wise Network was through the telling of cultural facts or anecdotes (Driscoll, 2000) while teaching, linked to the topic.

While Andrea and Christine mainly rely on the network planning, Thomasina was very keen to personalise and adapt the planning.

"I do lots of different things. I have got 'Pilot' which is an interactive thing on the whiteboard and I have got 'Tout Le Monde' which you have seen and I use that because you can use it on the laptops but I don't use it all the time because it is, it would be too samey. Erm, what else do I do …? There is, I have got a DVD called 'Chez Mimi' that I bring in sometimes and I have got some mini clips from the British Film Institute that have got French films and another thing which is about Marseille and the town and the children in the school so I try and bring lots of songs…sometimes I

will find a book and think 'oh, I haven't used that for a couple of years' so I am trying to put it all together so I have got a list of all the things that I use for each topic, unit… I try and take the best of each to make it as interesting as possible." Thomasina

While Thomasina discussed this approach, it does seem that she concentrated more on the actual resources that she used to teach with rather than how she decided on planning. In fact, she did not use the Key Stage 2 Languages Framework (DfES, 2005), to plan for progression and strand coverage. This is because she appeared to use the framework as a retrospective document going back over plans and adding in framework references as these are 'expected' to form part of the planning. Instead, she chose an activity based on one of the four main components of a foreign language, speaking and listening or reading and writing, and then made the assumption that the KAL and ICU strands were a natural, implicit part of the lesson.

"I don't tailor that [planning] to those [objectives] there. I put those because they match in with what I am doing….And see which one it fulfils, yeah. So, actually it doesn't make me do it any different. At all. Ever." Thomasina

This is an interesting approach to teaching PFL, one which can provide progression and coverage of all aspects of a foreign language, however it can also lead to 'patchy' coverage. This is because the framework links are made retrospectively rather than planned systematically to ensure coverage and progression. As with many teachers, there may be gaps in Thomasina's 'pedagogical content knowledge' (Shulman, 1986) that the Key Stage 2 Languages Framework (DfES, 2005) could help to fill.

Operationally, the head teachers all had a vision of PFL and were committed to implementing it in their schools. The specialist teachers were not always clear what each school's aims were. However, they were motivated to teach both languages and culture. However, as most of the planning and the training came from the network, it could be argued that it is in fact the network which had most of the ownership of PFL. This may have led to a slight 'detachment' from original thought and organic creation from the specialist teachers, however when the

constraining factor of time is considered, it could be understood why these teachers accept the support and guidance, especially for teachers with multiple roles, such as Christine who is a class teacher, FL co-ordinator and geography co-ordinator. It should also be noted that there is a difference between being the subject leader of PFL as compared to those teachers who lead in a different area within the school. None of the other curriculum leaders were responsible for the planning and delivery of that subject across the school to different classes. It is this workload and the intensive nature of the short, mainly oracy-based sessions that are demanding for specialist teachers working in this model. However, there were slightly differing opinions on how the network operated. Andrea felt, as an employee of the network, that she could contribute to and develop the network while Thomasina felt that there was a lack of criticality.

4.2.2 Overlapping Perspectives

4.2.2.1 Confidence and Training: Catch-22

<u>Confidence</u>

The head teachers were confident about PFL; they had all had positive experiences and had qualifications or training in both L2 language learning and PFL. However, their theoretical PFL underpinning was often missing, leading them to substitute personal or generalist teaching knowledge for specialist PFL knowledge. For the generalist teachers, a lack of knowledge was further compounded by a lack of confidence. It is hard to understand if it was the lack of knowledge which led to a lack of confidence or if it was the lack of confidence that resulted in the generalist teachers not feeling able to engage in learning about PFL. It should not perhaps be surprising that the majority of generalist teachers displayed a lack of both knowledge and confidence regarding PFL practice.

A lack of confidence led some generalist teachers to disengage in training sessions rather than to try to gain confidence to speak through participating. A notable exception was Teacher V who participated in each PFL lesson with a real enthusiasm to learn with the children and also demonstrate learning for the children. There were a number of documented occasions of Teacher V participating in the lessons noted within the field notes,

> "Teacher V got up and got book [to visually 'cahier' for the children] he told Christine that he knew what the word meant but he couldn't remember how to say it." 10th October 2013

> "Teacher V said to all the children if they wanted they could use their knowledge of colours [to extend their sentences about classroom nouns], Christine then explained to the children that the adjective goes behind the noun. Teacher V then got a bunch of different coloured pencils and they drilled each colour with the children to practise." 10th October 2013

He explained that he felt this provided a powerful model for the children in his class. However, as the majority of generalists did not participate, this then seems to feed into a self-perpetuating cycle in that the teachers are scared to talk and then they do not develop in language or confidence and thus are scared to talk. Low et al., as early as 1995, highlighted that confidence was a training need for teachers. This theme of 'fear', although revealed in Driscoll et al.'s 2004a study as a key concern for teachers, was not expected to still be a current issue. Furthermore, the frequency with which it emerged across schools, regardless of teacher demographics or years in service, was surprising. A number of the teachers felt that there was very much a 'right' and a 'wrong' way to teach PFL and they were scared of 'getting it wrong'. Worried about their ability to pronounce words correctly and their accent featured very heavily in the discussions and was one of the main concerns for the teachers (Driscoll et al., 2004a).

> "I'm not sure my pronunciation is 100 per cent there but I am reasonably confident with it and I can string a bit of a sentence together and you know." Teacher V

> "I would worry about my accent but if there was somebody else in the classroom with me I could sort of pick up on theirs and they could do the correct pronunciation on me." Teacher T

"If you don't know how to pronounce it or you don't know another way to say it, it is not perhaps as easy to; you can't problem solve it in the same way. It is either right or it is wrong and so if you only know a set pattern, it is quite hard to be able to, I don't know, be able to tackle it from a different angle because you haven't got the knowledge and pronunciation is a big thing for me. You can perhaps do a written exercise because you can follow the pattern of how a verb changes or whatever but if you can't pronounce it or use it in a conversation I think that becomes a bit more tricky." Teacher X

"I don't think I would pronounce it correctly and I think the children would just be learning it wrong." Teacher K

"I can't do the accent, I can't remember any of it; it is just not me. I don't think, I'm not good at languages. I'm not good at remembering vocabulary and things like that." Teacher E

"I would worry that my pronunciation would hinder theirs. That would be my worry because I don't pronounce things properly and I know I don't and I always struggle with pronouncing the words properly and things like that and I think that that would then influence them, you know, they'd have French with my accent.. I always try and do a bit on the language, probably pronouncing it totally wrong but we have a look at it together and try and learn how to count." Teacher J

"Think teaching pronunciation again that correct is the thing that gets me the most." Teacher N

"I think it is more the pronunciation as well. I wouldn't want to get it wrong and teach them wrong 'cos they have asked sometimes 'what did she say?' and I'm like 'I can't remember, I don't want to tell you it wrong' whereas in English you can't really say it wrong can you It wouldn't be the fear of saying wrong words I just don't want to teach them… they're more likely to say 'oh, miss told me this' and go home and their parents go 'no, she was wrong'." Teacher U

"You have got to know how to pronounce things and you have got to have the correct things and terminologies to say to the children." Teacher O

Teacher S and Teacher X worried about their ability to answer children's questions,

"'Cos kids do ask questions and you have got to know the answers, you know, when they say 'well, why's that like that?' and 'why has the 'e' got an accent on it?' and that kind of thing. You need to know the answers and if you don't have it to a certain level then you can't answer the questions." Teacher S

"If I wanted to say it a different way, how would I do that? 'Cos I wouldn't know the answer if it wasn't in my notes or if somebody sort of asked you a question that is not on your prepared plan. I mean, it's fine to say 'well, actually I don't know but we can find out' but that would be frustrating if that happened a lot for the children. Sometimes they just want to know, you know, so I don't feel skilled enough to teach it myself." Teacher X

The head teachers were more than aware of the low levels of confidence that most of their

generalist teachers possessed. This was best exemplified by head teachers Seymour and

Rothschild,

"Let's not forget the teachers… don't forget these are the people who have been forced and failed to learn a Modern Foreign Language, who couldn't speak it abroad and the way it was taught in secondary and high schools when we were younger, didn't really mean that anybody enjoyed it. A lot of the teachers I have found in primary schools are very, very reticent to try and speak a language because they are embarrassed or they feel uncomfortable so you have got to get the teachers on board and you have got to get them start to use the language within the classroom and feel comfortable with using the language in the classroom, but even before we do that we have got to ensure that our teachers know their own grammar, let alone another language and that is something now which the grammar and punctuation tests will no doubt ensure" Head Teacher Seymour

"…, I think there is a problem there of people not being able to speak it. The last time they did it was GCSE when they were 16 and now some of them are in their 30s when it was introduced back again so I think that can be a problem as well." Head Teacher Rothschild

It was this lack of staff confidence that prevented Head Teacher Seymour from engaging as he would like to with PFL in his school. It was clear that when he was describing his vision for what PFL could be, he was drawing on his own experiences of PFL teaching abroad, and valued this model of immersion.

"… at the moment, it is the tip of the iceberg of the potential [for PFL]… but until staff are confident and we teach it from an early age and until we immerse the children in the language it won't work." Head Teacher Seymour

The increase in confidence amongst staff members was revealed as the second most problematic barrier to PFL delivery in schools (Tinsley and Board, 2015). Fifty-six per cent of responding schools stated that they were trying to boost staff confidence. This finding is also replicated in the case study schools that participated in this research. The head teachers were aware of this and were trying to tackle this issue in a variety of ways through providing training.

Training

The building of confidence featured very heavily in the initial training that was given to teachers (Low et al., 2005). This seems to have worked well for those teachers who opted to teach the language, although perhaps teachers who were more reticent about the subject did not attend the training. Since the funding cuts to PFL training is no longer provided for free through the LA, this too may be limiting teachers' development. A need for training was identified from the

head teachers who responded to initial mapping questionnaire. As one generalist teacher in the study remarked, she had never attended PFL training as schools tend to only be able to send one teacher so the PFL teacher always attended.

As employing a specialist teacher requires funding, head teachers seemed keen that their staff should use the specialist teachers' lessons as a chance to improve their own skills. In Sakura School, it was the head teacher's vision that the class teachers should remain in the room while Christine was teaching. It was hoped that this would upskill the generalist teacher's confidence and target language. However, Head Teacher Priory felt that perhaps this opportunity was not always taken due to application of time elsewhere.

> "… I think they probably sit at the back and mark books rather than actually engage and join in with the children." Head Teacher Priory

In practice, Head Teacher Priory's suspicions were confirmed; all but one of her staff, Teacher V as discussed previously, were otherwise occupied with work, during PFL lessons. This is interesting as the findings of a Japanese study (Aline and Hosoda, 2006) examining class teachers working with a specialist PFL teachers, in this case a native speaker, found that the class teachers' interactions fell into four categories, only one of which was non-involvement. However, this did not only happen in Sakura School. Across the three case study schools, almost none of the teachers remained in class, actively engaged with the PFL lesson. The generalist teachers spoke often about not having enough time to engage with training (Driscoll et al., 2004a). There appears to be a juxtaposition between the generalist teachers' supportive and committed views, valuing PFL and their actual practice which has been mediated by structural issues such as data collection for accountability purposes. However, Lugossy (2007:87) does not accept that the reason of 'a lack of time' is as simple as it may first appear, s/he felt that this reason reveals "their underlying beliefs about teaching and learning" and perhaps the importance/ranking that they ascribe to PFL within their daily workload.

As the generalists did not engage actively in PFL this had led to what could be described as an annexation of the subject. Generalist teachers not being integrated into PFL as a school subject can also be described as a missed opportunity. Generalist teachers are capable of developing their teaching repertoire to deliver PFL if they are appropriately trained (Driscoll, 2000), however without this training the generalist teachers do not feel able nor confident to deliver PFL.

4.2.2.2 Language Competency Model

<u>Linguistic Progress</u>

The head teachers shared the view that their main vision for PFL linguistic progress in one language with the requirements of the National Curriculum, to "lay the foundations for further foreign language teaching at key stage 3" (2013:2). Head teachers Seymour and Rothschild felt that introducing young children to PFL would be 'better' as they would have more contact time than pupils who only started to learn PFL in secondary school (Vilke, 1988; Curtain, 2000). However, none of the other teachers referenced this issue; this perhaps reveals a lack of understanding of how L2 learning actually works in practice, requiring an investment of many hours, over a time period (Martin, 2000). It could be suggested, given the ideas and language used in relation to the concept of 'the younger the better' that teachers may expect young pupils to simply 'soak up' or 'absorb' L2. Interestingly, the two head teachers who did reference time have been influenced by PFL models they have seen abroad in Portugal and also China. However, as Martin (2000) noted, when considering PFL models and research, care must be taken to compare like with like and the foreign contexts the Heads refer to are actually immersion settings (Johnstone, 1994). Head Teacher Seymour considered that it is by having Thomasina,

> " … working with all the children, what she will find is once she has started teaching EYFS by the time she gets them in Year 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 and 6 they will be more and more confident and more fluent in that language so that she is our main resource…because

our teachers aren't confident enough to be conversant in that language then you are never really going to have fluent speakers so the idea is that year upon year you want to get working down the school[teaching in lower and lower year groups]." Head Teacher Seymour

In each one of the case study schools, the allocated slot was one hour per week. As there are 39 weeks in a school year, over 4 years of study from Year 3 to Year 6, the maximum number of contact hours a child would receive as formal teaching in New Falls and Sakura primary schools would be 156 hours. This total does not take into consideration missed sessions for school trips or Christmas plays. It is not clear if this total amount of teaching time is enough to achieve this aim. The situation is slightly different as PFL is currently taught throughout Forest School, although for slightly less time during Reception, Year 1 and Year 2, resulting in a possible total of 215 hours. This figure is very close to the example that Liddicoat et al. (2007) gave of 200 hours of PFL instruction time which they felt limited young learners' L2 development. Vilke (1988) suggested five times this amount of teaching, 1000 hours, for pupils to achieve proficiency as per the models Head Teacher Seymour had witnessed abroad. Linked into the concept of educational advantage is fostering a love of languages.

"…if you start it off early enough, children will really buy into it and they will engage in it." Head Teacher Seymour

"I think the younger you start them I think the better, cos I think children pick up languages much better when they are young than when they do later on." Head Teacher Rothschild

However, this is only possible to achieve if effective transition arrangements are in place (Dearing and King, 2007) as Andrea highlighted,

"Transition is something that really needs to be really addressed… primaries and secondaries should liaise about what they expect the children to know by the time they get to Secondary school and to make sure that that sort of thing is not just repeated because otherwise it just means that everything that we have done in Primary languages ends up looking like 'well, what was the point of doing it?' …It really needs sorting out to make it effective… from Year 6 to Year 7 there needs to be a link …and show some sort of a transition from primary to secondary." Andrea

<u>Transition</u>

Transition arrangements from Key Stage Two to Key Stage Three have been a relatively weak aspect of PFL since it was first taught in primary schools in England (Wade and Marshall, 2009). While the head teachers acknowledged that transition was not fully developed, they did not realise the impact that this has ultimately on their vision for language progression. This can also be seen in Figure 7 (pg. 156) as only one head teacher in the mapping questionnaire felt that the issue of transition required support. Unlike the head teachers, all of the specialist teachers realised that simply starting in primary school was not a simple solution, as provision within the primary school and transition into secondary school must also considered (Curtain, 2000; Martin, 2000; Mitchell et al., 1992). They all felt that transition between Key Stage 2 to Key Stage 3 was still a barrier to ensuring that PFL would promote L2 advantage. In the 2006, 2007 and 2008 surveys by Wade and Marshall, the role that the LAs used to play in transition was clear, however, since 2010 and the disbanding of the educational department at Castle Rock LA, primary schools receive no support,

> "We did have good links with the high school and at one time I used to go to regular meetings and we used to have cluster meetings. I haven't had one now for a good year. We seem to have lost it …" Christine

Christine worked at Sakura School which operated slightly differently from the other two primary schools due to its location. Sakura School is located in the large village of Derry, which is part of Castle Rock LA. There is one secondary school in the area, which enjoys a good reputation and thus parents compete to gain their children access to the school from outside of the catchment zone. With such a desired secondary school locally, with the exception of those children who enter the Independent or religious schooling sector, it is expected that most children will transition to Derry High School. This means that Derry schools could be described as having a distinct educational identity, which perhaps other parts of Castle Rock LA do not. This 'Derry identity' impacts on transition in a positive manner as most of the children at Derry High School are expected to have come directly from one of the four village primary schools.

This means that transition issues are simplified as the secondary school does not have a large number of feeder schools. Derry High School have taken the lead in co-ordinating the primary schools to all deliver French from Year 3 to Year 6.

> "…the head teachers and the high school meet probably once a term. We met about a year ago to discuss languages and the fact that children were arriving at Derry High School with a different language diet and we felt that it was better, or certainly Derry High School felt that it was better if all the children arrived with the basics in the same language so that then they knew all the Derry schools would come to them with basic French and then they could develop Spanish or German but they could build on the French that we had already done….this seems to work for this community." Head Teacher Priory

If this particular school's transition arrangements were compared with those schools located in a large urban environment, it is clear to see that Derry's arrangements are simpler to coordinate. However, as discussed previously, prior to 2010, this was the role of the LA consultant, although currently no one person has specific responsibility for managing transition. This now means that even in a relatively 'uncomplicated' school network best practice is difficult to achieve. In the cases of the schools who buy into the Penny Wise Network, transition is considered from the primary perspective, although liaising with the high school has declined. This could be described as a missed opportunity or perhaps more accurately 'thrown away' because this system, in Derry at least, prior to 2010 was set up and functioning. This means that while PFL is statutory for the first time and progress appears to have been made, on closer inspection, some of the same issues revealed over 40 years ago remain an issue (Burstall et al., 1974; Hoy, 1967; Martin, 2000; Powell et al., 2000; Driscoll, et al., 2005; McLachlan, 2009).

Transition arrangements for New Falls Primary are a little more fragmented, in particular due to a number of staffing changes in the secondary school FL department over recent years. In such an embryonic relationship, such changes can radically affect transition arrangements as the link appears to be between the two teachers rather than the two schools and therefore when a member of staff leaves, the link is broken or damaged. This shows the burden that is

placed on the specialist teachers alone, and highlights how PFL differs from the core subjects. At New Falls Primary School, they do have a PFL transition document in place in the form of the end-of-year reports that are completed. However, it was Head Teacher Seymour's view that not only do in-house staff not read these but that the secondary schools disregard these too, and it appeared that only New Falls Primary School sent information regarding PFL attainment to the high school.

> "Thomasina fills them all in so you know, the class teachers to be honest, they won't be looking at that, so there will be say a summative assessment at the end of the year with the kids for the Foreign Languages and all those reports go up to the high school but to be honest I don't think they look at them." Head Teacher Seymour

The disregarding of primary languages learning information was also revealed by Barton and Bragg (2010). In their study, two of the schools provided comments which revealed that they felt teaching of L2 in primary school was highly variable and did not impact on the children's progression.

At New Forest Primary school, it was not clear what arrangements they had in place for transition. However, Head Teacher Rothschild felt that they could be improved.

> "…I would make secondary schools talk to primary schools so there is a coherent policy…We do it with Maths, we do it with English, we do it with science, why can't we do it…for Foreign Languages…so make sure there is kind of coherent policy between the secondaries and the primaries and there is a progression of skills going through" Head Teacher Rothschild

The issue, however, may be more complex than simply meeting or exchanging information about the pupils. While the specialist teachers were confident and embedded formative assessment into their lessons, summative assessment was revealed as a relatively weak area of provision. The specialist teachers expressed lack of understanding of what level the primary school children should be expected to reach, which could be said to be further compounded by a vague National Curriculum (2014).

"Well, this is something [assessment] that I've actually spoken to Penny Wise about recently, you know, what are we supposed to be doing in terms of assessment 'cos it's always something that I've never been quite clear on." Christine

"The assessment thing is something that I am working on at the moment. I could do with some help on that and that is why I went on this [course], because it was about the New Curriculum and assessment and we are going to do more on assessment next time I think. I didn't get as much out of it on assessment as I had hoped this time so I could do with that.' Thomasina

Most of the specialist teachers, with the exception of Thomasina, assessed without the aid of a supporting document. When the teachers were training, there were comparatively fewer publications which could support the assessing young learners. This may be why the specialist teachers' assessment knowledge and practices were relatively weak, due to lack of training they may have received. There are a number of assessment publications which were published, Marking and Making progress (2010), Asset Languages Assessment Scheme (2007), Languages Ladder (DfES, 2007) and the European Junior Languages Portfolio (2001) and, while the specialist did not use these documents in transition, they were aware of them and sometimes used these in class.

"I guess they should be assessed just like they are assessed in other subjects…There's the Languages Ladder, isn't there? Other than that, I don't really, that's the only one I'm aware of." Christine

 "Making Marking Progress but I don't like that, it is not what I want to do and I have based some of the things I do on, is it Asset Languages I think it is called. That is quite good… I just pinch bits from it and ideas from it … [Asset Languages] is an in-between thing where I can assess people like in Year 3 where I do a thing on animals and I read out a very short text and then I have got a picture of a cat, a spider and then they just have to tick the right thing that I have said." Thomasina

The situation of transitions was further complicated by tensions between the primary schools and high schools,

"…the old Head of Languages always used to say [PFL] was absolutely rubbish and it was hopeless to do it in primary schools, they were no good at them and you had to start all over again. Well, you need to do something about that and not just complain about it...The last time I spoke, had anything to do with them [New Falls High School] they asked me for my schemes of work and I sent them to them and I tried to talk the lady since but she only works part-time because I wanted to go and have a meeting with her and try and build the links."" Thomasina

"[The secondary school said] we want you to follow these plans …rigidly, which I had a go at doing but it was just unmanageable…they're just teaching languages, you know, she obviously didn't understand that we have got several other subjects to teach as well and unfortunately languages aren't the priority, you know, Maths and English is the priority at the end of the day." Christine

Such sentiments can be found echoed by secondary schools in Barton and Bragg's study (2010). However, the study also suggested that these transition issues can be eased through the use of a language awareness model, describing it as "a realistic and practical solution to the existing multiple problems surrounding the primary-secondary transition in languages…and must surely bear testimony to its potential as a highly effective programme" (2010:18). However, given that the National Curriculum 2014 (DfE, 2013) promoted the teaching of a single language for progression, this solution cannot be actioned.

The head teachers and specialist teachers considered different aspects of transition. The main theme that emerged was communication or perhaps lack of it between the primary school and the secondary school. This is a common theme for many primary schools (Tinsley and Board, 2015). In fact, over a decade ago in 2004, recommendations to improve transition were made. These included the need for "key personnel … in each LEA to promote …to develop networks between primary and secondary schools and between schools and appropriate central agencies." (Driscoll et al., 2004a:15). Penny Wise was, prior to 2010, this 'key personnel' for Castle Rock LA and still provides support and assistance in assisting schools to manage transition. However, as a private consultant rather than LA key personnel, her scope is reduced. This is an opportunity missed since all schools are now required to teach PFL and, thus, the need for a coordinated, coherent approach has increased; at the same time centrally-funded support has decreased (Tinsley and Board, 2015). In 2015, 44 per cent of primary schools surveyed reported that they had no contact with their local secondary school's language department (Tinsley and Board, 2015). This appears to be approximately nearly the same proportion of schools that over a decade ago revealed they had no transition

arrangements in place (Driscoll et al., 2004a:13). Furthermore, the issue of transition as a key factor in successful PFL has been highlighted frequently since the first report into primary languages in England (Burstall et al., 1974; Hoy, 1967; Martin, 2000; Powell et al., 2000; Driscoll et al., 2005; McLachlan, 2009). This points to a lack of progress in the area of transition, perhaps due to a lack of or disjointed political policy (McLachlan, 2009).

4.2.3 Individual Views

4.2.3.1 Quality of PFL

The head teachers discussed that the role of the specialist teacher was to provide a quality experience for the pupils in their school. Through the use of a specialist teacher, it was felt that quality PFL teaching and learning would be ensured. This was highlighted by Head Teacher Rothschild who, drawing on his experiences on a school exchange in China, felt that,

> "we need to look to more specialist teaching. Perhaps it is China that brought that home to me because they have all specialist teaching but I do think that sometimes, in certain areas, if you don't bring that specialist teaching, you are not giving them the best possible teaching and I think that is very true in languages." Head Teacher Rothschild

This is an interesting opinion as it was Head Teacher Rothschild who also knew that simply employing a specialist teacher was not a panacea. In fact, he regularly monitored the PFL teaching around his school. Previously he had found the outside specialist teaching not to be fully satisfactory and so addressed this issue with Penny Wise. A new teacher, who uses accepted primary pedagogy in addition to PFL teaching strategies, was then sent to the school.

> "If I am being honest I got rid of my specialist teacher last year, I kind of quietly asked Penny Wise to remove her because when I went in and watched I was not happy with the fact that it was far too much her talking and the children were not engaged. Literally two or three children were responding in the lesson and when I have seen Andrea [specialist teacher pseudonym] I haven't watched her recently, but at the start of the year when I was really kind of on to her, I was much more pleased because there seemed to be a lot more interaction between children, using talking partners and things like that." Head Teacher Rothschild

However, it is difficult to know how a head teacher, without L2 specific knowledge, could assess PFL in a meaningful way rather than in a generic primary school manner. For example, when the quote above is considered, it is revealed Head Teacher Rothschild's PFL specific theory underpinning is weak. Instead, he draws upon generalist primary practice to assess the quality of the subject. This L2 specific knowledge gap and, thus, specialist teacher reliance was further highlighted as none of the head teachers referred to the National Curriculum or other key policy documents. They preferred to access the specialist teacher or a commercial scheme of work.

4.2.3.2 Language Development Knowledge

The majority of teachers felt that learning an L2 would aid children's L1. However, three teachers expressed concern about PFL affecting young children's ability to learn English. This was not expected as this is quite an 'old-fashioned idea' which was previously popular (Espinosa, 2008; Tabors, 2008) but has since been disproven. They felt that this issue was perhaps more problematic the younger the child.

> "I don't think it is a particularly good idea with the very young children, Year 1, maybe even some children in Year 2, just because they are still trying to sort out their own language or in some cases you have got children who are already dealing with two languages and it is an awful lot to take on, but I do think it is important…. although I do think it is a good thing that we do, certainly in Key Stage 2." Teacher T

4.2.3.3 SEN and PFL

Teacher V, SENCO at Sakura School, understandably considered the relationship between PFL and SEN children. He felt that perhaps PFL would prove inaccessible for some children with SEN.

> "You might be talking about three children per class that their ability, their receptive language skills are so poor that they would actually find it very difficult to access a Modern Foreign Language. In my opinion anyway, they find it very difficult to access

the teaching in English so then they are probably going to find it quite hard." Teacher V

This was not a common worry for the teachers. In fact, many felt PFL was inclusive of all children due to the multisensory approach and concentration on the Oracy strand (DfES, 2005). Furthermore, from observations, it could be suggested that the cognitive task was lower than in other subjects. Inclusion in these lessons can be beneficial for children who may struggle in other curriculum areas, helping to boost self-esteem (Wilson, 2014). However, it is acknowledged that this is a large area to consider, and the range of needs captured by the umbrella term SEN is diverse and many. Teacher V's comments, therefore, should be noted and considered and perhaps highlights the area for future research.

4.2.4 Conclusion

Almost all of the head teachers, generalist and specialist teachers shared support and rationales for the teaching and learning of PFL. These reasons centred on the perceived benefits that learning a language provides for young children. The stakeholders' beliefs begin to diverge from each other, and also from their practice, when the actual delivery 'on the ground' is considered. This is due to the perceived constraining factors such as lack of knowledge and time, pressure and workload. The increased accountability in schools, particularly within Maths and English, may have caused a decrease in the amount that schools teach foreign languages. In the Languages Trends Survey (2014-2015), 99 per cent of the 648 respondents stated that they were teaching PFL as per the statutory Government guidelines, however there was only a return rate of 22 per cent for the survey. Furthermore, it is likely that this return rate included more primary schools in the "middle performance quintile and away from schools in the low-to-medium performance quintile" (Board and Tinsley, 2015:20). As discussed previously, this means that there is a bias in favour of schools who were already teaching PFL due to the accountability and performance measures. None of the schools that participated in this research were in the low performance quintile and conform to

the National picture as presented in the survey, raising the question that this should be an area for further investigation. If the schools that participated in this research were worried about SATs, league tables and other performance indicators and they were performing well, it raises questions about schools who are struggling in this area. Perhaps they did not return the completed questionnaire as they were not delivering the statutory guidelines.

As a result, while the head teachers provided the operational aspects for PFL to occur in schools and the generalists maintained supportive views, in reality the subject is annexed and the specialist teachers bore almost all of the PFL responsibility. The sustainability of this delivery model is unclear, as this model relied heavily on the specialist teacher who in turn relied heavily on the Penny Wise Network. It was clear from observing the specialist teachers throughout their days and then occasionally covering for them that it is exhausting work, more demanding than 'normal' primary school teaching. This places quite a burden on just one teacher that could perhaps be shared if team teaching was engaged in, or perhaps an alternating model of delivery.

In order for PFL to continue to grow and develop, it would be helpful for the all the stakeholder groups to engage in a wide research base. However, in order to do this, time and workload have to be considered, and the teachers need to be provided with the safeguarded space to engage with this process. Generalist teachers could help to support specialist teachers and thereby provide status for the subject, embedding it within the primary curriculum. This would be welcomed by the specialist teachers in this study as discussed before. The head teachers, too, wish for the generalists to become more involved while the generalist teachers are, for the reasons discussed above, reluctant. The constraints that the generalist teachers face exacerbate each other. When generalist teachers find themselves unable to deliver PFL through lack of knowledge or confidence, they do not know where to start or even if this is

possible. This lack of knowledge damages teacher confidence further and, when coupled with pressures and accountability in other areas of the curriculum, leads to a three-tier curriculum, with PFL being outsourced. In the alternating delivery, the specialist teacher could deliver the foreign language content one week and the generalist teacher deliver the ICU the next week, thus ensuring PFL was linked to the wider curriculum. However, generalist teachers would require training to ensure a progressive and systematic delivery of attitudes and skills rather than foreign language fact learning. Again though, if this were synchronised with the wider globalisation and international agenda that many schools operate as well as the idea of British Values and SMSC, instead of multiple 'bolted-on' subjects, the concepts of understanding one's self and understanding others could be fully integrated in to schools.

As a result of the network support, Christine and Thomasina were not always sure where the information and advice that they received originated. The exception to this was Andrea who participated in the network, creating planning and was currently involved creating and delivering training funded by the DfE to address the statutory requirements of the new Programme of Study for Modern Foreign Language provision for KS2 and transition into KS3.

The Data Analysis and Key Findings raise many interesting themes which should be explored to better understand the relationship between these and PFL. These themes will be explored using a three-tiered framework: the local level which pertains to the practical, professional level; the national level which explores Government policy and how this affects PFL nationally; the international level which looks at the political climate worldwide and considers how this affects the teaching and learning of PFL in England.

5. DISCUSSION

5.1 Practical Professional Practice Level

5.1.1 Subject and Specialist Annexation

There is little guidance on what quality PFL looks like post-2014. The National Curriculum 2014 (DfE, 2013) provided only sparse details on what should be taught but offered no further practice exemplification. There is still support to be found within the Key Stage 2 Languages Framework (DfE, 2005) which, while not promoted by the Conservative Government, is still available for download via the Internet. Ofsted Good Practice example (2012) promoted PFL curriculum design as a key feature, embedding L2 learning within the wider context curriculum. Ofsted described the benefits of PFL being reinforced by generalist class teachers, across the curriculum, as they have excellent subject knowledge and primary pedagogy.

> "[Their] success is not the result of costly initiatives or investment in technology, but comes from a blend of excellent teaching, an imaginative curriculum and a commitment to valuing languages, demonstrated by every member of the school community." (Ofsted, 2012:2)

In contrast, the responsibility for PFL, in the case study schools, rested quite heavily with the specialist teachers. The specialist teachers were essential to the teaching and learning of PFL. Without them, it is probable that the schools would struggle to deliver PFL.

As PFL is annexed and the specialist teachers often worked alone without school, LA or national support, they relied heavily on the Penny Wise Network. This strong, outside agency link may further alienate the specialists and the subject. This is because it means they look outside school for support, rather than looking to create internal forms of support through subject teams or key stage teams. Over a decade ago, Frost (1999) suggested that primary schools should work together as a cluster for support, while Martin (2000) suggested forming consortia around local secondary schools. These are both interesting ideas, pathways which have been previously explored by the participant primary schools. However, they have been difficult to coordinate and maintain, especially since the LA role was dissolved. Therefore,

attention should be focussed internally within the schools, considering how generalist teachers can be engaged in PFL. The majority of generalist teachers in this study were not actively involved in PFL. However, if all staff were able to be involved, led by the specialist teacher a "community of practitioners" (Driscoll et al., 2004a) could be created. More school ownership of PFL could be fostered, helping to generate commitment, a knowledge and skills base constructed from within, tailored and specific to the school context. A consideration is the move, in primary school, from a language competency model to a language awareness model. Although, it should be noted that this was not an idea which was suggested by any of the teachers participating in the research, this may be due to a lack of knowledge about different pedagogical approaches to teaching PFL. If a language awareness approach was used, this could harness the generalist teachers' desire to teach about culture, although training still would be required, whilst also minimising the lack of subject and pedagogical knowledge amongst primary teachers (Barton and Bragg, 2010). However, in all PFL routes which include the generalist teachers, there are a number of barriers such as lack of curriculum ownership and professional autonomy which pose challenges for the generalist teachers to engage in PFL. Curriculum ownership and professional autonomy will be discussed fully later in this chapter.

Across the schools, there was slight variation in the degree to which PFL had been integrated across the curriculum. The PFL Coordinator, at Forest School, could be described as a semi-specialist and helped to integrate PFL. As a full member of staff, she was present at all curriculum planning meetings, which provided PFL with a voice, representation and school legitimacy. Without this coordinator, because the specialist was an external provider, PFL would not have been represented. As a result, PFL lessons were, where possible, linked to the wider curriculum which the children are studying. However, this practice is not applied by the generalist teachers; their lessons did not usually link back to PFL. As a result of this model, PFL could be described as more integrated into the curriculum and PFL status, amongst staff, is perhaps higher at Forest School than compared with the New Falls and Sakura. It would

only be possible to replicate the specialist and semi-specialist model in other schools where specialist teachers deliver all of the PFL teaching if staff members were willing. It is the personal biography of the Forest School semi-specialist teacher that motivated her interest in the subject. This would be a difficult role for another teacher who had perhaps had a negative experience with PFL, as many of the teachers in this study expressed.

In New Falls and Sakura schools, PFL was seen largely as exclusively the specialist responsibility. In New Falls, the annexation of the subject and specialist was most clear, and this stemmed from the teaching model. The specialist teacher was used to deliver L2 as PPA cover, so the teachers had little idea or connection to what was being taught. The specialist did write the vocabulary to be practised that week on the whiteboard, but this was largely ignored as it did not form part of the wider curriculum. This issue was noted in the field notes from New Falls and Sakura schools,

> "I asked Thomasina about the French displays in the classrooms and she said that the teachers were supposed to use these to do a bit of teaching during the week, but that this doesn't ever happen. That when the old head teacher was there, he made sure that it did but now it's pointless." 4th February 2013

> "Christine said that the teachers need to practise the questions etc. during the week if they have a spare five minutes, but they don't, apart from Teacher V. She said they could use the wall displays but that the teachers don't like to put anything up there unless it's been laminated first." 14th November 2013

In Sakura School, the teachers remained in the classroom and their behaviour ranged from fully participating to marking books. Again there was revealed within the field notes,

> "The Year 3 teacher marks and the Year 5 teacher has to leave to deal with incidents, the Year 4 teacher does participate though." 19th September 2013

> "The TA and the teacher spent the lesson doing files for the children's assessments. There was also a helper in the classroom with them assisting." 8th July 2013

Many teachers did not integrate the new learning into the wider curriculum during the week; again, this seemed to be largely based on their own personal beliefs about PFL, its status and

importance, particularly as set against the 'core' subjects. For these schools, the challenge is a little more complex in that it requires time and space to integrate the subject fully into the curriculum, through discussions, planning and development of understanding. Unfortunately, given the scale of the challenges in the current educational climate, this is not likely to be easy if possible at all.

The subject and the specialists are vulnerable to external and internal pressures on schools and individual teachers such as accountability and league table position. It is these combined factors which have led to a subject that all teachers theoretically support and value, in fact being marginalised. It could be stated that the participants have a lack of curriculum ownership and professional autonomy which prevents them from enacting their beliefs.

5.1.2 Lack of Curriculum Ownership and Professional Autonomy

Lack of curriculum ownership and professional autonomy was evident from talking to the participating teachers. They referenced the need to concentrate resources towards the core subjects for which they are accountable due to media, political and Ofsted scrutiny. At the same time the teachers experienced this increased scrutiny, the political rhetoric speaks of increased freedoms,

> "We trust teachers and head teachers to run their schools. We think head teachers know how to run their schools better than bureaucrats or politicians." (Gove, 2010)

It was felt that there was not enough time for teachers to consider how good PFL pedagogy and content could contribute to the curriculum due to the pressure to deliver outstanding core subject pupil data. The teachers discussed the many benefits of teaching PFL such as ICU and L1 development. However, these ideas were often presented as simple statements, without understanding or consideration. It has been reported that when teachers experience less autonomy and more intensification (Apple, 1988, 2000; Galton and MacBeath, 2002), there is less time and ability to concentrate on pedagogical issues and curricular substance.

As a result, schools become more "standard, traditional and monocultural" (Apple, 2004:23). These conditions do not lend themselves well to the teaching of PFL in general, nor to the inclusion of generalist teachers into the PFL community. They are often too occupied with the teaching of the 'core subjects'.

The Government has been able to legitimise ideological, educational reforms through increased scrutiny. Teachers could be described as too busy and perhaps tired (DfE, 2014a), simply trying to complete their basic workload, to 'fight' such measures. Furthermore, societal factors may also have exacerbated a demanding workload for the majority female workforce. Women are often still more responsible for both child care and aged parent care (Esplen and Brody, 2006). As such, they may find that other government reforms, such as funding cuts, impact on their available time.

The recent education reforms have been presented to the public as a way to prevent England from "still falling further behind the best-performing school systems in the world", and to participate in "the global race" (Gove, 2013). The political rhetoric does not refer to the ideology behind the changes but rather expresses this desire to build a state which can compete globally in education and employment (Bagehot, 2013),

> "These radical proposals will give teachers both the freedom and the authority in the classroom that's needed if we are to realise our ambition to drive up standards, improve discipline and behaviour and deliver the world class education that our children deserve." (Gove, 2010)

An obsession with measuring and reporting of 'learning' has been at the heart of these reforms. The international test scores such as the OECD's PISA league table rankings are often mentioned, acting as driving forces for policies that address the 'need' to produce a workforce of the future that can compete in a 21st century modern globalised society. This message has filtered down into schools and some teachers referred to PFL helping to prepare

and create a 21st century workforce. A deep consideration and interrogation of what exactly this concept means was lacking. It was not clear if this workforce required language competency, in which case the limited contact hours and fragmented transition arrangements would cap this idea. Or would such a workforce be skilled in intercultural competency, in which case the fragmented ICU teaching, as unpinned by theory, would also prevent this, in most cases, from being realised. In any case, the debate could be described as a little redundant because it is doubtful if teachers would have the autonomy to action these professional decisions.

Accompanying the reforms is a rhetoric of 'coming to the rescue' and 'a return to the good old days'. The reforms and rhetoric appear to want to improve the whole curriculum but, in reality, they mean that schools concentrate on Maths and English to the detriment of other subjects such as PFL. Nostalgic rhetoric helps to further political gain through vilifying teachers and teacher educators in the media. It further exacerbates the drive for schools to achieve higher and higher standards. These standards are essential to not be graded as a 'failing or coasting' school and remaining open by attracting pupils in a marketised education sector (Whitty et al., 1998:80). However, achieving and maintaining these standards diverts time and resources from all non-core areas of the curriculum, contributing to the annexation of PFL. This return to conservatism, a retreat from languages and multiculturalism, is not solely a British affair and can be seen replicated in Europe, which will be explored later in this chapter.

5.1.3 Insufficient Understanding of ICU

All of the teachers showed an insufficient understanding of ICU. This should not be surprising as this is detailed in literature about ICU training and teaching (Driscoll et al., 2013; Woodgate-Jones, 2009; Ofsted, 2011; Powell et al., 2000; Martin, 2000). Therefore, why teachers, both specialists and generalists, are unprepared to teach ICU should be discussed. The areas which will be discussed are supporting documents and ICU training.

The Key Stage 2 Languages Framework remains the only detailed document to outline ICU for teachers. Prior to the creation of this framework, there was divergence of aims within schools and ITE institutions; the document aimed to provide a single source of support (Woodgate-Jones and Grenfell, 2012). However, it could be suggested that the framework does not perhaps promote the same quality of ICU teaching as the other language components. One critique is that the framework does not provide teachers with an explanation of ICU and, as a result, perhaps they simply do not understand the scope of the term. There is no reference to the literature which informed the document and choice of terminology nor an ICU incremental developmental framework (Woodgate-Jones and Grenfell, 2012).

It could be suggested that, as PFL is a relatively new subject, this is the reason for the guidance being vague, however the key policy documentation for Key Stage 3 FL, an established subject, is also lacking this ICU 'theoretical underpinning' (Peiser and Jones, 2012:174). As there is a lack of theory supporting the Key Stage 2 Languages Framework, Woodgate-Jones and Grenfell (2012) endeavoured to provide this 'theoretical underpinning' by using existing models to evaluate the framework. However, they noted that the National Standards in Foreign Language Education (1999) did provide both the philosophy and principles which informed the document. Furthermore, the policy tries to address possible misconceptions through a frequently asked questions section. Therefore, while planning ICU guidance could be described as difficult, good existing models are available.

In order to ascertain the Framework's ICU foundations, Woodgate-Jones and Grenfell (2012:339) mapped the ICU objectives against Byram's (1997) model of 'savoirs' and Sercu's (2004) 'dimensions of Intercultural Competence' (as well as Liddicoat et al.'s 2003. four broad groupings of approaches to teaching culture in language). From completing this exercise, they concluded that the majority of the framework objectives were factual and knowledge-based, although they did acknowledge that there was some scope for other 'savoir' learning but that

this depended very much on the teacher. However, as Peiser and Jones (2012:179) explained "the absence of a commonly understood and theoretically underpinned definition of IU, combined with lack of curriculum guidance, means that teachers are likely to have difficulties in reading between the lines of the text." This highlights how even Key Stage 3 FL teachers, who are deemed specialists, usually possessing a L2 degree and thus it could be suggested a better 'subject content knowledge' (Shulman, 1986), may struggle to comprehend key policy documentation relating to ICU. This perhaps leaves the PFL teacher, both generalist and specialist, unaware of the full scope of the term ICU.

It has been suggested that through the learning of facts, as many teachers understand the Key Stage 2 Languages Framework, culture can be described as static. This means that learners study factual information about "a country or people, their lives, their history, their institutions, or their customs, or about the cultural icons these people have produced, such as their literature, their art, their architecture, or their music" (Woodgate-Jones and Grenfell, 2012:340). This then raises the question of who and what represents the country being studied and the idea that states have a homogenous culture. This is true for both the home culture of the students and the host culture being studied, when in fact identity, culture and country are multi-faceted (Driscoll et al., 2013; Peiser and Jones, 2013). Furthermore, Woodgate-Jones and Grenfell raised the worry, as in The Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (Council of Europe, 2001) that,

> "…it is not uncommon for the learning of one foreign language and contact with one foreign culture to reinforce stereotypes and preconceived ideas rather than reduce them." (2012:335)

It is for these ICU reasons that the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (Council of Europe, 2001), building upon the European Council adopted resolution of 31st March 1995, has encouraged European countries to promote the learning of two foreign languages. In some European countries, this has been successful. Children in Greece and

Lithuania, 86.9% and 100% respectively, learned two European languages by age 10. However, when reflecting on the participant schools, it is difficult to see how they could find the time to teach two foreign languages if the educational domain and PFL pedagogical model remains the same. This means that England will not be, in the foreseeable future, meeting the 'mother-tongue +2' objective as set by EU heads of state and government at the Barcelona Summit in March 2002 (European Commission, 2012) and the limiting impact this could have on ICU should be noted.

In the United States of America The National Standards in Foreign Language Education (1999) presented ICU as an integral part of L2 learning, while in England there is some suggestion that it could be viewed as a separate strand (Woodgate-Jones and Grenfell, 2012). Woodgate-Jones and Grenfell (2012) considered that this separation risks giving the impression that ICU can be taught in a separate, non-integrated way. However, the idea of teaching ICU across the curriculum, in addition to L2 lessons, should be welcomed. There is real scope for meaningful exploration of different cultures, through the 'savoirs' in many English primary schools. Community languages such as Mandarin Chinese, Urdu or Polish could and may increasingly provide 'real life' cultural experiences and expand on the mainly European cultures which are currently used (Driscoll et al., 2013). Driscoll et al. (2013:149) suggested that this could provide pupils with an experience "to make connections across languages and explore cultural similarities and differences within their own communities". However, while the literature presents there being little evidence of schools making use of their community languages and EAL children's abilities (Wade and Marshall, 2009; Driscoll et al., 2013), this was observed occasionally within the schools, although this appeared to happen sporadically. This is also a missed opportunity as, within England, there are many townships around fast growing megacities already using their own community language (Mitchell and Myles, 2004). For example, Tower Hamlets has the national highest proportion of Bengali (with Sylheti and Chatgaya) speakers (18 per cent), while Slough has the most residents speaking Panjabi (6.2 per cent). Nationally, Leicester possesses the highest number

of Gujarati (11.5 per cent) speakers and Boston, Lithuanian (2.8 per cent) (Office for National Statistics, 2013). It should be noted that it is not just community languages which 'cluster' in an area. The borough of Kensington and Chelsea has the highest proportions of European languages spoken in England and Wales (French (4.9 per cent), Spanish (2.7 per cent) and Italian (2.4 per cent)) (Office for National Statistics, 2013).

The majority of the generalist teachers had not experienced PFL training, neither during their initial teacher education (ITE) nor as part of continuing professional development (CPD). Those teachers who had experienced such training stated that this was almost exclusively focussed around the Oracy and Literacy strands (DfES, 2005) with a view to developing confidence. The specialist teachers ICU training also had not prioritised ICU pedagogy with young learners, although it did provide them with a practicum, in a primary school abroad. From speaking to the specialist teachers, it was clear how this residency was important and influential for a number of reasons (Woodgate-Jones, 2009; Driscoll and Rowe, 2012). Interestingly, the semi-specialist teacher and the deputy head teacher at Forest School had participated in the British Council class teacher foreign exchange programmes. They credited this exchange with igniting a passion for PFL in general. A number of other teachers had been on other foreign placements such as to South Africa and China, and these experiences again may explain, even in light of a lack of knowledge, their passion for what they understand by ICU. However, current class teachers will have less opportunity than in previous years to travel to the (target) language countries, observe and participate in primary school teaching abroad. Such placements may have developed the teachers' personal ICU, however it is hard to understand how they have developed their ability to teach ICU to young learners. This may explain that ICU is often 'just expected to happen' (Wade and Marshall, 2009; Cable et al., 2010, Ofsted 2011) because in many cases, for the specialist teachers and some generalist teachers, this is their experience.

ICU is an area which requires significant reform, to enable professionals to enact their ideals in practice. It could therefore be described as a missed opportunity, especially given the well-documented literature base (Ofsted, 2011; Powell et al., 2000; Woodgate-Jones, 2009; Driscoll et al., 2013) that when PFL was made statutory for the first time further guidance was not provided. While perhaps primary school ICU supporting documents and teaching could be improved, Barton and Bragg revealed the positive impact PFL can have on pupils, stating that those pupils who had studied PFL showed a "marked difference…[in] intercultural attitudes…[they] were much more positive about making contact with people from other countries than those who had learned no languages in primary school" (2010:17). This suggests that ICU is indeed well placed, as the generalist teachers support, in primary school when natural openness and curiosity/'savoir apprendre/faire' (Byram, 1997) can be harnessed. However, to ensure all children, regardless of school, receive quality ICU teaching, this is an aspect of PFL which requires national coordination and policy, which deepens "teachers conceptual understanding of intercultural learning…so they are more able to plan systematically…within lessons and across the rest of the curriculum" Driscoll et al. (2013:158). It is difficult to know how future teachers will learn how to teach this specific area especially considering the reforms in ITE which will now be considered.

5.2 Policy vs Practice

5.2.1 Next Generation of PFL Teachers

There have been concerns about the staffing model for PFL for nearly a decade (Frost, 1999). Moreover, in the case study primary schools, the sustainability of their PFL model depends on specialist teachers. This raises issues of national succession planning of suitable staff.

All of the specialist teachers who taught PFL within the primary schools in the study were trained through the same teaching route, namely a traditional PGCE with a foreign languages specialism. Ofsted (2008b) described these courses as providing good quality training which prepared the future teachers to not only teach but also co-ordinate languages in the future

within their schools. Ofsted also made the recommendation that sufficient funding should be provided "to ensure an adequate and appropriately trained workforce to meet the 2009/10 target and to sustain the National Strategy beyond 2010" (2008b:7) Therefore, it could be anticipated that such training opportunities would now be increased considering the statutory nature of PFL for the first time, coupled with the historic shortage of PFL teachers. However, there have been major reforms to ITE which have led to the closing of many of these ITE routes and replacement with alternative, non-PFL focused courses. Before considering these reforms, it would be worthwhile noting that they are by no means an English phenomenon. In fact, they follow on from, echo and bring together reform experiences from both America and Australia in speed and scope. The reforms in America concentrated a little more on general education being described as "reform mania" in the 1980s moving to "federal invasion" (Bullough, 2014:483-485) by the 21st century. While in Australia, the change is more concentrated and concerned with ITE, with ITE having been the subject of over 40 reports and a further 100 reviews. In England, the reforms will adversely affect PFL, particularly perhaps more than other subjects in the curriculum, and perhaps more so than in the other Anglophone countries as PFL was introduced in September 2014 as statutory. Therefore, how these ITE reforms will affect PFL will now be further explored.

The main strand of the reform to English ITE was the move from educating teachers at a university to 'on the job' training into schools. This has had a direct impact on PFL. The number of PGCE routes with a PFL specialism was reduced, leaving only 20 foreign language specialism routes across England. Twelve of these are provided by universities, one is provided by a School Centred Initial Teacher Training (SCITT) and seven routes through the School Direct (SD) programme. While there appears, at first glance, a number of SD routes, it should be noted that, of these seven, there are actually only three accreditors Edge Hill University, Keele and Staffordshire Primary SCITT, and The Cherwell Oxford Teaching Schools Alliance initial teacher education. This move into schools for 'on the job' training has provoked criticism from ITE providers, although this is perhaps a natural reaction given that

the implication of the SD route means that Schools of Education have been left in a vulnerable position (McNamara and Murray, 2013). Schools of Education have had their ability to long-term plan strategically eroded due to the variability in SD route numbers from year to year and efforts are now concentrated on bidding and securing partnerships with schools who, in the new competitive market are able to,

> "negotiate the best available 'deals' to be found across the diversifying market for teacher training provision… Furthermore, School Direct, because of its small-scale units of operation (sometimes only single students in individual schools), is extremely resource-intensive in terms of administration for both universities and schools" (McNamara and Murray, 2013:16)

This new apprentice-style route means that there is no standardisation of teacher training, as it is fragmented and individualised. Martin (1999:72) highlighted that training teachers for PFL delivery "is complex and needs to be considered holistically (ITT and CPD) as part of a coherent whole". Yet the reduction of the LA role and the individual nature of new training routes renders this whole shattered.

Schools training the next generation of teachers in this way may not have specialist teachers to deliver PFL. Even if they do, it is likely that the PFL teaching, such as in this study, may be conducted within the class teacher's PPA time. Students on this route, so they can be assisted with planning as this is not provided at university, often take the same PPA time as the class teacher and so may be absent from the classroom, meaning that they may miss PFL training. If a trainee is lucky enough to be able to observe a specialist teach, there is a lack of standardisation of quality and there is no safeguard in place (McNamara and Murray, 2013). The situation is further compounded as without this wider knowledge, experience and critical underpinning, the SD route may move more towards a "technical rationalist approach to 'training'" (Furlong et al., 2013:42). Alternatively, as in the majority of primary schools (Tinsley and Board, 2015), it may be a generalist class teacher who is charged with PFL delivery, with or without specialist subject knowledge and/or specialist pedagogy knowledge.

Apprenticeship models may immerse trainee teachers into the school culture, however it may also be suggested that they do not reserve space for reflection. Trainee teachers learn 'on the job', the majority by observing and copying in post teachers. They are trained, for the majority of time, in a single 'home' school, managing what could be described as a fulltime job which limits the space for critical reflection, as set against literature or other placement experiences. In some cases, this is mediated by postgraduate qualifications which are attached to some apprentice-style routes into teaching, although the time set aside for PFL in particular is small. McNamara and Murray (2013) explored the issues with 'on the job' training in relation to teaching, considering that it is the place of a university to provide the space for critical reflection on practice as well as research-informed theoretical, pedagogical and subject knowledge rather than simply copying the teaching methods 'du jour'. As Enever and Moon (2010) note when considering the primary languages case in Iceland a lack of national coordination for training while enabling localities to be responsive "often leads to a great deal of variation on the ground in terms of provision causing problems in transition to secondary school" (2010:3) Furthermore, considering the issues of insufficient ICU knowledge and lack of supporting policy documents as detailed in this study, it is likely that trainee teachers will simply copy the existing practice. Given the context that the generalist teachers expressed that they are operating in, as considered above with high personal stakes and lack of time, it could be suggested that it is difficult for them to also find the time to explore research and literature with their SD student as well as managing their own classes. Trainee teachers in schools are more likely to see the teaching and learning of the core subjects rather than other foundation subjects such as PFL due to the lack of parity on a national level between the groups.

5.2.2 Lack of Parity between Core Subjects and PFL

The importance of L2 learning was outlined in the National Curriculum 2014 (DfE, 2013) and reiterated more recently by the Education Secretary, "we want every child to learn a foreign language…the ability to speak and understand different languages is vital" (Morgan, 2015).

However, within the participant schools, there was much greater emphasis placed on the core subjects of English and Maths, due to accountability measures. All of the head teachers and most of the staff interviewed in the three participating schools discussed the pressure that they felt in regard to Ofsted inspections. This pressure may have recently increased since the re-election of the Conservative Government. In a recent speech by Prime Minster Cameron, he signaled clearly that it was the Conservative Government's intention to increase this number of primary academies by 'opening out' the criteria for conversion to not only include schools which are judged as 'outstanding' by Ofsted but also schools rated as 'satisfactory'.

> "No-one wants their child to go to a failing school – and no one wants to them to go to a coasting school either. Giving our children 'just enough' is frankly not good enough. So this is what we're doing. We are waging war on mediocrity. We are saying no more sink schools – and no more "bog standard" schools either. Under a Conservative Government, any school that Ofsted says "requires improvement" and cannot demonstrate that it has the capacity to improve will have to become a sponsored Academy." Cameron, 2015 (cited in Perraudin and Wintour, 2015)

If a school is now deemed to be failing or 'coasting', they will be forced into becoming an academy (Morgan, 2015). It should be noted, however, at the time of writing no definition of a 'coasting' school has been produced, whilst a failing school is an Ofsted judgment. Given the pace of the recent significant growth, in primary conversions to academies since 2010 (25 in 2010; 312 in 2011; 592 in 2012; 713 in 2013 and 512 in 2014 to September) (DfE, 2014c), the head teachers who participated in this study were probably legitimately concerned. They understand that these Ofsted judgements are formed mainly from their pupils' Maths and English attainment, leaving PFL relegated.

Academies and Free Schools receive direct funding from the DfE, but have certain freedoms that LA schools do not enjoy such as not having to follow the National Curriculum and being able to set their own employment terms and condition. This might seem to be a positive for a school to have such freedom, but is mitigated by the fact that many head teachers of conversion schools often do not continue with their employment after the school status change

(Tickle, 2012). Understandably, therefore, as head teachers are against their schools being converted to academy status (Ratcliffe, 2014), all efforts are concentrated on ensuring that Ofsted inspections result in a grading of 'good' or 'outstanding'. In America, as a result of the No Child Left Behind policy (Dee and Jacob, 2010), the case study schools focused their efforts on ensuring the production of 'good' or 'outstanding' data for English and Maths and PFL was neglected. The head teachers of these schools were very clear about their core subject concentration although they expressed, on numerous occasions that they try to mediate this focus with a 'broad and balanced' curriculum. However, the personal stakes for head teachers have never been higher as reports of head teachers of 'failing' schools can expected to be 'disappeared' (BBC Radio 4, 2015; Lepkowska, 2014).

This pressure is also experienced by class teachers who are also very aware of the 'need' for favourable core subject data as they are now subject to performance-related pay, which was also introduced in September 2014. While the DfE (2014) made reference to the impact that a good teacher can have on progression, there is a weakness in the link between performance-related pay and the production of 'good' teachers. Again, the reporting mechanisms on pupil progress focus on Maths and English. Assessment of the foundation subjects takes place less frequently, and, as this study has shown, reporting even in PFL by the specialist teachers is relatively informal.

The overall effect that increased accountability, scrutiny and pressure is having on teachers can been seen in the high number of hours they work in an average week which rose in 2013 to 60 hours (DfE, 2014a) and rise of the number of comprise agreements (BBC Radio 4, 2015; Philipson, 2013). The number of teachers leaving the profession is at an all-time high, with almost half (four out of 10 teachers) leaving the profession within a year of qualifying (Weale, 2015). A further 90% stated that they have considered leaving in the last two years (NUT,

2014). This is not new phenomena in teaching. As early as 2003, Smithers and Robinson (2003:i) found that "workload, new challenge, the school situation, salary and personal circumstances. Of these, workload was by far the most important, and salary the least" caused teachers to leave the profession, however it is perhaps the scale and the speed of the changes since 2010 that have brought the issue to a climax. Allen et al. (2012) interrogated why teachers leave the profession further and linked a higher turnover of teachers to disadvantaged schools and, furthermore, Lupton (2004) noted that it is schools in disadvantaged areas that perform more poorly in Ofsted inspections.

5.2.3 Unequal Access to PFL

It would appear that the PFL is very much individualised by school and also the area that the school is located within. Schools in socio-economically challenging areas have a shorter PFL history, are less likely to assess and more likely to withdraw children from L2 lessons (Tinsley and Board, 2015). This creates unequal provision across schools and within schools, contrary to political rhetoric.

> "Every child in the country, no matter where they live, what their background, or whatever type of school they attend, gets the sort of education which introduces them to the best that has been thought and said. The sort of education which equips them to do whatever they want in life - and leaves no opportunity out of reach." (Gove, 2014)

It should be highlighted that equity of access is not simply an English issue, Enever and Moon (2010) noted this is a global concern, with access to provision often falling along socioeconomic class divides. In England, as there is no assistance available to the participant schools through the LA the schools used an external, provider for support and guidance. Private provision of education though is not entirely new. The Education Act of 1993 in particular strengthened marketisation and with it the stealthy increase of privatisation of schools (Mooney 2006). However, since 2010 the use of such private companies to deliver publically funded education has rapidly expanded. PFL private providers supporting state education and in the case of Greece becoming the provision is not just an English but rather

a global phenomenon (Enevers and Moon, 2010). However, the use of private providers does again raise issues of equality of access to L2 learning for all and not just those who can afford it.

In 2010 PFL was to become statutory under the Labour Government, halted initially by the Coalition and then finally reinstated as a statutory requirement in 2014 by the Conservative Government. Enever and Moon note that "political pressures and changes of leadership can affect stable policy formation" (2010:4). They state that this in turn leads to the frustration and demoralisation of stakeholders as they are asked to implement change with a lack of planning or support. In England when PFL was finally introduced for the first time, it was without the previous funding and support streams. By not providing schools with specific funding to implement PFL into the statutory curriculum schools have had to either be creative in deploying their existing staffing. Or inventive with their budget management to employ an external provider to provide support. This is more difficult for some schools when compared with others because of core subject accountability and the school's local area. There needs to be some government intervention in terms of dedicated funding to ensure equity in the provision of PFL across all primary schools in England. Otherwise individual schools issues, such as free school meal eligibility, will determine PFL provision, again contributing to unequal access for all children.

All of the participating schools were rated as 'good' (Forest School and New Falls) or outstanding (Sakura) in their last Ofsted inspections. They were all below average for free school meal eligibility (FSM) with Sakura School's FSM proportion being described as being "much lower than average" (Ofsted, 2010). FSM eligibility has been shown to be a predictor of under attainment (Stokes et al., 2015). This is noteworthy because poor attainment can have an impact on how a school is graded in an Ofsted inspection. A further consideration, for

schools funding PFL, is the percentage of children with SEN, as schools again may 'buy-in' private support for these children. Two of the schools, New Falls and Sakura, were described in their respective Ofsted reports (2013, 2010) as having a lower than average proportion of children with SEN/School Action Plus needs, while Forest School had an average (2012) level of SEN children.

It may be an unintended consequence of an opt-in study, that schools with 'satisfactory' and 'requires improvement' Ofsted grades, those with particularly high numbers of disadvantaged children, and high levels of SEN were not selected to take part in this study. This is because there is a sense that time spent on Maths and English should be maximised. Time spent on other areas of the curriculum, particularly if the data for the core subjects is not acceptable, leads teachers away from their primary purpose. This was revealed during the early stages of Phase Two as one school withdrew from this study stating the Head was "focusing on raising standards in the core subjects" and so felt that teachers should not be 'distracted' from their primary purpose (School X, FL leader, 2012).

A further issue is the unequal access to PFL within schools. Again, most likely to be affected are children who are underperforming in Maths and English as they are withdrawn for booster classes. This is a lost learning opportunity, as "lower achieving pupils gain in confidence particularly through oral/aural work" in L2 (Martin, 1999:70). This practice was seen in all three primary schools, although their data was good and outstanding. It therefore raises further questions about school practice with large numbers of children who are not achieving the required level. The withdrawal of pupils during PFL teaching time has also been reported nationally, by Tinsley and Board (2015:39). They also noted that this practice is at odds with the ideas and beliefs expressed in the case studies, "teachers and managers highlight the benefits of learning a new language for Literacy in English" (Tinsley and Board, 2015:40). This

disconnect between the idea that L2 learning can aid L1 proficiency and this practice was also found in this study.

There is unequal state provision of PFL education both within and across schools, the very idea of which the Conservative Government is keen to publicly denounce as "shameful" (Gove, 2014). The schools participating in this study had both lower than national average FSM and SEN percentages, however they were still not 'free' or 'liberated' of core subject pressures. It just means that they had perhaps more 'breathing space' to explore the full curriculum and also happen to be led by very committed head teachers. The head teachers each had a strong personal passion for languages grown from their own personal biographies, which helped to support their PFL engagement, and perhaps to mediate other curriculum pressures. Perhaps other head teachers, without such a personal PFL passion, would not view the subject as important and, thus, not make difficult decisions regarding funding and time to ensure its safeguarded space in the curriculum.

5.3 Global Perspective

5.3.1 The Preeminent Status of English

Globally, many of the issues revealed by this study occur in other countries, however the situation is further exacerbated in Anglophone countries. This is because having English as a first language reduces the extrinsic and intrinsic motivation associated with learning the world's lingua franca, which is English (Chambers, 2000:71). In European countries, the default second language of choice for primary schools is English (Eurydice, 2012). And thus begins a more positive cycle, whereby students are taught English from primary school and are exposed to English frequently through traditional and new media leading to a greater availability of workforce to teach in future. Issues such as transition, confidence and staffing

while not eradicated, as there are still primary school PFL teacher shortages in other areas of Europe, are reduced. This helps to ensure that all members of schools and wider society support and encourage language learning, again creating a positive environment for PFL (Cajkler and Addelman, 2000; Vilke, 1998).

At the time of writing, there is debate about if the UK will remain part of the European Union and a referendum on this issue has been promised. For the time being though, England and its educational system is still operating under European legislation. This in itself is interesting as while England is geographically and politically part of Europe, politicians and their recent polices have appeared to favour Atlanticism.

5.3.2 PFL: A Vehicle for ICU and Global Citizenship

Promoting understanding between people can be described as a key aim of the EU. However, the overwhelming teaching of English, within the EU, can be viewed as problematic for several reasons. Firstly, it may give the impression that English is the only language that Europeans need to learn. This was highlighted as an issue during the JALING project which proposed to teach pupils a variety of languages, to promote social cohesion and European citizenship. Some of the parents were opposed to this plurilingual approach, demanding instead their children should learn "the global language, English" (Barton et al., 2009:148). It should perhaps be noted that during an English equivalent project parents were broadly supportive (Barton et al., 2009). Secondly, the assumption is that perhaps English is more important and this undermines the central aims of the European Union. These aims are multicultural integration and understanding through the learning of different languages. However, in European primary schools a variety of different languages are not being taught; the foreign language curriculum is dominated by English followed by French. The situation is similar in England as almost all primary schools teach French. Although in the participant schools, the

specialist teachers all possessed a second language (German and Spanish), they were not asked by the schools to deliver this other language. It is the aim of the National Curriculum (DfE, 2013) to promote progress in one language which has exacerbated this situation as teachers proficient in L2 have to be sourced and time, as limited as it is, is only used for the one language. However, given the issues surrounding young learners' progress in L2, (Martin, 2000; Nikolov, 2009) coupled with issues of transition and an overwhelming desire expressed by a majority of teacher to teach PFL for reasons of ICU, perhaps a language awareness model could be more successful in primary school.

In Europe, there is an overall shortage in foreign language teachers in particular of diverse languages other than English. There is little recognition of the ambition for the teaching of two European languages and even less of what King et al. (2011) described as MT +2 aspiration. MT +2 aspiration (Maalouf, 2008) suggests that, alongside a child's L1 and an EU language, that the second L2 is "personal adoptive language" is also studied (2008:7). Maalouf saw this as a way of strengthening Europe and understanding from a cultural aspect, creating more understanding of the diverse cultures living in Europe, rather than simply the dominant languages of the EU. Fostering understanding across people in Europe is at the heart of the EU and is perhaps, at present, worthwhile revisiting. While historically there have always been tensions between different multi-ethnic communities in Europe, more recently perhaps exacerbated by the economic crisis (2008) and some media and political coverage of increasing numbers, since 2011, of refugees entering Europe (UNHCR, 2015), the far right has experienced growing support. In the recent 2014 European elections, there was a "50 per cent increase of the far-right… compared to the previous European elections" (Isal, 2014:1). Perhaps by turning the focus in primary schools on to different models such as language sensitisation/encounter or language awareness programmes instead of competency models many of these issues can be resolved.

Historically, the European Languages model could be described as being,

> "in essence a symmetrical and linear model. It is about progress – supported by education and training – leading from monolingualism to multilingualism enabling better communication and resulting in greater mutual understanding and benefit."
> King et al. (2011:32-33).

However, King et al. stated that this traditional viewpoint should perhaps be reconsidered given the changing contexts: globalisation, the new economy, multiculturalism, electronic mediated communication and European mobility which the model now operates in. In times of diminishing finances, multilingual development is not always seen as important. King et al. (2011:31) suggested that the economic downturn of 2008 has affected the way in which the European public may support multicultural policies. Yet, it could be argued that this is exactly the time to promote understanding and tolerance amongst people in Europe, especially given European mobility within Europe and the increasing numbers of refugees entering from outside Europe (UNHCR, 2015). King et al. identified these tensions linked to mobility and the effect that they can have on the 'social fabric' leading to more conservativism. It would seem that at a time where Maalouf's aspiration for multicultural language teaching to enhance ICU, is perhaps much needed, that perhaps the opposite seems to be occurring at a political level. This is a missed opportunity because such programmes as the language awareness model have been shown to promote positive views about immigration, challenge stereotypes and the concept of 'other' (Barton et al., 2009). Conversely, King et al. note that at a European level politicians are increasingly hesitant to show support for migrant languages and cultures and are more likely to promote national rather than immigrant languages.

> "Many of the accepted liberal consensual views about multiculturalism and the role of the state in promoting inclusive education are being called into question…This new or revived conservatism is paralleled in the nation states, which have developed a more overtly nationalistic focus linked to debate about single national identities and the search for national certainties. This has been characteristic even of apparently mature Western democracies, and leading politicians in both France and the UK for example have headed campaigns to 'reaffirm' or define French identity or 'Britishness', while the German Chancellor has pronounced that Multiculturalism does not work." King et al. (2011:29)

This is an interesting argument to consider, especially set against the media backdrop of the extremism being suggested to be penetrating English society and education as in the Trojan

Horse Scandal and the promotion of 'British Values' and SMSC. The political and media rhetoric about recapturing old traditions and a common culture has become further popularised both within English education and society. Perhaps it could be suggested that this may be one of the reasons for the disconnect between the English National Curriculum and the teaching of ICU. The rise of political parties such as UKIP seems to suggest that King et al. (2011) may have correctly predicted such a move towards the political right. This may also explain perhaps the comparatively weak status that ICU now occupies in the National Curriculum 2014 (DfE, 2013).

5.4 Conclusion

The European and national context, since 2008, has produced a number of challenges for English primary schools introducing PFL. The global economic downturn has led to the removal of PFL funding, training and LA PFL coordination. At the same time, as in many EU member states, there has been a renewed interest in conservatism and nationalistic focus. This may have contributed to the election of the Conservative Government (2015-). In turn, the Government has been keen to marketise education through narratives of increased freedoms and ever greater accountability for schools. Furthermore, the future of PFL specialists has been lessened as ITE specialist training routes have removed and the aim of PFL, as outlined in the National Curriculum, is heavily weighted for linguistic rather than ICU reasons.

It is not that the challenges faced by England are in anyway unusual. In fact, what this study has shown is that issues, such as staffing, are indeed an issue for all countries around the world. This may be in part due to the fact that children commence PFL learning globally earlier and the education system may need a little longer to 'catch up' (Eurydice, 2012), or it may be as Envers suggested that,

> "…politicians and Ministry teams have been expected to formulate and implement new policies for early FL introduction almost overnight. The inevitable frustrations of underfunding and limited teacher preparation have been experienced in many parts of Europe and beyond." (2011:20)

However, regardless of the reasons which have led up to the current PFL context in England, some may argue that the primary education system is negatively affected by an almost 'perfect storm' of a combination of factors. It will be interesting to watch how PFL fares over the coming years, and how, if at all, an upturn in the economy may lead to a renewed interest in ICU teaching, funding for training and specialist routes, and the curriculum and professional 'work space' for all teachers to be able to engage and enjoy in a truly broad and balanced curriculum. This may be either as team teaching with PFL specialists or linking perhaps the ICU elements into the broader curriculum.

Support for PFL is not in question, however there is required national and local level coordination and an understanding of how a continued 'drive to improve standards' is having a detrimental effect on PFL. This study revealed that there is fragmented practice not only across schools but within schools which is exacerbated by the removal of support for schools with a new curriculum subject. While the schools in this study were fortunate to have the funds to buy into a private network, not all schools may have this funding.

6. CONCLUSION

The aim of this study was to reveal the perspectives of teachers about PFL and to discover if their beliefs and practice match in a post-2010 educational landscape. It was to consider how, if at all, generic educational factors such as funding cuts and increased accountability, developed since 2010, have acted upon PFL. Post-2010 PFL is not all well-documented yet and, thus, this thesis makes a significant, original contribution to an important and growing area of research. Firstly, the research questions and objectives presented in the 'Introduction' chapter will be revisited, before considering how the research aim was met through a more in depth presentation of the key findings.

6.1 Research Aims, Objectives and Questions Revisited.

In the 'Introduction' chapter the overarching aim was presented first, before refining this aim into a set of objectives, and research questions. Through seeking answers to these questions the objectives were met, which in turn achieved the overall aim. As it was in this order that the study was carried out, this section will also revisit research questions, objectives and aim in the same sequence.

6.1.1 Research Questions Revisited

In the 'Introduction' chapter the first question which was asked was 'What do the teachers view as the rationale (linguistic/motivational/pedagogical/ cultural) for delivering PFL?' The teachers in this study did not provide a uniform reason for the teaching and learning of PFL in primary school. All of the participants agreed that 'the younger' was 'better' when teaching languages, but when asked why their answers fragmented. Most teachers gave the teaching of ICU as one of the reasons this was often coupled with a further reason such as linguistic gains or creating a love of languages. The teachers spoke frequently about L2 skills being a highly respected ability and not speaking an L2 was a source of regret for many teachers. The

findings which address this question can be located in the section 'Phase Two- Ethnographic Enquiry in Three Case Study Schools', subsections 'Support' and 'The Younger the Better'.

The second research question which was asked was 'What informs their [teachers] professional/classroom practice?' The answer to this question is complex and is influenced by the type of teacher: head teacher; generalist teacher and specialist teacher, although all teachers were influenced by their own experiences learning L2. The professional/classroom practice of the teachers was informed from a variety of sources such as personal experience with L2 learning, training, the specialist teacher and the Penny Wise Network. The head teachers and the generalist teachers in the study had been informed by personal experience (positive or negative) of L2 learning and teaching as well as their own general teaching philosophy. Interestingly, the head teachers had higher qualifications in L2 teaching and learning than the generalist teachers, and were more confident in their ability. Both sets of teachers also relied heavily on the specialist teacher, with the notable exception of the FL Co-ordinator in Forest School. This resulted in the specialist teachers bearing the majority of the responsibilities for L2 delivery within the case study schools. Therefore all of the heads and generalists spoke frequently about the influence that the specialist teacher has had on informing them. The specialist teachers all shared a similar background with regards to qualifications, possessing a language(s) UG degree followed by a PGCE with a language specialism and their personal experiences of L2 learning were positive. There can be no doubt that these qualifications and experiences have informed their practice, however, they also frequently referenced the influence that the Penny Wise Network has on their classroom practice. It was expected that other forms of support would perhaps also be included, however overwhelmingly they spoke of the network's support. This is interesting as this network is a private provider, and it raises two questions, the first being where do schools and teachers locate support when they do not purchase such a service?, and secondly does the provision of external support prevent the building of internal communities of practice contributing to

subject and specialist annexation? These findings can be located throughout the chapters 'Phase Two – Ethnographic Enquiry in Three Case Study Schools' and the 'Discussion' chapter within which sections 'Influence of Penny Wise' and 'Subject and Specialist Annexation' detail the impact that this external network has on the professional/classroom practice in each school. The section 'Increased Accountability and High Stakes' examines how because the generalist teachers view themselves as 'time-poor' the specialist teachers shoulder most of the L2 responsibilities in school.

The next question which was asked was 'What is the relationship between teachers' espoused views and the practices they employ?' The relationship between the teachers' views and the practices that they employ are mitigated by structural factors: lack of knowledge, increased accountability and high stakes, and therefore are the effects of a two-tier curriculum.

A lack of knowledge prevents all teachers from being able to effectively teach ICU, even if they do not possess any L2 abilities, despite this being one of the most common reasons given for the teaching of PFL. A lack of knowledge also meant that the schools' aim, often spoken about by the head teachers, of producing language competent learners would not be realised given the insufficient contact hours and lack of suitable transition arrangements. Furthermore, the possible L1 gains for under-performing children in L1 would not be recognised as these children were withdrawn for extra classes in English during L2 time. These findings can be located, in order, in sections 'ICU: Rhetoric and Reality', 'Language Competency Model' and 'Broad and Balanced vs. Two-Tier Curriculum'. While a discussion locating the teaching of ICU in schools in a broader national and international context can be located in the 'Discussion' chapter 'Insufficient Understanding of ICU' and 'PFL: a Vehicle for ICU and Global Citizenship'.

Increased accountability and high stakes, and therefore a two-tier curriculum enforced through statutory reporting of attainment, Ofsted inspections and possible forced academisation also contributed to the teachers modifying their practice from their espoused views, especially the generalist teachers. While all generalists overwhelmingly supported PFL and viewed it as a positive skill, they did not teach or team teach it themselves with the specialist preferring to complete other work, this was as a result of feeling 'time poor'. Many teachers felt that PFL was inclusive, contributed to a broad and balanced curriculum, and L2 learning could improve L1 ability, and yet the children in their classes were often removed for intervention work during L2 lessons. Again, these findings can be located in the sections 'Increased Accountability and High Stakes' and 'Broad and Balanced Curriculum'. Further discussion about the unequal access as a result of these drivers can be found in the 'Conclusion' chapter in the sections 'Lack of Parity between Core Subjects and PFL' and 'Unequal Access to PFL'.

6.1.2 Research Objectives Revisited

The first research objective was to investigate the post-2010 PFL perspectives for all teacher stakeholders (generalist teachers, specialist teachers and head teachers) and the second objective was to investigate the post-2010 PFL practices in each school and assess if these match the espoused views. These objectives were met through observing teachers during an extended ethnography stay in each school, interviewing the teachers and informally chatting to the teachers as we worked alongside each other. This combination of approaches enabled the participants' perspectives to be better understood as they were placed in the complexities of their working environment. This combination of approaches also revealed where practice and espoused views matched and also where there was a disconnect between the two.

Objective three pertained to investigating the impact, if any that the post-2010 educational changes have had on PFL in schools. Before commencing the data collection phase, a

literature review, which considered the documented post-2010 educational changes on schools was conducted. This sign-posted possible avenues of enquiry to consider which was embedded through ethnography within each of the three case study schools. However, in practice, while embedded in the schools, these educational changes were explicit both in the views and practices of the teachers. In fact each teacher, in informal conversation or interview touched upon one or more of these post-2010 reforms. Furthermore, differences between espoused views and practices highlighted where, in most cases, the post-2010 reforms had exacerbated previous barriers to PFL teaching and learning.

Objective four was to analyse the data from the teachers' perspectives and practices, as well as the impact of educational change since 2010, to highlight current practice in the three case study schools. This current practice can be located throughout the 'Discussion' chapter where the key themes emerging from practice are set in local, national and international contexts for examination.

6.1.3 Research Aim Revisited

The aim of this study was to reveal the perspectives of teachers about PFL and to discover if post-2010 reforms have had an impact on their PFL perspectives and practice. It is felt that through presenting how each of the research questions were answered and the objectives met that this overarching aim has also been successful. Post-2010 reforms have had an impact on PFL and the key findings will be presented in more detail below.

6.2 Key Findings

This thesis set out to locate PFL in three English primary schools in a post-2010 context through exploring teachers' perspectives and current practice. As stated in the introduction this was of paramount importance because it was only by illuminating what teachers believe and what they enact we will be able to ascertain that the post-2010 reforms have impacted

PFL in particular. As such some of the findings from this thesis are broadly in line with previous studies conducted within the area of PFL.Each one of these factors they build upon initial findings from over 15 years ago, and place these into a contemporary, local, national and international primary school context and thus the original contribution to knowledge is how PFL in a post-2010 landscape occupies a more vulnerable place in the curriculum than ever before. Reasons for this vulnerability PFL can be said to stem from structural changes within or imposed on schools by government reforms, which in turn have been influenced by more global events, such as the economic crash of 2008 and these drivers will be discussed below. However, while influenced by global issues this study has revealed than in fact it is post-2010 governmental policy which has had the most damaging effect on PFL in primary school. These policies pertain to the accountability and scrutiny in schools, in the name of 'driving up standards' to compete internationally. This has led to inequality in access to PFL for some children. The government's ideological drive for all schools to become academies has further exacerbated the situation, by raising the stakes for schools and this has had the most detrimental influence on PFL teaching.

The PFL situation within England is part of a much larger, international trend. The issues facing PFL are similar to those in other international countries and, moreover, Anglophone countries. The global economic downturn of 2008 can be suggested as the source of many of the factors which have operated on PFL, for example the funding cuts and the move towards conservativism. Challenges on a European level, such as economic migration and the arrival of refuges from war-torn countries, have further promoted in many countries an endorsement of nationalist status. This can be seen in England with the introduction of the term 'British Values', which suggested that these 'values' are uniquely 'British' rather than being shared 'human values'. In this way, the term excludes all possible overlap in understanding with other countries and cultures.

Nationally, the increased accountability and high stakes which schools experience have led to a 'two-tier' curriculum being taught within the case study schools. Within this system, some children were removed for 'booster' lessons in the core subjects. Again, this reveals inequality in access to PFL, as those children who are deemed as underperforming in English and Maths do not experience L2 learning. This is a missed opportunity as learning a foreign language can support children's L1 language development. In addition, ideas of a free market economy have resulted in the reduction of the LA role and, in the case of Castle Rock, this has almost been removed. These issues may not impact on established subjects as much as 'newer' ones such as PFL. The three case study schools opted to use school funds to 'buy-into' an external provider, Penny Wise Network, for support, however not all schools may not be able to afford such help. This creates inequality in access to PFL support dependant on school. Finally, on a national scale, there has been no long-term planning or policy implemented considering where and how the next generation of PFL teachers will be trained and, considering the literature base which details issues in staffing, this is a concern.

Within each school, there was huge support for PFL and this was surprising. It was felt that perhaps due to the complexities outlined above that generalist teachers might dismiss PFL as a 'waste of time'. This was not the case. PFL was valued and appreciated by all teachers within the schools. However, at the same time the majority of generalist teachers did not wish to teach it and were more than happy for the specialist teacher to shoulder the entire weight of PFL. As a result, the subject and the specialist could be described as annexed. If PFL is to develop and grow, it should be embedded within a community of practice, as well as the wider curriculum, otherwise it runs the risk of being isolated and becoming irrelevant.

The findings of this study would be of use to policy makers as it reveals the inequality to PFL provision that these policy makers explicitly claim to be against. In addition, the study also

revealed that the long-term staffing succession planning and coordinated transition was also weak. However, many of these issues require remedies which are felt to be against the current political party's ideological principles, and so perhaps the findings should also be presented to shadow policy makers as well.

The study also has implications for practice for teacher educators. Firstly, it is important that pre-service teachers learn how to teach some aspects of PFL, so that they can engage with the subject and specialist teachers within their future schools. The generalist teachers expressed uncertainty and lack of confidence surrounding the subject. This led many of them to fetishise PFL as something that they cannot and could not ever engage with; appropriate ITE should look to challenge this concept. However, this is not without challenges, the first being a lack of time especially on the School Direct training model. Even if time could be found, the ICU aspect needs careful consideration and planning to ensure that the pre-service teachers are provided with education in this area with sound theoretical underpinning.

6.3 Limitations of the Study

As a single researcher embedded one day a week in each school, there were lessons that could not be accessed and events which occurred later in the week. As such, a decision was made to observe the PFL lessons, as these happened on a set day, once a week. However, it was only when observations and chats were undertaken in other lessons with the generalist teachers that their links into ICU exploration through EAL children was touched upon. On reflection, it would have been illuminating to have attended generalist teachers' non-PFL lessons too, to reveal the extent of this practice. The ICU exploration through EAL children was not planned but appeared to 'just happen'. This would have made it difficult for a lone researcher, with a fulltime job, to be able to witness such practice.

Time was also a limiting factor, as I was operating within the same recently changed educational landscape as the teachers. It was not clear, when commencing the study in 2011, how radically and rapidly changes would be implemented within ITE. Established courses on which I worked closed, while new School Direct courses commenced for the first time, all of which diverted time and space for reflection on to the new ITE educational marketplace instead. This desire for time is, of course, considered to be perhaps always a 'wish' for the part-time researcher, however perhaps studying and working within the recent contextual factors may have been a little more challenging than had the status quo been maintained.

The topic of the study is one with which I was extremely familiar and I felt that this would be a benefit and, in many areas, it was. However, when writing-up, it was challenging to present the study to 'outsiders'. I often wrote about accepted practice without stopping to consider the drivers. Furthermore, trying to make my implicit knowledge explicit for others was also difficult.

6.4 Dilemma

Within each of the schools, I was welcomed and treated like a member of staff. Time spent in each school was a delightful experience, evoking memories of why I became a teacher originally. All of the teachers were very giving with their time and extremely open in interviews and conversations. Moreover, their unfailing support for PFL, regardless of challenge, was to be admired. This made it difficult and uncomfortable to acknowledge and report research findings about where their ideals did not translate always into practice, through lack of ICU knowledge or external factors influence. Many teachers felt that they were doing 'a good job' in this and other areas. Given the resources at their disposal and the barriers to implementing PFL, in my personal opinion, they are indeed. However, there were areas of divergence between espoused views and practice, and this was difficult to write as I did not want to reveal these teachers' weaknesses.

6.5 Benefits of the study

This study was conceived out of personal and professional experience regarding PFL and the challenges faced in primary schools. I did not anticipate the wide range of influencing factors and complex relationships that would be revealed. As a result, my lectures and seminars now consider the wider national and international drivers of influence. By making these links and being able to suggest readings for trainee teachers, I feel that my practice has been augmented.

On a different note, working as a TA and sometimes a cover teacher while embedded in the schools reaffirmed my young learner teaching passion. It was surprising how much the days in school were looked forward to, interacting with both teachers and pupils. However, listening to the teachers repeatedly speak of their workloads and accountability did underline some of the reasons for leaving primary teaching and becoming a teacher educator. I can now see the delineation between working as part of a school community teaching young children, which I relished, and the associated paperwork and high stakes.

In addition, it was suspected and confirmed during the study that I had privileged languages and varied ICU experiences usually provided by my mother while young. This is perhaps surprising given my mother's challenging and socio-economically deprived background. As England becomes more multicultural, perhaps for children growing up these experiences will become 'the norm' and, from both personal and professional observations, this certainly seems to be the case. Teachers within the study were also starting to use EAL children to deliver ICU. Perhaps by young learners studying about their friends' languages and cultures, some of the fear surrounding L2 learning for some people will be alleviated. Although, of course, this will still be mediated by their secondary school experiences.

6.6 Future Research

As a result of this study, the following questions for further research have arisen:

What is the link between teachers' beliefs and practices in schools without a specialist teacher? Is there a way in which technology (database) could be used to facilitate transition co-ordination in the absence of a named person? Is the creation of communities of practice for PFL realistic and, if so, how could these integrate PFL into the wider school curriculum? Where, within ITE, can ICU be taught to trainee teachers?

6.7 Conclusion

The quantitative data that surrounds PFL tells a tale of progress. More primary schools than ever are teaching more foreign languages, for longer time periods. Upon closer qualitative inspection, the issues which were first highlighted in 1974 Burstall Report (Burstall et al., 1974) remain but may have been scaled up across more schools. Policy makers nationally and internationally have struggled, particularly in Anglophone countries, to address these issues without success, or consider the impact on PFL that other policies may have. There is overwhelming support in primary schools, however, without clear national guidelines or support, there is unequal access to PFL within and across schools. Teachers realised and recognised the important contributions that PFL can make for young children, but need to be equipped with the tools and resources this learning to take place.

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APPENDICES
Appendix 1 Australia, the USA and England Key Feature Comparison

	Australia	The USA	England
Number of schools teaching PFL	Difficult to ascertain exact number of schools as this is recorded in per cent. "48 per cent of primary school students, across the age range, Preparatory Year/Year 1 to Year 6, were studying PFL" (Liddicoat et al., 2007)	15 per cent in 2008 public schools, 51 per cent in 2008 private elementary (Rhodes and Pufahl, 2010)	99 per cent of all respondents are teaching PFL in class time. (Tinsley and Board, 2015)
Year of Commencement of PFL Teaching	Is not currently statutory – fragmented approach, gathered pace since 1990s.	Is not currently statutory – fragmented approach, gathered pace since 1980s.	Only since Sept 2014 has PFL become statutory from Year 3 onwards (seven years old) – fragmented, sporadic approach starting in 1960s, resurgence in 1990s.
Language Rationale	Moved from 'one culture' to 'multilingualism' to 'economic' reasons.	Moved from 'economic' reasons to issues of 'national security' and 'economic' reasons.	According to National Curriculum 2014: ICU/language competency/foundations for future language learning/ 'economic' reasons.
Language Choice	Most common: Italian (RUMACC, 2007)	Most common: Spanish (Rhodes and Pufahl, 2010)	Most common: French (Tinsley and Board, 2015)
Lesson Time Allocation	Between 10 minutes and 11 hours with the average of 63 minutes (DEECD, 2007). The majority cluster around 35 to 60 minutes per week (Liddicoat et al., 2007)	Not available	Between 30 and 45 minutes (Tinsley and Board, 2015)
Staffing	Lack of qualified teachers.	Lack of qualified teachers.	Lack of qualified teachers.
Age of Commencement of Learning PFL	Not statutory – age of commencement depends on State.	Not statutory – age of commencement depends on Territory.	Statutory for children aged seven onwards in state maintained schools since Sept 2014.49 per cent of respondents to 'Language Trends' reported teaching PFL in Key Stage 1 (Tinsley and Board, 2015)

Appendix 2 Validated Questionnaire (Wade and Marshall, 2008) (Phase One)

■   ■

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National Foundation for Educational Research

Primary Modern Foreign Languages: Survey of National Implementation of Full Entitlement to Language Learning at Key Stage 2 (KS2)

The National Languages Strategy, *Languages for All: Languages for Life, A Strategy for England*, published in 2002, includes an entitlement to foreign language learning at Key Stage 2 (KS2), at least in part in class time, by 2010. The National Foundation for Educational Research (NFER) has been commissioned by the Department for Children, Schools and Families (DCSF) to assess progress towards the entitlement.

Thank you for your response to last year's questionnaire. In this final year of the survey we are seeking to update the information on the current level of teaching of primary modern foreign languages at Key Stage 2 **in class time** only. Participation in this survey is voluntary, but we would greatly appreciate your response. If you are **not** currently offering modern foreign languages, please answer question 1 only and return the questionnaire.

We would be grateful if you would return the completed questionnaire to us, in the pre-paid envelope provided, within three weeks of receipt. If you prefer to complete this questionnaire online, please go to www.nfer.ac.uk/plf When prompted please enter your NFER number which can be found on the top right hand corner of this questionnaire.

Please be assured that everything you tell us is in confidence: no schools and no individuals will be named in our report. Please complete in black ink.

If you have any queries please contact Claire Evans at NFER on 01753 637485.

PLF
41012 - 41014   **SQ**

■   ■

Primary Languages School Questionnaire

A   Language provision

1.   Does your school offer pupils in KS2 the opportunity to learn a language(s) **within class time?** (Please tick one)

Yes ☐   No ☐

If you ticked **NO**, thank you for completing the questionnaire.

2.   Which languages are currently offered in your school? (Please tick all that apply)

French	☐	1
German	☐	2
Italian	☐	3
Spanish	☐	4
Chinese	☐	5
Japanese	☐	6
Urdu	☐	7
Bengali	☐	8
Other languages (Please specify which language(s))	☐	9

3. Why was it decided to offer this/these language(s)? Please answer for language(s) most often taught. Please tick all that apply and specify for which language.

	Language 1	Language 2	Language 3
Teachers are available to teach this language	☐ 1	☐ 1	☐ 1
Support staff are available for this language	☐ 2	☐ 2	☐ 2
Resources are available to teach this language	☐ 3	☐ 3	☐ 3
Language is offered by secondary schools in the area	☐ 4	☐ 4	☐ 4
Language is offered by other primary schools in the area	☐ 5	☐ 5	☐ 5
Language is spoken by many pupils at the school	☐ 6	☐ 6	☐ 6
The school receives help/sponsorship to offer this language	☐ 7	☐ 7	☐ 7
Pupils have a preference for learning this language	☐ 8	☐ 8	☐ 8
This is the easiest/most accessible language for pupils	☐ 9	☐ 9	☐ 9
There is a tradition of offering this language in the school	☐ 10	☐ 10	☐ 10
There is parental preference for this language	☐ 11	☐ 11	☐ 11
Local authority policy	☐ 12	☐ 12	☐ 12
Local authority-provided support for this language	☐ 13	☐ 13	☐ 13
Other (Please give details of any other reasons)	☐ 14	☐ 14	☐ 14

2

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4a. Has your school stopped offering any language(s) since 2006?

Yes ☐   No ☐   Don't know ☐

If yes, please say why and state which language(s)

_____
_____ ┌───┐
_____ │   │
       │   │
       │   │
       │   │
       └───┘

4b. Has your school introduced a new language(s) since 2006?

Yes ☐   No ☐   Don't know ☐

If yes, please say why and state which language(s)

_____
_____ ┌───┐
_____ │   │
       │   │
       │   │
       │   │
       └───┘

5a. What are the main aims of language teaching and learning in your school for these year groups? (Please tick all that apply)

	Year 3 1	Year 4 2	Year 5 3	Year 6 4
To develop listening and speaking skills	☐	☐	☐	☐
To develop reading and writing skills	☐	☐	☐	☐
To learn about and understand other cultures	☐	☐	☐	☐
To develop knowledge about language	☐	☐	☐	☐
To develop strategies for learning languages	☐	☐	☐	☐
To develop enthusiasm for language learning	☐	☐	☐	☐

3

Not offered in this year group ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐

Others (Please give details) ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐

5b. Have the main aims of language teaching and learning in your school changed at all since 2006?

Yes ☐   No ☐   Don't know ☐

If yes, please explain what has changed and why

6. Does your school have any written policy or statement on primary language provision? (Please tick one)

Yes ☐   No ☐   Don't know ☐

4

7. How many staff in your school currently teach a language **at KS2?** Please include internal and external teachers, teaching assistants, foreign language assistants, and any others who teach languages.

[ ]

What best describes the level of **qualification** for each of them in the **language that they teach?** Please insert the **number of staff** next to the **highest language qualification** they hold in the **language they teach**. (The total figure should match the number in the box above).

No language qualification and no language training received	[ ]
No language qualification, but has received training/CPD to develop pedagogy in languages	[ ]
No language qualification, but has received training/CPD to develop language proficiency	[ ]
No language qualification, but native speaker	[ ]
Newly qualified teacher with specialism in primary languages	[ ]
Initial teacher training in primary languages	[ ]
Language qualification below GCSE	[ ]
GCSE	[ ]
A level/AS level	[ ]
Degree	[ ]
Postgraduate degree	[ ]
Don't know	[ ]
Other (Please give details)	[ ]

5

8. What are the main responsibilities of the language teacher(s) in your school?
(Please tick all that apply)

Teaching languages only to their own class ☐ 1

Teaching languages to other classes in your school ☐ 2

Teaching languages to classes in other schools ☐ 3

Planning/preparing language lessons/resources for other classes ☐ 4

Training colleagues in the teaching of languages ☐ 5

Teaching other (non-language) subjects ☐ 6

Other (Please give details) ☐ 7

9. What is the **main** model of delivery of language teaching in your school?
(Please tick **one**)

Primary class teacher working alone ☐ 1

Primary class teacher working with a teaching assistant ☐ 2

Primary class teacher working with a foreign language assistant (FLA) ☐ 3

Internal peripatetic specialist language teacher
(e.g. another teacher, lead teacher or Advanced Skills Teacher) ☐ 4

External peripatetic specialist language teacher
(e.g. teacher from another school, language college, volunteer, Advanced Skills Teacher or
Local Authority adviser/consultant) ☐ 5

Higher level teaching assistant working alone ☐ 6

Mixed (Please give details) ☐ 7

Other (Please give details) ☐ 8

6

10. Approximately what proportion of pupils in each year group in your school currently receives some language teaching **within class time?** (Please indicate approximate percentage of pupils)

Year 3 ⬚%   Year 4 ⬚%   Year 5 ⬚%   Year 6 ⬚%

11. Approximately how much time is spent **in class per week** on languages in the following year groups? (Please state approximate **number of minutes per week** for each year group)

Year 3 ⬚ minutes   Year 4 ⬚ minutes   Year 5 ⬚ minutes   Year 6 ⬚ minutes

If languages not offered on a weekly or fortnightly basis   ☐
(Please tick)

12. How is language teaching provided **in class time** for pupils in these year groups? (Please tick all that apply)

	Year 3 1	Year 4 2	Year 5 3	Year 6 4
In discrete lessons	☐	☐	☐	☐
Embedded across the curriculum (e.g. taught as part of other curriculum areas, or a short every day activity)	☐	☐	☐	☐
Focused activities (e.g. special language week or day)	☐	☐	☐	☐

7

13. Which of the following best describes the way in which languages feature during class time in each year group? (Please tick all that apply in each year group)

	Year 3 1	Year 4 2	Year 5 3	Year 6 4
Some work or activity every day	☐	☐	☐	☐
2 or more lessons or sessions per week	☐	☐	☐	☐
1 lesson per week	☐	☐	☐	☐
Once per fortnight	☐	☐	☐	☐
Sporadically through the year	☐	☐	☐	☐
In a specific term	☐	☐	☐	☐
Other (e.g. during other lessons /school events. Please describe briefly)	☐	☐	☐	☐

B. Views of foreign language provision

14. What are the main advantages of your school's current arrangements for the provision of language teaching? (Please give details)

15. Are there any challenges to your school's current arrangements for the provision of language teaching? (Please give details)

16. How confident are you that current arrangements for the provision of language teaching at KS2 are sustainable in your school?

Very confident ☐1   Quite confident ☐2   Not very confident ☐3   Not at all confident ☐4

17. Please list up to three main factors which are likely to affect how well languages are sustained in your school.

1.

2.

3.

9

C. Support and resources for language learning

18. Who provides external support for language learning in your school? (Please tick all that apply)

Local authority ☐ 1

Local networks ☐ 2

Other primary schools ☐ 3

Secondary schools (not specialist language colleges) ☐ 4

Specialist language college/s ☐ 5

Other outside agencies
(Please specify) ☐ 6

No external support ☐ 7

19. What form, if any, does the support already take and what additional external support would you like to receive? (Please tick all that apply)

	Support received	Support you would like
Local authority languages adviser	☐ 1	☐ 1
Local school or local authority support network	☐ 2	☐ 2
Links with secondary teachers	☐ 3	☐ 3
Peripatetic teachers	☐ 4	☐ 4
Staff training	☐ 5	☐ 5
Advanced skills teacher (AST)	☐ 6	☐ 6

10

	Support received	Support you would like
Provision of schemes of work	☐ 7	☐ 7
Provision of teaching materials	☐ 8	☐ 8
Specific funding	☐ 9	☐ 9
Foreign Language Assistant (FLA)	☐ 10	☐ 10
ICT and e-learning	☐ 11	☐ 11
Links with schools abroad	☐ 12	☐ 12
Other support groups (e.g. CILT networks, regional support groups)	☐ 13	☐ 13
Other (Please give details)	☐ 14	☐ 14

20. What information/documentation forms the basis of the language programmes your school offers? (Please tick all that apply)

The KS2 framework for languages	☐ 1
QCA Schemes of Work for KS2	☐ 2
National Curriculum guidelines for foreign languages at KS2	☐ 3
Locally–produced schemes of work	☐ 4
School–produced schemes of work	☐ 5
Commercially available schemes of work	☐ 6
Materials from Primary Languages Training Zone website	☐ 7
Other (Please give details)	☐ 8

21a. All local authorities have received a Standards Fund allocation for language teaching at KS2, and they were expected to devolve some of this to schools. Has your school received devolved funding for language teaching?

Yes ☐ No ☐ Don't know ☐

21b. If yes, on what has the money been spent? (Please tick all that apply)

Training teachers in using the KS2 framework or schemes of work ☐ 1

Providing or training Foreign Language Assistants ☐ 2

Training Higher Level Teaching Assistants/Teaching Assistants ☐ 3

Obtaining support and/or advice from external source
(e.g. language co-coordinators, Advanced Skills Teachers or others) ☐ 4

Provision of teaching resources ☐ 5

Other (Please specify) ☐ 6

21c. Has your school received free primary languages training from the local authority?

Yes ☐ No ☐ Don't know ☐

D. KS2/3 Progression, transition and assessment

22a. Does your school monitor and assess progress in language learning?

Yes ☐ No ☐ Don't know ☐

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22b. If yes, what tools does your school use for each year group? (Please tick all that apply)

	Year 3 1	Year 4 2	Year 5 3	Year 6 4
Languages Ladder	☐	☐	☐	☐
Asset Languages	☐	☐	☐	☐
European Language Portfolio	☐	☐	☐	☐
E-learning profiles	☐	☐	☐	☐
Assessment materials designed by the school	☐	☐	☐	☐
Key Stage 2 Framework	☐	☐	☐	☐
Other (Please give details)	☐	☐	☐	☐

23. Which, if any, of the following specific **internal arrangements**/practices does your school have in place to support KS2/KS3 **transition in primary languages**? (Please tick all that apply)

Language-specific guidance for parents on how to help child at secondary school   ☐ 1

Reports to parents at the end of Year 6 on pupil language learning attainment   ☐ 2

Language-specific information for pupils on transition from KS2-KS3   ☐ 3

Assessment-based evidence
(e.g. Languages Ladder or European Languages Portfolio)   ☐ 4

Other (Please specify)   ☐ 5

None   ☐ 6

13

24. Which, if any, of the following specific arrangements/practices does your school have in place with local **secondary schools** to support KS2/KS3 transition in **primary languages?** (Please tick all that apply)

Secondary language teachers visit primary school ☐ 1

Pupils visit secondary school to see language classes ☐ 2

Primary language teachers visit secondary school ☐ 3

Language teachers have telephone/email contact ☐ 4

Pupils have email contact with secondary school about languages ☐ 5

Joint teacher meetings are held to discuss pupils' language progress and transition issues ☐ 6

Pupils' language work is sent to secondary schools ☐ 7

Information on pupil progress and attainment in languages is sent to secondary schools ☐ 8

Information on pupil attitudes and motivation towards languages is sent to secondary schools ☐ 9

Pupil language profiles are shared between key stages ☐ 10

There is planning of joint language events (e.g. Y6 join Y7 pupils in a European Day of Languages event) ☐ 11

Specific joint language curricular initiatives, e.g. bridging units ☐ 12

Other (Please give details) ☐ 13

None ☐ 14

14

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25. Which, if any, of the following specific arrangements/practices set up by the **local authority** does your school use to support KS2/KS3 **transition in primary languages?** (Please tick all that apply)

Information on modern foreign language provision is included in KS2-KS3 transfer document ☐ 1

Use of a specific language curriculum across the LA (e.g. QCA schemes of work) ☐ 2

Support from LA languages advisory staff for transition ☐ 3

Other (Please give details) ☐ 4

None ☐ 5

26. Is there anything else that could help KS2/KS3 **transition in primary languages** become more effective? (Please specify)

15

E.   Language learning entitlement

The National Languages Strategy, *Languages for All: Languages for Life, A Strategy for England*, published in 2002, includes an entitlement to foreign language learning at KS2, at least in part in class time, by 2010. It states that 'every child should have the opportunity throughout KS2 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, making use of native speakers and e-learning'.

27.   To what extent does your school currently provide this entitlement? (Please tick one box in each column)

	Year 3 1	Year 4 2	Year 5 3	Year 6 4
Fully (all or most pupils)	☐	☐	☐	☐
Partially (about half of the pupils)	☐	☐	☐	☐
Minimally (less than half of the pupils)	☐	☐	☐	☐
Not at all	☐	☐	☐	☐

28.   If your school does not already provide the full entitlement, do you currently have plans to do so by 2010? (Please tick one)

Yes   ☐   No   ☐   Not sure   ☐

29a.   The Children's Plan in December 2007 announced a review of the primary curriculum, which would allow for languages to be introduced as a statutory subject in KS2, probably from September 2011. Were you aware of this?

Yes   ☐   No   ☐

16

29b. Do you think your school will be ready for this?

Yes ☐ No ☐ Partially ☐

29c. What additional support might your school need to be ready for this?

30. Please use the space below to add any further comments on language learning at KS2

Thank for you for completing the questionnaire

Appendix 3 Information Sheet For Head Teachers (Phase One)

Full title of Research Project: PhD: An investigation into primary school teachers'
beliefs and practices related to teaching FL

Information Sheet For Head Teachers (Phase One)

It is important that before you decide whether or not you wish to participate in the research study that you understand the reasons why the project is being carried out, what participation for you and your staff would entail. Please take you time to read the following information carefully and as mentioned above if you would like to contact me for further information please no not hesitate to contact me, my email address is supplied below.

- **What is the main aim of the study?**

  This is a two phase research project investigating PFL nature and provision in Warrington. This information sheet relates to Phase One. The aims of Phase One are to explore how PFL (Primary Foreign Languages) is taught across Warrington LA to better understand the nature and provision of PFL in Warrington primary schools.

- **What is the purpose of the study?**

  To understand how and why PFL is taught in primary schools in Warrington LA. From this information to choose four case study schools for Phase Two of the research project.

- **Why has my school been invited to participate?**

  Your school has been invited to participate as it delivers foreign languages to primary school children and is located in Warrington LA.

- **Do I have to take part?**

  You are under no obligation to take part in either Phase One or Phase Two of study, and the decision to take part is entirely voluntary. If you should decide that you would like to take part in Phase One you should follow the link to the survey in the email. Should you wish to take

part in Phase Two you will be asked to sign a consent form. It is important to note that if you do decide to take part in the research study you are free as a school or on an individual participant basis to withdraw at any time and without giving a reason.

- **What will happen to myself and staff members if we agree to take part?**

There is a link at the end of this email to an anonymous survey, which has been designed to provide information about the nature and provision of Foreign Languages in primary schools across Warrington.

You are under no obligation to complete this survey. The information you provide will remain anonymous, *unless you decide you would like to provide your school's details in order to be contacted with regards to Phase Two of the research project.*

All views and perspectives as well as any information relating to the individuals and the school will be completely anonymised.

- **What are the possible disadvantages and risks of taking part?**

You will be asked to provide your time to complete this questionnaire however as the questionnaire is relatively short it is hoped that any disruption caused by completing this will be minimal.

- **What are the possible benefits of taking part?**

Possible benefits include reflecting upon current practice, teaching and learning of PFL within your school.

- **Will what I say in this study be kept confidential?**

All information collected about the individual will be kept strictly confidential. All personal identifiable/sensitive information relating to participants **will not** be transferred in or out of the EEA without the explicit consent of participants.

Personal data will not be stored on USB drives or other portable media or on home or on my personal computer. Where the use of verbatim quotes is proposed in future publications or presentations or it is intended that information is gathered using audio/visual recording devices explicit consent for this will be sought from participants.

- **What should I do if I want to take part?**

If you would like to take part in this research study please follow the link at the end of this email to an anonymous survey and complete the survey.

If you decide you would like to provide your school's details in order to be contacted with regards to Phase Two of the research project please complete the school's name. If you wish to remain anonymous please do not complete this box.

- **What will happen to the results of the research study?**

The results of the survey will be analysed to find four different models of PFL delivery in Warrington, that will be contacted to participate in Phase Two of the research study.

- **Who is organising research?**

I am conducting the research as a student at Liverpool John Moores University, Faculty of Education, Community and Leisure where I am also employed as a full time lecturer in Primary Education (contact details below).

- **Who has reviewed the study?**

The research study has been approved by the University Research Ethics Committee, Liverpool John Moores University.

- Contact for Further Information

Researcher: Name and position: Elizabeth Malone, Lecturer in Primary Education, Faculty of Education, Community and Leisure. Email address: <u>e.h.malone@ljmu.ac.uk</u> Postal Address: M204 Barkhill Building, I M Marsh Campus, Barkhill Road, Aigbirth, Liverpool, L17 6BD

Supervisor: Name and Position: Marion Jones, Professor in Education, Faculuty of Education Community and Leisure. Email Address: <u>m.jones@ljmu.ac.uk</u> Postal Address: Barkhill Building, I M Marsh Campus, Barkhill Road, Aigbirth, Liverpool, L17 6BD

Thank you for taking the time to read this information sheet and do please contact me if you require further information.

Best Wishes

Elizabeth

Appendix 4 Invitation Letter to Head Teacher (Phase Two)

Room M204
Barkhill Building,
I M Marsh Campus
Barkhill Road
Aigburth
Liverpool
L17 6BD
e.h.malone@ljmu.ac.uk

RE: PhD research study invitation: *Language 'Teachers' Perceptions of Foreign Languages in the Primary School.*

Dear Head teacher,

I would like to invite you and your school to participate in a PhD research study which is being carried out on a part time basis by a full time FL lecturer at Liverpool John Moores University.

In light of the recent decade of foreign language initiatives introduced into primary schools, to investigate the perceptions of those involved in foreign language delivery to explore if 'teachers' involved in self-perceived successful teaching and learning of primary foreign languages share similar educational, social and cultural experiences.

The intended research relating to invitation seeks to investigate the different perspectives offered from all teachers of Foreign Languages in the primary school. This is a timely piece of research that sits well, in local, national and international contexts as well as within a historical one as well. It is an under research area of contemporary.

The English government has flirted with the idea of introducing foreign languages into the primary school on several occasions. Perhaps the most notable being during the 60-70s although this Primary French Project was brought to an abrupt end by the findings of the Burstall Report. Since that date until the last Labour Government there were sporadic schemes implemented on a local level concerned with the teaching and learning of PFLs (Primary Foreign Languages). Since the Collation Government has come into power there have been several important announcements concerning PFL, and the indication is that it will be made a statutory KS2 (Key Stage 2) subject, providing the area with the legitimacy within the curriculum it has struggled to historically achieve.

However, while there is much quantitative data, mainly, reporting on the facts and figures of the implementation of PFL the views of the 'teachers' involved in PFL delivery is lacking. 'Teachers' within this study refers to the myriad of PFL deliverers from specialist teachers, non-specialist classroom teachers, teaching assistants, foreign languages assistants, parents and head teachers.

It is timely piece of research as it would seem that PFL is entering a 'new phase' of legitimacy as mentioned above, although the views of 'what works well', who is best placed to deliver PFML and how best to deliver PFL is lacking. It would seem that the policy decision makers have neglected to seek the views of 'those on the ground' before moving ahead in making PFL a statutory subject.

Therefore for the reasons as outlined above it is felt that the views of PFL 'teachers' should be sought.

It is important that before you decide whether or not you wish to participate in the research study that you understand the reasons why the project is being carried out, what participation for you and your staff would entail. Therefore if you feel that you may wish to participate please contact me at the postal or electronic address above and I will send you

the information sheet pertaining to this research study, containing detailed information about the study and how this relates to your school and staff.

Yours faithfully

Elizabeth Malone

Appendix 5 Gatekeeper Consent For Head Teachers (Phase Two)

HEAD TEACHER CONSENT FORM

Full title of Research Project:

- PhD: *Language 'Teachers' Perceptions of Foreign Languages in the Primary School.*

Researcher:

- Name and position: Elizabeth Malone, Lecturer in Primary Education, Faculty of Education, Community and Leisure.
- Email address: e.h.malone@ljmu.ac.uk
- Postal Address: M204 Barkhill Building, I M Marsh Campus, Barkhill Road, Aigbirth, Liverpool, L17 6BD.

Please initial box

1. I confirm that I have read and understand the information sheet for the above study and have had the opportunity to ask questions.

   ☐

2. I understand that my school's participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw my school at any time, without giving reason.

   ☐

3. I agree to my primary school

    _____

    _____

    _____

 to take part in the above study.

    4. I agree to staff participants being

       observed teaching FL

    5. I agree to staff being interviewed

       about their perspectives on primary

       Foreign Languages.

Please tick box

Yes   No

6. I agree to my staff being audio recorded during interview on

   their perspectives on PFLs teaching and learning.

7. I agree to the use of anonymised quotes, from staff at my

   school, being used in publications.

8. I agree that my and that data gathered, from my school, in this

study may be stored (after it has been anonymised) in locked

cupboard or password protected LJMU computer and may be

used for future research.

_____   _____   _____

 Name of Participant   Date   Signature

_____   _____   _____

 Name of Researcher   Date   Signature

Appendix 6 Participant Information Sheet (Phase Two)

Information Sheet

It is important that before you decide whether or not you wish to participate in the research study that you understand the reasons why the project is being carried out, what participation for you and your staff would entail. Please take you time to read the following information carefully and as mentioned above if you would like to contact me for further information please no not hesitate to contact me, my email address is supplied above.

- <u>What is the main aim of the study?</u>

    In light of the recent decade of foreign language initiatives introduced into primary schools, to investigate the perceptions of those involved in foreign language delivery to explore if 'teachers' involved in self-perceived successful teaching and learning of primary foreign languages share similar educational, social and cultural experiences.

- <u>What is the purpose of the study?</u>

    The intended research relating to invitation seeks to investigate the different perspectives offered from all teachers of Foreign Languages in the primary school. This is a timely piece of research that sits well, in local, national and international contexts as well as within a historical one as well. It is an under research area of contemporary

    The English government has flirted with the idea of introducing foreign languages into the primary school on several occasions. Perhaps the most notable being during the 60-70s although this Primary French Project was brought to an abrupt end by the findings of the Burstall Report. Since that date until the last Labour Government there were sporadic schemes implemented on a local level concerned with the teaching and learning of PFLs(Primary Foreign Languages). Since the Collation Government has come into power there

have been several important announcements concerning PFL, and the indication is that it will be made a statutory KS2 (Key Stage 2) subject, providing the area with the legitimacy within the curriculum it has struggled to historically achieve.

However, while there is much quantitative data, mainly, reporting on the facts and figures of the implementation of PFL the views of the 'teachers' involved in PFL delivery is lacking. 'Teachers' within this study refers to the myriad of PFL deliverers from specialist teachers, non-specialist classroom teachers, teaching assistants, foreign languages assistants, parents and head teachers.

It is timely piece of research as it would seem that PFL is entering a 'new phase' of legitimacy as mentioned above, although the views of 'what works well', who is best placed to deliver PFML and how best to deliver PFL is lacking. It would seem that the policy decision makers have neglected to seek the views of 'those on the ground' before moving ahead in making PFL a statutory subject.

Therefore for the reasons as outlined above it is felt that the views of PFL 'teachers' should be sought.

Purpose: To seek the perspectives of PFL 'teachers' about the teaching and learning of foreign languages in the primary school. Subsequently to analyse these data examining if themes emerge relating to the teaching and learning of foreign languages in the primary school.

Design: A Non experimental case study of three primary schools that use different 'teachers' of PFL. Semi structured interviews, observations and analysis of key policy documentation from schools involved.

Methodology: Qualitative, participant observer, triangulation of data (collected from interviews, observations and documentation (lesson plans, school policy document etc.))

Length of study: The length of the study is intended to run from 2012, which will commence with the literature review and data gathering stage, until 2017 which will be the 'writing up' stage.

- <u>Why has my school been invited to participate?</u>

Your primary school has been invited to participate as your school delivers foreign languages to primary school children. Adults delivering FL within your primary school setting will be invited to give their perspectives on the teaching and learning of foreign languages, as well as you in role as head teacher. For the purposes of this study the term teachers relates to all adults involved in FL delivery within the school, this may include specialist teachers, non-specialist classroom teachers, teaching assistants, foreign language assistants, LA consultants, parents and/ or carers.

- <u>Does my school have to take part?</u>

Your school is under no obligation to take part in the study, and the decision to take part is entirely voluntary. If you should decide that your school would like to take part an information sheet will be given to you to keep so that you may refer to it at a later date, and you will also be asked to sign a consent form. After the school has signed the consent form I would like to attend a staff meeting in order to fully brief the staff about the study and the inclusion criteria. After this initial meeting I will also seek informed consent from each teacher on a personal basis providing each possible participant with an information sheet and ask them to sign a consent form. It is important to note that if you do decide to take part in the research study that you are free as a school or on an individual participant basis to withdraw at any time and without giving a reason.

- <u>What will happen to myself and staff members if we agree to take part?</u>

Data for the research study will be collected in a variety of different methods, these methods are semi structured interviews, observations of FL teaching and learning and analysis of key

policy documentation. It is important to highlight that these data collection tools are not in place to judge the FL provision within the school or to judge the teaching and learning of FL. However, they are in place to gain a real insight into actual practice 'on the ground' something which is lacking in the current literature. It is hoped that by spending time within the school staff members, over time, will no longer perceive me as the 'researcher' but more as a 'school helper' as I would quite willingly 'help out' in school in a teaching assistant role.

I intend to observe each teacher teaching FL five times during a whole lesson, and to interview the participants also five times for approximately 30 minutes each time. These interviews can happen at the end of the school day or at another time which best suits the staff members participating in the study such as in school holidays.

All views and perspectives as well as any information relating to the individuals and the school will be completely anonymised.

- <u>What are the possible disadvantages and risks of taking part?</u>

  The possible disadvantages to the study relate to the emotional aspects of staff talking about how the perceived a subject within the place that they are employed. It is hoped that as outlined above as the views and perspectives as well as any information relating to the individuals and the school will be completely anonymised this will impact will be minimal. It is also hoped that, as also covered above, over time 'working' in the school staff will become more relaxed when discussing FL with me as they will understand the nature of the project is not to judge in any form but more to gain an insight into 'practice on the ground'. The final possible disadvantage is the time that staff will be asked to provide over the length of the study relating to interviews. However as mentioned above it is hoped that because the

participant will be asked for the time that is the most convenient for them, and the relative short length of the interviews this disruption will be minimal.

- <u>What are the possible benefits of taking part?</u>

The potential benefits of the proposed study for the individual participants are the space to reflect upon their practice, teaching and learning of PFL something that perhaps as busy professionals we do not do in an explicit manner such as this.

Also as I will be in your setting on a frequent basis, in order to develop a good relationship with staff, I would quite happily assist in the school in a teaching assistant role. And therefore you would have an additional qualified teacher working within the school without the usual outlay of money.

- <u>Will what we say in this study be kept confidential?</u>

This is an important area, which staff may worry about and so it is paramount to make explicit that all information collected about the individual will be kept strictly confidential. Any and all personal identifiable information or sensitive information relating to participants **will not** be transferred in or out of the EEA without the explicit consent of participants. Such information will be handled with great care and only used in the way described in the written information given to the participants.

I will store any hard copies of personal date (e.g. printed data sheets, signed consent forms) in a locked cupboard and any electronic data containing personal information will be stored securely on my personal office LJMU password protected computer. Personal data will not be stored on USB drives or other portable media or stored on home or on my personal computer. The data generated in the course of the research must be kept securely in paper or electronic form for a period of ten years after the completion of a research project.

Where the use of verbatim quotes is proposed in future publications or presentations or it is intended that information is gathered using audio/visual recording devices explicit consent for this will be sought from participants.

Data generated by the study will be retained in accordance with <u>Code of Good Practice in</u> <u>Research</u> .

- <u>What should I do if I want to take part?</u>

  If you would like to take part in this research study or require further information please contact me at the postal or electronic address above, and I will send the information sheet and the consent form. When these documents have been read and signed, and staff have been consulted about taking part in the study , I will liaise with you to find a suitable time to come to a staff meeting to present the study and talk to individual members of staff involved in FL delivery and present them with the information sheet and consent form.

- <u>What will happen to the results of the research study?</u>

  The results of the research study will be used in my PhD thesis , and it is hoped will also be used to write a journal article afterwards.

- <u>Who is organising research?</u>

  I am conducting the research as a student at Liverpool John Moores University, Faculty of Education, Community and Leisure where I am also employed as a full time lecturer in Primary Education.

- <u>Who has reviewed the study?</u>

  The research study has been approved by the University Research Ethics Committee, Liverpool John Moores University.

- <u>Contact for Further Information</u>

  Elizabeth Malone: <u>e.h.malone@ljmu.ac.uk</u>, M204 Barkhill Building, I M Marsh Campus, Barkhill Road, Aigbirth, Liverpool, L17 6BD.

Should add that if they have any concerns about the way in which the study has been conducted, they should contact the Chair of the University Research Ethics Committee on researchethics@ljmu.ac.uk

Thank you for taking the time to read this information sheet and do please contact me if you require further information.

Best Wishes

Elizabeth

Appendix 7 Participant Consent Form (Phase Two)

PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM

Full title of Research Project:

- PhD: *Language 'Teachers' Perceptions of Foreign Languages in the Primary School.*

Researcher:

- Name and position: Elizabeth Malone, Lecturer in Primary Education, Faculty of Education, Community and Leisure.

- Email address: e.h.malone@ljmu.ac.uk

- Postal Address: M204 Barkhill Building, I M Marsh Campus, Barkhill Road, Aigbirth, Liverpool, L17 6BD.

Please initial box

2. I confirm that I have read and understand the information sheet for the above study and have had the opportunity to ask questions. ☐

3. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time, without giving reason. ☐

3. I agree to take part in the above study. ☐

Please tick box

Yes   No

4. I agree to the interview being audio recorded ☐   ☐

5. I agree to the use of anonymised quotes in publications ☐   ☐

6. I agree that my data gathered in this study may be stored (after it has been anonymised) in a locked cupboard or password protected LJMU computer and may be used for future research. ☐   ☐

_____   _____   _____

Name of Participant   Date   Signature

_____   _____   _____

Name of Researcher   Date   Signature

Appendix 8 Semi-Structured Interview Questions Sample

<u>List of Interview Questions</u>

The interviews will be conducted on a semi structured basis. It is envisioned that the questions outlined below will act as an 'ice breaker' to the discussion that will then develop organically. Therefore it is important to note that there may be other questions asked which are not listed below, but that would fall into the area of PFL perspectives.

Personal perspective:

What do you think about PFL? Why do you think that you feel like this? Do you think that this is a typical view or do you feel that it is specially related to you for any reason (s) ?

What do you think about teaching PFL? Why do you think that you feel like this? Do you think that this is a typical view or do you feel that it is specially related to you for any reason (s) ?

What do you feel about learning FL? Why do you think that you feel like this? Do you think that this is a typical view or do you feel that it is specially related to you for any reason (s) ?

If you were in charge of Government direction and policy what would you do any why?

Children:

How do the children you teach respond to FL? Why do you think this is? Have you seen in your teaching career children behaving differently? Again why do you feel this is?

My PFL lessons are _____ because_____ [please complete the sentence]

Motivation:

Why do you teach PFL? Why do you think that you feel like this? Do you think that this is a typical view or do you feel that it is specially related to you for any reason (s) ?

What do you feel is the point of teaching FL?

Planning:

Do you use a scheme when teaching? If so which one and why?

What are the strengths and drawbacks of using this scheme?

Have you ever planned your own lessons?

How did you go about doing this?

What views do you have about attainment in PFL?

KS2 Framework:

Do you use the KS2 Framework for Languages? If so what do you think about this publication?

Which strand (Oracy, Literacy, intercultural understanding, knowledge about language, language learning strategies)

What do you feel is the most important strand and why?

Culture:

What is the highest level to which you have studied a foreign language?

Have you ever lived abroad?

What exposure do you feel that you have had to foreign cultures both in England and abroad?

How you describe your heritage? Do you feel that your 'upbringing' has had an effect on your teaching and learning of FL?

Support:

Do you have links with the high school that you feed into regarding PFL? What does this look like?

Have you been involved working with the high school in an FL capacity?

Have you been working with the LA in a FL capacity?

What CPD have you had relating to PFL?

Appendix 9 Interview Transcription Sample

Thomasina- Interview

Me: So if we could just start with you stating your name and your role and your main responsibilities.

Thomasina: Okay I'm Thomasina and I am the subject leader for Foreign Languages.

Me: And how did you become a teacher?

Thomasina: I used to be an Export Manager and then I retrained in 2001 because I thought, I had always wanted to teach and I wanted to do something that would fit more around my children.

Me: Oh okay, I didn't know you were in export, liaising with France or?

Thomasina: France, Germany, Scandinavia, Italy yeah, I used to travel a lot.

Me: Do you miss it or…?

Thomasina: No, not really, not now. Once I got married and then especially when I started having children I just couldn't do that any more so I stopped work completely for a while and then this was something, I did a few other things including stuff with languages like organising conferences and doing a lot of phoning because I am quite good on the phone, in sales, it was always sales, erm, but I had always wanted to do some sort of teaching and being able to use languages as well. Because they brought out the course didn't they, I went to MMU in Crewe and it was the first year of the course with Foreign Languages so they were desperate for people.

Me: Wasn't that 2004 – 2005?

Thomasina: No it was 2001, I think so, 2001 or 2002 yeah. They were desperate for people who had languages so they sort of bit my hand off.

Me: So it was primary with French?

Thomasina: Yeah, French specialism.

Me: So did you go on a placement abroad?

Thomasina: Yes I did. They made me go abroad for four weeks and the children were tiny. I've never cried so much and the guinea pig died whilst I was away, that was just awful.

Me: Could you briefly outline your educational philosophy? Its quite a weighty question but just what you see the purpose of schooling to be really.

Thomasina: Er well I think, at the moment, the way things are now, we try to stuff too much knowledge into children and I think primary school education should be about enjoying yourself and exploring life and exploring who you are and learning about the world. I don't think it should be all Maths and Literacy and exactly how you spell things. Me: lot of stuff that was in high school is now taught in primary school and I really don't think that is the way it should be because I think we should let the children be children and that we start school too early and I was worried about one of my children when I was in France and I spoke to a Speech and Language therapist there and er cos I was really worried about one of the twins and she said 'how old is he?' and when I said six she thought I was mad. But he was having difficulty at school at the time and he was falling way behind and his teachers were worried about him so I was worried about him as well but and I think the trouble with education generally is that children grow up at different rates. There is no standard child, I don't know if other people have said this but you are measured against a standard and you are either a 'gifted and talented' and therefore above that so you are missing out because you are not being pushed. Some people are in the middle and other people are below it and I have got three children who are below and my daughter, the eldest, who was way above it but she always managed. It was the others who were dragging behind, if you missed something you couldn't always pick it up again the other time around and then you were taken out of lessons. One of my sons never got to do French because it was more important for him to be doing other stuff so, erm, I'm not sure if I have answered your question now. I just think we need to give them time to grow up and enjoy themselves and grow into little people rather than SATs machines. I think it is so sad and then later on they have

got plenty of time to grow but if they have been put off education before they ever get to high school they are already against it and it is very difficult to bring them back in.

Me: So these questions relate to your personal perspective and it is a three part question, erm, it is what do you think about primary Foreign Languages? Why do you feel like this and do you think this is a typical view or not?

Thomasina: Probably not a typical view, my view, because I love languages and I think that primary Foreign Languages can be used to underpin the grammar in Literacy and also a lot of common words in French are powerful verbs or words in English and so I always try and make the, draw the lines between the two and I don't think it does any harm for the children to learn another language but it shouldn't be absolutely forced on them like Maths is but I often find that Special Needs children, because they are quite good at talking quite often, even if they can't write, quite a few of them blossom with languages and then it takes me by surprise when I find that they can't write it so I think it is another side to, I think it is another opportunity to excel for some children. Some children are good at everything and that happens all the time and I don't think doing languages does anybody any harm, erm, and they need it at high school so anything that can help them for when they get to high school is good. I just love languages and the enthusiasm of children at primary school as well.

Me: And you say that your view is not a typical view, where do you think that your view is borne out of?

Thomasina: Because of my love of languages I think.

Me: Which comes from?

Thomasina: From primary school. I started learning languages at primary school and I was absolutely enthralled with French and I remember being on holiday and getting my mum to teach me some more, some higher up numbers, er, I think if you can get them interested early on, I don't want to stuff them full of all the lists of words and things but I think it broadens your outlook on life generally and the world. Because we do about Bastille Day and the inter-cultural understanding stuff as well.

Me: So this is a little bit the same, what do you think about teaching Foreign Languages and why do you feel like this and do you think it is a typical view?

Thomasina: I love teaching Foreign Languages because it is quite easy, the French side of it is easy, the difficult bit is getting it across to them and keeping their interest at primary level. Probably it isn't a typical view because most people are scared stiff of languages but I wouldn't be because I have lived there and been doing languages since I was 9 or whatever, no younger than that probably but erm, I don't know how you can get other people interested in it and get them to do it. That is always a problem, I keep looking through the window, I should have sat somewhere else! Did I answer all of that, it is probably not a typical view because most people think everything else is more important but then I would think languages are important wouldn't I, so it might not be right, I don't claim to be right.

Me: So Michael Gove with his draft curriculum, he has the list of languages, erm, and I just wondered, it is just a light question, if you were in charge of Government direction and policy what direction would you take?

Thomasina: With languages?

Me: Yeah.

Thomasina: I wouldn't have such a big choice of languages, I would have maybe French and Spanish because they are, at the moment, it could change but at the moment I think they are the ones that people know the most of and are likely to be the most used because of holidays. I speak German as well fluently and I find I did more business in Germany but I think German is taking a back seat because people don't go to Germany on holiday so they don't see the reason for learning it but, and they think that all Germans speak English but it really does help selling to the Germans if you can speak German and then they think you are wonderful! But yes, I would give a choice of two languages probably because otherwise they go on to high school and have to start all over again which is silly, what's the point? And also I think French and Spanish are fairly similar anyway in some ways, in quite a lot of ways so I think they could support one another. If you did French in primary school and then did Spanish at high school it wouldn't be as new a start as if you did German at high school so yeah.

Me: Okay and what are your hopes and aims for teaching PFL within this school? So could you describe the sort of model that we use here if that makes sense?

Thomasina: Well yeah, we have discussed it recently haven't we, I want to try to get a better understanding in the children of how the language works, where the adjectives go for example and the fact that they have to have endings on them and the fact that you have got feminine and masculine and in German, I always tell them there are three in German so they are lucky in learning French and just how the language hangs together, more than lists of words but you need the lists of words to be able to manipulate the vocabulary so I am not one of these people who is against learning a list of animals because then you can say you like them and you have them and you would like one and croissant crosses over between them to, so, yeah, my aim is to make sure they have a thorough understanding of the language and it is borne out in Years 5 and 6 because with Year 5 especially we were doing something, no Year 4, you were there, they were reading it, I was amazed at how they could read it, that was brilliant cos that was only their second year of doing languages properly with me. They had been doing them a bit in Year 2, they teach them to count and to say what their name is and whether they want hot dinners or not, yeah, but I thought that was fantastic.

Me: Do you think that's a typical view for the aim, do you think it is a typical model in other schools or with teachers?

Thomasina: I don't think people have really thought it through mainly but the people I see at the Penny Wise network, they are just doing as little as possible, most of the time and sticking on the same thing and not necessarily trying to make it interesting. I don't really know because I have not observed language teaching in other primary schools so I wouldn't know. I would be interested to hear what you observe. I do know from what my friends say, erm, cos my kids went to a Derry Primary School and some of

my friends' children are still there, that they have really bad accents the teachers and

they always say that they don't really know what they are doing here so there must be

a way of overcoming that. I have been toying with lots of ideas because at Derry High

School the person who was in charge of languages who has now left, chucked in the

towel, there are only five teachers left at Derry High School, erm, the rest are all supply

teachers, there are two off with long term stress and others have walked out because

… Have you not heard about it?

Me: No, no!

Thomasina: Well there's a fairly new head there and everybody is very unhappy and she

was a language specialist so she has especially been prodding about in the language

department so yeah, erm, but when they get their new Head of Languages, I think what

the, the old Head of Languages always used to say was absolutely rubbish and it was

hopeless to do it in primary schools, they were no good at them and you had to start

all over again, well you need to do something about that and not just complain about

it. So if you, for example, in Year 3 I do food and weather and animals and a little bit

of something in the summer but you have got sports days and everything else so you

need to do bits of stuff, so you can get three main topics done and all the other topics

that go with it like 'I would like' and 'I want' and 'I have' and you could teach that to a

Year 3 teacher, just that bit, cos they quite often stay in Year 3 for a long time and then

they would become familiar with it and not be afraid of it so you could go into the

schools and do, or you could get all the Year 3 teachers together and teach them what

they are teaching but that is too prescriptive probably. People probably wouldn't like

that but maybe Derry High School could do that with their feeder schools, get them all

in and teach them the things that they need to teach just to their year group. Surely that would be an idea, that would help.

Me: What do you think the biggest barriers are for non-specialist teachers?

Thomasina: Fear probably. Most people have done French in primary school haven't they? Oh, not primary school, I mean high school, sorry. So they have at least done it up to, if not, most high schools you have to do it to GCSE don't you so they would know how to say a lot of things, they are just afraid of it because it is not taught very well in high schools, erm, I erm, was tutoring a German boy in French which was quite interesting. He was living over here and instead of going to the German lessons he was doing French with me anyway because he needed it for when he went back to Germany. They knew they were going back a couple of years down the line and my friend, his mum asked me to do it and Derry High School let me do it in school, they didn't pay me but she did and his scheme was really, really good for learning French whereas the ones in Derry High School, I don't know if they still use Metro, or I think they have got one called Hallo. Yeah the Metro in French!!! It is just like a comic book and they whizz through it because you have to do the whole of the first book in the first year don't you and the kids don't remember anything. My daughter remembered 'il pleu' because I was doing it at school and I was doing the actions for it and she said 'mum I wrote it in my tests because I remembered it' because at the time she thought it was stupid because I was trying to get her to learn them with all the actions and she remembered it because I had used the actions so, anyway, so I think they should try and do less. In the German one for learning French they, it was about a small town and it was about different families and you got to know these families so you could talk about them and you could talk about their relationships like people you know, like with

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families I use the Simpsons because you know them so you can talk about them and that sort of thing so it builds it up and the stories about these different families and how they interact and you sort of live with this all the way through school so he knew the answers to things, so he could tell me what Mrs Thing would say to somebody else or why those two didn't get on. He could manipulate the language really well and his knowledge of the language was absolutely brilliant, it was amazing.

Me: Really, that is interesting.

Thomasina: But it was quite interesting doing the German and the French and the English because we got really mixed up sometimes. I had to remind him what the German was for things, it was funny.

Me: This is a two part question responding to the children, erm, how do the children behave or respond when you teach them a Modern Foreign Language and why do you think this is and in your teaching career have you seen them behaving differently? So, erm, if you see them in Maths or another subject or PE.

Thomasina: I see Year 6 on a Tuesday afternoon in for PHCE and those things and so they are a bit more relaxed then. Erm, that is the only other time I see them because I only teach French you see.

Me: So how do you feel that they respond to the French?

Thomasina: Up to the start of Year 6 really, really well. The Year 6's are too cool for school so it is harder work and they pretend that they don't know the words and this year's Year 6 isn't as bad as last year's, it depends on cohort and stuff.

Me: Do you think that is because they feel self-conscious or?

Thomasina: Possibly but they are also in that frame of mind where they are showing off to each other and it is just not cool to be seen to be, some of them, they don't, it is not cool to be seen to be doing any work but this cohort aren't as bad, they really, when they get into something, they are harder to get going but once they are in. Cos they are writing a thing about holidays now yeah so they are doing the clothes, so I have gone back over the things they have done before, the clothes they are going to wear and we are doing the simple future like 'j'e vrai, voyager en France or something so they choose the country and it is my dream holiday. They choose the country, how they are going to get there, because we have done transport, who they are going with, because we have done families in Year 4, what the weather is going to be like and what they are going to pack in their cases, things like that so they have really got into that quite well now but in the other year groups no problem at all. They are really keen, they are so keen to learn and show you that they have learnt it and the thing is that I am really pleased that even though the Year 6's don't think it is that cool, they remember so it really makes you feel good that they have actually remembered what they did in Year 4 and they can write about it and they are not scared, they are not worried about, they are not worried about saying it in front of each other.

Me: Oh that's good.

Thomasina: I think it is just the not cool bit that, Year 6's are always more challenging aren't they and by now, where we are over half way through the school year, they are starting to get a bit more difficult but they still learn but it is just harder to get them going.

Me: I wonder if you could complete the following sentence 'my Modern Foreign Language lessons are …. Because…' They are not easy questions!

Thomasina: They are interesting but it is difficult to talk about your own lessons because I haven't ever seen any others. I try and make them interesting and memorable because there is no point if it is all fun, they have got to learn something as well and varied, erm, yeah. Keep changing them. You have seen me in Years 3 and 4, I keep trying to change from one thing to another to keep their attention so, yeah, is that alright?

Me: Yeah. So these relate to planning and I was wondering if you used a scheme when you were planning and if so, which one and why?

Thomasina: I do lots of different things. I have got Pilaut (sp?) which is an interactive thing on the whiteboard and I have got Tout Le Monde which you have seen and I use that because you can use it on the laptops but I don't use it all the time because it is, it would be too samey. Erm, what else do I do …? There is, I have got a DVD called Chez Mimi (sp?) which is from the BBC I think, that I bring in sometimes and I have got some mini clips from the British Film Institute that have got French films and another thing which is about Marseille and the town and the children in the school so I try and bring lots of songs and I've forgotten what the question was now.

Me: Did you use a scheme and then I wondered what the drawbacks or the strengths were?

Thomasina: I don't actually use one scheme no and I have got developing French books and I just dip into all of them and am trying to now put it all together so that I don't forget because sometimes I will find a book and think 'oh I haven't used that for a couple of years' so I am trying to put it all together so I have got a list of all the things that I use for each topic, unit.

Me: And why do you use so many?

Thomasina: To make it more varied because some of them don't do what I want them to do, erm, if you use Tout Le Monde all the time it would be really boring but there are some really good songs on there so, yeah, and sometimes yeah, I try and take the best of each to make it as interesting as possible.

Me: Erm and I wondered what views you had about, erm, assessment and attainment and the role of assessment and measuring in Foreign Languages in the primary school.

Thomasina: Yeah it is quite difficult to assess because I think you have to assess the spoken as well as the written because some people can do both and some people can only do one of them, erm, the quiet ones you can't always tell how good they are because you can't get everybody to always speak, erm, so I need to do both of that. I do usually assess at the end of a unit and I am constantly assessing all the time because I put

my ticks on my board and then I transfer them to my sheet that I showed you and that builds up a picture over time so yeah, assessment is important and when they write in their books I am always looking at what they have written as well and assessing that. But mainly my tick sheet and what I know about them because to get an overall picture it is the spoken and the written and just generally, erm, how, just the general performance of each child. There are some of them that won't ever perform that well because they just don't seem to be able to hold the language in their head doing it once a week, erm, but yeah, I think the assessment is important to do and I am trying to improve on it all the time. I know that what I do isn't enough and I want to be able to hone it down so that I can tell that they have learnt something and not just learnt it for that day. They have got to, when it comes back and revisit it next year and they now that the colour goes afterwards and that it has to change a bit cos it is an adjective and think yeah, that's brilliant.

Me: Are you aware of any publications that could help you with Foreign Languages to assess the children?

Thomasina: That 'Making Marking Progress' but I don't like that, it is not what I want to do and I have based some of the things I do on, is it 'Asset Languages' I think it is called. That is quite good.

Me: Yeah, they do it on each of the four don't they but it is really expensive?

Thomasina: Well I've got one because Kirsten got one.

Me: Oh did she? Right, right.

Thomasina: I've got it at home and I just pinch bits from it and ideas from it because you can do it without the, the good thing about that is you can do it without writing or speaking because you could have the pictures and they tick the right picture.

Me: Right.

Thomasina: So that is an inbetween thing where I can assess people like in Year 3 where I do a think on animals and I read out a very short text and then I have got a picture of a cat, a spider and then they just have to tick the right thing that I have said.

Me: Oh right, I didn't realise she had bought those. So did she buy the whole pack or is it like a set of tests or…?

Thomasina: Its just a folder, that's all she has got and she hasn't got any instructions with it and I think she went on a course so that she could give out certificates but I haven't been on the course so, erm, it is something else I have been thinking about because they are quite good but I can actually just copy what they do.

Me: Yeah, definitely. Erm, would you recommend, erm, any of the documents 'Making Marking Progress' or the 'Asset Languages'?

Thomasina: Asset Languages yeah but not Making Marking Progress.

Me: What don't you like about that one?

Thomasina: Oh it is too airy fairy, it is too, unspecific. I went on a course, a meeting thing the week before last in a different county with some Modern Foreign Language people, I'm not even sure, the EY2, what is it, and erm, they, she had a really good list. I might have it, of different assessment and I thought that says a lot more. I am conscious of using up your time.

Me: No, no, no. It's fine.

Thomasina: I might have left some of them at home.

Me: I mean I can have a look at them next time. And what does EYTP stand for then?

Thomasina: Early Years To Primary I think.

Me: And who ran that course?

Thomasina: Erm, oh look, these are Year 7. I thought some of those were quite good.

Me: Yeah, the 'I can' statements.

Thomasina: But she seems to have changed them a bit, they look more specific so I am going to look at that. I've forgotten what their names were. Someone was running it, she has been here and done a course, an inset day on Literacy but they were linking it to grammar.

Me: Oh right.

Thomasina: Erm, there was somebody else, the person actually running it, actually running it wasn't her. It must say it here somewhere, oh, Teacher X, there we are. She used to be a high school teacher, erm, I think she then taught in primary, I'm not sure exactly but it was really interesting. Yeah, they are doing another one in June.

Me: Oh I'll have a look at those, that'd be really good.

Thomasina: Yeah so I need to, erm, I need to tie the assessment down a bit more, I know that.

Me: And what resources are available to you in the school?

Thomasina: Oh loads. I bought them, yeah, all the stuff that I find that I want to use I have bought. I have got loads of books. You saw the Bert books, cos Neve was reading one

of them and I have got a few of those and I have got lots of Pilots, there are three or four Pilot things and I look on Little Linguist and the other one.

Me: Yeah, so do you have a budget at all within the school?

Thomasina: Yeah, I have to put down that I want, what I want to get but …

Me: But on the school then?

Thomasina: Yeah cos I've got all the four levels of Tout Le Monde, erm, once you subscribe to that now you can keep it. It used to be a yearly thing but obviously they are developing something new and you just keep it once you have got it. So I have actually got loads and loads of resources. I have got so many resources that it takes, you know, that's why I forget about them sometimes.

Me: Brilliant. So these questions relate to the Key Stage 2 framework for languages, you know, the non-statutory document and I think it is a bit unclear about what is going to happen on that one at the moment.

Thomasina: Well I use them at the moment. I write them on plans because that is what we were supposed to be doing, erm, Penny Wise, do you know the Penny Wise network? She used to run the Council but then they made her redundant so she has set up her own network. Well, we subscribe to that as a school so she has termly meetings and then one at the end of the year and she sends us Powerpoints and things by e-mail

and some of them I use and some of them I don't. The most useful ones are the ones in the summer like how to make a ratatouille and she did a wonderful one on the wedding one with lots of photographs and things when it was the Royal Wedding so special ones like that and I don't have to make them myself so, you know, I use her for ideas. Other people use her more for support and part of the package is an hour's discussion together to see how she can help you but I don't really need that. I have asked her to try and help me find a partner school because I have joined [unclear] and got absolutely nowhere so she is trying to help me do that as well.

Me: And in terms of the framework, erm, so I wondered which out of the five strands, the Oracy, Literacy, inter-cultural understanding and knowledge about language and language learning strategies that you felt was the most important and why?

Thomasina: I actually normally only refer to the L and the O, Oracy and Literacy. The other ones I just put those in anyway, the knowledge about languages, I don't usually write that on although I do do those and I point them out to them and the inter-cultural understanding just comes in anyway because of what I am teaching them. I try to bring in things about France so, I would say the oracy, the speaking because language is about talking isn't it, primarily.

Me: Communication. And what do you think about the Key Stage 2 Languages framework?

Thomasina: Its okay. I use it because it is there. It, I don't tailor that to those there. I put those because they match in with what I am doing.

Me: So you get your activity and then you put your objective?

Thomasina: And see which one it fulfils, yeah. So, actually it doesn't make me do it any different. At all. Ever.

Me: Right, okay. Erm, to which is the highest level you have studied a foreign language?

Thomasina: Erm, well teaching is the highest one isn't it. I did a PGCE but before that I did a post-graduate in International Marketing so I have got two post-graduates, both in the …

Me: And have you ever lived abroad?

Thomasina: Yes. I lived in Germany for three years and then France for three years.

Me: And what were you doing in both?

Thomasina: Well when I went to Germany I was a tri-lingual secretary but mainly doing the, oh its ages ago, it's the spare parts for a plant in Iran. That was before the Shah left so it is a long time ago and then that fell apart because the Shah left and we had to stock it all and then nothing happened with it. Loads of people lost loads of money because the Shah had to leave but it was because we were buying from, it was a consulting engineering company and they were buying from English, French and

German companies so they needed people who spoke languages. Then after that in France it was a company exporting to China and they were exporting goods on behalf of German, French and English companies so again, it was sort of clerk type work and translating and bi-lingual stuff.

Me: What exposure do you feel you have had to foreign cultures both in England and abroad, so obviously you have mentioned that experience but maybe within England, foreign cultures?

Thomasina: I don't know. When you are in college you meet lots of different people don't you but I never, and I lived in Birmingham [laughing], does that count? Erm, and then in Derry , Derry is a weird place because a lot of, I don't know if Maine is the same, a lot of foreign people come and live there when they are working in the area. My German friend, Stephanie, her husband was working and was running the Ford plant at Hale Wood and he was running the production side of that so a lot of people, they end up landing in Derry because it is a nice place to live so it is a very multicultural but white place, Derry . Predominantly white.

Me: And how would you describe your heritage, and the reason why I have put heritage is sometimes I don't feel that labels really … so for me I wouldn't describe myself as English or British but I wouldn't attach myself to another label. I don't really feel particularly anything if that makes sense so that is why I say heritage instead of anything. I have friends who feel quite European or do you feel English or do you feel British or do you feel something that there isn't a label for?

Thomasina: Hhhmmm, well, I have hhhmm, well I do feel British but much more open to Europe and the outside world than most Brits.   It is just some people have such small town ideas in Britain don't they?

Me: Where do you think that comes from?

Thomasina: I don't know, is it because we are an island, I don't know. I really don't know. It is in our culture, it is so deeply ingrained in our culture and I don't know how you can overcome it.

Me: Well I don't have it and you don't have it so how do you think …. That is what I am trying to …

Thomasina: How does that happen? I don't know, er, why? Possibly because of our parents, I don't know.

Me: So do you think there are some things, that's my next question, do you feel that your upbringing had an effect on your teaching and learning of Foreign Languages?

Thomasina: No not the languages bit because neither of my parents, mum knew a bit of French but they weren't really that much into languages so I don't know. I think what influenced me the most was doing French at primary school because they did this experiment, I think I told you before, they did an experiment which they claimed failed so they stopped it. They found that …

Me: The Burstall Report?

Thomasina: Yeah. When would that be?

Me: The sixties.

Thomasina: Yeah but nobody asked my opinion and that is what got me going on languages and I have loved languages ever since so it did work for me. Let's hope it works for some of these.

Me: Erm, do you have links with the high school with regards to primary Foreign Languages?

Thomasina: To another high school. The last time I spoke, had anything to do with them they asked me for my schemes of work and I sent them to them and I tried to talk the lady since but she only works part-time because I wanted to go and have a meeting with her and try and build the links.

Me: So is this school your feeder?

Thomasina: Yeah, for here.

Me: Oh right, I thought it would have been the other one for some reason.

Thomasina: Well quite a few of them go to the other one but I think it is narrowing it's catchment area so we tend to lose some children from here in Year 6 because they want to be in definite feeder schools for the other one.

Me: Right okay. And have you been working with the Local Authority in an FL capacity?

Thomasina: I don't think there is a department there now, no. I used to work for Penny Wise at one time but the pay was so bad and there was no travelling expenses. Although she is okay I didn't like working for her.

Me: Why?

Thomasina: Erm, hhmm, do you really want me to say? She is just, well, she is quite hard to work for, she doesn't like anybody expressing their ideas and she thought she could pay us peanuts and then walk in. She said she was coming to observe me one day, so this was at School Y CE and the teachers knew all about this and they knew that I was quite nervous and they got the class quiet and everything and she didn't come and she didn't come and I got to the end of, cos we have started so early and so promptly by the time she walked in the class five minutes from the end I had run out of material because I had only just started teaching then and then she stayed for the next lesson and I took over. She didn't even watch the lesson I had prepared. She said

'excuse me' interrupted and did something completely different. I had done something similar two weeks before and, have you heard this before?

Me: No.

Thomasina: Oh she's a one. Is she a friend of yours?

Me: No she's not.

Thomasina: I do think she has done the case for languages any good, a lot of good in Castle Rock. You go to these conference things and there are quite a lot of people who are saying 'oh god, it's all in praise of Penny isn't it' and then there are some people who think she's wonderful because maybe she has helped them but the people she surrounds herself with are not the people that have lots and lots of ideas so they are people who think she is wonderful and will praise Penny.But the thing that I find the most difficult at the moment, cos we have had changes of teachers and people moving around, erm, and people have gone who were really co-operative, erm, they said it again in this. Five minutes a day and when the other head teacher was here…

Me: Oh that's a whole other story!

Thomasina: When he was here, he was very keen on French so he always supported me in the doing French at register thing and people did, most of the time and then it has gone down and down and down and Teacher Y who used to teach, who has now left,

loved French because her daughters' do French so she used to do it so she had the boys in the morning and the girls in the afternoon answering the register in the French. Cos I always leave, on the board …

Me: I've seen them, yeah. The little, every week, yeah …

Thomasina: They don't do it in Year 6 and they now don't do it in Year 5 either. They do do it in Year 4 most of the time and in Year 3 they always do it and it makes, I can tell when they have done it and when they haven't.

Me: Right.

Thomasina: Teacher X refuses … I don't know if Teacher X is a good friend of yours, she wouldn't do it when she was in Year 6, she wouldn't do it in Year 3 and it has followed her to Year 5.

Me: Why do you think that is?

Thomasina: She says she can't do French. She speaks some Welsh as well but she just won't do it. Teacher Z does it sometimes and not others and they won't, it is only a sentence [speaking French at this point] … is the one, the second one that I put up now because we are doing the simple future, je vais plus the infinitive and it can really help to support the grammar as well and I just, they won't do it so that is the negative thing at the moment.

Me: Do you think it is confidence with them or time or relevance?

Thomasina: Relevance. They can't, they don't think it is relevant maybe, I don't know. It's a shame.

Me: And rewarding?

Thomasina: Erm, oh, last year when Teacher Y was still here the present Year 6's, in Year 5 they went to High School and they came back and they asked her if they could tell me, because the teacher had said how good their French was and they had lovely accents and the teacher was just full of it and I thought 'oh, that's lovely', it's wonderful to have that feedback.

Me: That is nice because you don't often get that.

Thomasina: No, no and I only get what I get back from them but for someone else to have witnessed that and said it.

Me: Hhmm, do the parents ever say anything

Thomasina: No, no, cos I don't get to see the parents.

Me: No I don't suppose you do. And finally is there any kind of support that you would welcome and do you feel you have any CPD needs?

Thomasina: Erm, the assessment thing is something that I am working on at the moment, I could do with some help on that and that is why I went on this, because it was about the new curriculum and assessment and we are going to do more on assessment next time I think. I didn't get as much out of it on assessment as I had hoped this time so I could do with that and I don't know, other support, I need to get a partner school but apart from that, no, fine.

Me: Sorry, there was one more question, erm, if you won the lottery and you have gone off to Vegas with a young man so there is nobody about and the school needed somebody else to deliver French and he has a choice because he has got no money in his budget, he has a choice between each class teacher will have to deliver half an hour or a high school teacher or a native speaker with no primary pedagogy can come into the primary school. They have a fluency in the language but not the pedagogy and they can come in, erm, and he has asked for your opinion and you have to choose one, which one would you go for and why?

Thomasina: I would go for someone coming in.

Me: Would you, why?

Thomasina: Because it wouldn't happen. That is what a lot of the people ….

Me: No but if they had to.

Thomasina: If they had to do it. I don't know how they would keep it up, I don't think it works. I have never seen it work properly and lots of people on this were saying that it doesn't work when they do it in my class so bringing someone in is definitely the answer I'm afraid. Everybody could do it in every school for PPA like they do here because you have to do PPA so I said to the woman who was complaining about it, why don't we use it for PPA and it is because the TAs do PPA because they are cheap. So yeah.

Me: And is there anything that I've not asked you that you would like to talk about with regard to primary foreign languages?

Thomasina: Not at the moment that I can think of, I will have a think about it is that alright.

Me: Well thank you for that.

Appendix 10 Conceptual Map

Conceptual Map

understand other cultures — give skills — globalised society — go on holiday — conversations

get a job — 21st century always changing — making it real for ch

prepare them for the future — go on holiday

links to root words — links to other langs in future — links to grammar — improve l1 through l2

spanish more relevant — not abstract for real communication with foreigners — favour lang progression model looking for fluency — progression gcses ad economic workforce reasons — so many subjects to teach as a primary school teacher

inset and then skills not used again = forget — sporadic training not enough

icu — pmfl is important — worry about lang — icu — core takes precedence — not time to train — have priorities PMFL not one

take ch out for intervention during pmfl — some ch struggle too much with l1 — purpose of education doesnt match actions — worry about other subjects — all teachers except specialist had multiple roles in school — higher standard

icu important — worry that l2 learning affects l1 learning — England is closed need to be more open — multiple demands — time — more demands — new curriculum — is french best

teachers feel their beliefs comes from parents — personal philosophy / beliefs — which lang? — accountability — assessment

sats data league tables — ofsted dont measure PMFL — maths and english are core of curriculum — under pressure performance management targets not in french

would like list of words/ phrases the ch should know — not same pedagogy of skills as other subejcts — not same rhetoric of skills as expressed in beliefs — lack of knowledge about documents to help

transfer over observation assessment methods — SEN/ EYFS do view same — most generalist teachers different view of role of assessment in pmfl to other subjects — assessment confused with accountability — sats — spag — ofsted — worried about accountability — performance management

Globalisation — curious — ICU — the younger the better — more open — specialist teachers do assess — assessment confused with tests

assessment not shared with teachers/ high school well — languages ladder reported, not seen — shared in end of term reports — no common docs — no common method

confidence — YL not scared — like sponges — children — inclusive — makes it stick — way its taught is fun — pmfl pedagogy is engaging — levels playing field — some who not gd at other subjects good at pmfl

most teachers — makes ch feel intelligent — worried not good models — feel should know answers — pronunciation — parents' views if teaching not correct — mfl co ordinator — ex consultant — vulnerable

Ex consultant is running PMFL for many schools Castle Rock — provides planning — provides assessment docs & expectation — provides training — no policy at LA level visable — Sept 2014 NC Statutory — no funding to implement — schools feel ready

policy — heads stress progression & achieving potential — heads want lang progression — teachers stress icu — uncertain of school model/ aims — specialists want lang progression

specialist teacher — short lessons maximise time — large no. ch in one day — no down time — enthusiastic to promote love of lang make it fun — tired — staffing is an issue — follow up — buy in from others — no common method — removes need to learn

scared to speak in staff training — lack of knowledge — lack of pedagogy — resources — want to team teach — specialist teacher — want to obs lessons — some can cross over between primary ped and pmfl — internet

parents cant do it — less worried about pedagogy than actual language — lack of knowledge about requirement and documents — lack of language — didn't do languages at high school/ cant remember — best resource also reason for deskilling

teacher — no confidence linked to high school experience — either a 'natural' or cant do it — didnt like pedagogy — go on to Internet for lesson — lack of progressives skills planned — 'one off lessons' — different understanding than 'core' subjects — planning docs — assessment docs

SEN take part — not written — feel pressured to learn and do it

time is safe guarded it always happens — engagement in upskilling during specialist lesson — 2/3 specialist teachers not involved in rest of curriculum — 2/3 ST don't see parents — ST not seen other mfl lessons

behaviour can be diff as not class teacher — teachers like specialist teacher — feel specialist teacher is 'proper' — generalist and Heads feel secure it is being taught 'properly' — generalist happy have specialist

not always ingrated in to rest of curriculum — takes pressure off — some happy but feel it deskills them

knows the resources — know ch get good models of lang — know pronunciation is 'right' — specialist would like ch to hear other models of 'accent'

1 school does plan pmfl in to link — is the main resource — specialist would like ch to hear other models of 'accent'

want to speak a lang — regret

Appendix 11 Participants' Biographical Backgrounds

Head Teachers' Biographies

There were three head teachers who participated in the second phase of the research project. The head teachers came from varied backgrounds, with different experiences both professional and personal. It is therefore useful to present each head teacher's more general views on teaching and their relationship to PFL in their own words before moving on to their views about PFL.

Head Teacher Priory

Head Teacher Priory is the head teacher of Sakura School. She had always wanted to be a teacher from the age of four and suggests that this is because,

> "I think probably because I loved education myself. I loved primary school, secondary school, sixth form, erm, and so I decided I wanted to go into teaching. I probably was also influenced by the fact that my mum was a teacher. She enjoyed it and I sometimes went into school with her and I think I'm a people person so it seemed a natural thing for me to do." Head Teacher Priory

She used to work as a teacher in Sakura School before becoming the head teacher and furthermore she delivered PFL previously in that setting. It should be noted that she is not a language graduate; the highest level that she has studied a foreign language was an O-level in French. However, she did undertake a programme of PFL training, run by Penny Wise's Language Network. This developed her understanding of PFL pedagogy and confidence to deliver PFL in the classroom. Head Teacher Priory's confidence to deliver PFL was slightly damaged by parental feedback that she received,

> "… there was one thing that put me off [PFL]. I got one of the phrases wrong when I was teaching French and I had a parent that came in and complained about it and pulled me up on it and it was one little thing and it kind of made it, it really put me off, it made me think 'I shouldn't be doing this 'cos I don't know it well enough' and … I find it more personal with a language than if somebody had said 'that sum that you wrote there on that Maths sheet was incorrect' and I could take it and think 'oh God, I've made a mistake, I got it wrong' but I suppose it is because I wasn't 100% confident with teaching French myself because I couldn't speak it fluently that someone has pulled me up and then I thought 'ooh' and I was kind of giving it a go and doing it at a

time when you didn't have to teach Foreign Languages in primaries and I felt kind of cross about it and a bit like 'how picky of you!'." Head Teacher Priory

The reasons that she gave for volunteering to undertake this additional aspect of teaching were interesting,

> "I was at that point in my career where I was wanting to take on extra responsibility, develop new skills and kind of show that I was committed to the school at that time and they needed somebody to do it and so I offered. I had passed my O-level French and so I knew I had a basic understanding and I would quite like to have improved on that and thought this was possibly one way of doing that." Head Teacher Priory

Previously, Head Teacher Priory worked in a deprived area of Manchester which is a contrasting setting to the school that she currently works in.

> "I had quite a broad experience of different cultures when I worked in Manchester and I had children from eleven different countries in my class and I had a child who didn't speak any English at all came to us from Algeria and was an elective mute for the whole year she was in my class" Head Teacher Priory

These cultural insights within educational settings have been complemented by her time outside of school.

> "…my dad and sister had a property in Italy that I have been to about five or six times so, erm, I have got a little bit of an understanding of the Italian culture having been there on a regular basis and kind of getting to know the locals a little bit" Head Teacher Priory

When asked to describe herself, Head Teacher Priory struggled a little at first:

> "Just, erm, Christian, English, all of my family come from the Lancashire area, erm, fairly normal really, nothing particularly interesting." Head Teacher Priory

Perhaps it could be suggested that it is her wide and varied experiences of different cultures that may lead her to describe herself as 'nothing particularly interesting' with her misappropriating the term 'interesting' to mean 'specific'.

Head Teacher Rothschild

Head Teacher Rothschild is the head teacher of Forest School. He completed his first degree in geography and then worked for a year as a Teaching Assistant. Having enjoyed the experience, he gained work experience with the social care aspect which convinced him to return to university to undertake a PGCE in primary education. When asked why he decided to become a head teacher, he explained that he had become:

> "…sick and tired of sitting in meetings, wasting time, well, no, I've always been somebody who enjoys being in charge of what I do. When I was in my classroom I hated being monitored. I had a clear vision of what I wanted to achieve with the children and I knew what I was doing. I found I really enjoyed working with other teachers, young teachers as well, helping them develop as well and then I did get to the point where I thought actually I want to try myself to see whether I can lead a school forward and make a difference. Because even when you are a Deputy, you still haven't got that final decision. You still have to sit in meetings and think 'I disagree with this; it's wrong but I have to toe the party line'. Here, you know, I run a school that there's a lot of consultation but I have a clear idea of where I am going and a clear vision and you know, by and large it has worked and I really enjoy it." Head Teacher Rothschild

This sense of clear vision, of being confident in the direction that the school should take, with regard to PFL and all subjects, and then executing this plan came across strongly. However, while Head Teacher Rothschild could be described as possessing a drive and determination for change and improvement, he was only too aware of the challenges and constraints that his workforce faces. It could therefore be suggested that this leadership provided by the head is strong and clear but moderated by reality, empathy and understanding.

Head Teacher Rothschild has studied A-level German and thus describes himself as feeling,

> "…quite comfortable teaching, as I say, German, erm, but I think I would feel quite uncomfortable… with the French or a language like Spanish which I have had very little to do with at all and I remember in my old school we used to have like short sessions of training on a language. But to me, it's not good enough because you can't just learn a language for 20 minutes here or a twilight here and there. In a way, you need to go away; it takes years to learn a language…" Head Teacher Rothschild

> "I have had token stuff [CPD], yeah, you know, I have had stuff that has been put on by my, particularly in my last school, particularly but nothing that is really enough to make a difference to my standards. You can't do something for a day or a few twilights and expect suddenly to make a really long lasting difference to your skills level, it takes years." Head Teacher Rothschild

Again, like Head Teacher Priory, it would appear that taking part in training and the delivery of PFL as a classroom teacher has enabled these head teachers to develop an understanding of the challenges facing generalist teachers, but also a sense of empathy for the teachers within their school, with regards to PFL, as they fully understand the role having experienced it first hand for themselves.

It was interesting that Head Teacher Rothschild talked about the transferable benefits of learning Latin and how this can augment first language grammar,

> "I learnt a lot from learning Latin and I learnt Latin when I was at school and I learnt German and being able to learn how another language works and how that links to the grammar of your own, then that is very important…" Head Teacher Rothschild

Head Teacher Rothschild described himself 'White British' and as well travelled and credits where he originally lived, before moving to Castle Rock, as developing his sense of culture,

> "I've travelled quite extensively in Europe, America, South Africa, China…. I grew up in Oxford which is a fairly multi-cultural in some ways, more multi-cultural than round here erm, so yes I've had some exposure there to kind of a more multi-cultural society than here, yeah, through films, theatre, job, you know, seeing things from different cultures and that wide kind of variety of experiences." Head Teacher Rothschild

However, it was when he was asked about his background and how he would describe himself that it was perhaps more easily visible how his own personal biography experiences have contributed to his leadership style at Forest School:

> "…my parents are both very educated, they both went to university. They have always stressed the importance of, you know, achieving and I think that a lot of my philosophy would come from them, you know, in terms of it is not good enough just to enjoy something, you have got to learn, you have got to move yourself forward. If you want to go to the top universities, you have got to have that ambition and you have got to work hard for it. We had a very, erm, open family in the sense that you could say anything and get shouted down if it wasn't worth listening to and, you know, my parents were very much a case of letting us be ourselves but at the same time if we said something that was racist or untoward, they would be very clear about you having crossed a boundary but a very open place, which is what I like. That is how I run the school. People need to be able to state their opinions and people can also disagree but, yeah, my parents always encouraged me to try different things. We travelled, erm, lots of books in the home, we have always been a reading family so I think you learn

a lot from reading a variety of literature and, you know, both, well my dad, not so much my mum, was a reader and when we go on holiday we always immerse ourselves in books." Head Teacher Rothschild

Head Teacher Seymour

The remaining head teacher to consider is Head Teacher Seymour. He was also a class teacher and deputy head teacher at New Falls before becoming head teacher. After studying for a joint honours degree in Ancient Latin and Greek, Head Teacher Seymour went to Portugal,

"…to work at a university …to teach linguistics and while I was out there I got the opportunity to teach in a language school for children for some extra money and I taught the young children out there and, from then on, I decided that I wanted to become a primary school teacher." Head Teacher Seymour

Head Teacher Seymour also made reference to ancient languages and his own experiences of learning these linked to:

"Latin and Ancient Greek…that's what I did at university and that's what I did at school. I just found that that was invaluable because I was able to go to different countries and I was able, not even knowing that language, but to start off, engaging in conversation and reading newspapers and reading books and picking up the language because I had learnt Latin and the structures of it. Ancient Greek as well perhaps not as much so, but Latin definitely having looked at the majority of Southern European languages are Latin based anyway so if you can pick up Latin for me, because of the structure, the grammar, it is going to help you with all other languages, your Spanish and your Italian specifically."

While there were only three case study head teachers who were interviewed for this research and therefore no conclusions or 'rules' can therefore be drawn, it is notable that those head teachers who have studied an ancient language have found it to be valuable in understanding their native language but also in terms of a base to learn other languages.

While Head Teacher Seymour was confident in PFL pedagogy and in ancient languages, he was not as confident in speaking French, which is the taught language at New Falls. However, he realised the power of modelling desired behaviour and the motivational properties of wanting to communicate and compared this to other curriculum subjects,

"I speak French, very badly, in our assembly but I will have a go and all those kids try and speak that French to me. That is the difference because they see somebody else using the language and them communicating with me in that language and so when I am in the corridor they run up to me and try and have a conversation and this [to other subjects] is different. You are not going to have children run up to, I would say, it might be science or Maths and go 'oh I can do this problem now' or 'I know I can solve this' you know, that's great but they come up and they try and talk to you but it is different. It is, to them, it is not a subject, it is part of communication and that is the difference and when you teach Foreign Languages properly to children of an early age, it becomes a mechanism for communication and not something which they have to learn and not a different subject or a discrete subject." Head Teacher Seymour

Head Teacher Seymour discussed with passion being able to communicate in the target language. He viewed this as important for providing children with and a set of future skills which they will find useful. This is borne out of his own personal experiences of having studied ancient languages. Perhaps it was his cultural experiences which have provided him with this desire for foreign language communication and given him the confidence to speak French in assemblies,

"Abroad I have been immersed in the culture for, you know, a lot of years. If you can go down to the water board and have an argument over a water bill or if you are in a pub and it is two, three o'clock in the morning and you can have an argument with a bloke over payment or you have knocked my beer. I think that is enough of the culture to know all about it, so I was able to live in Portugal. I wasn't fluent in Portuguese but I was able to live there and I could read everything, not a problem. In this country, the only time I have actually immersed myself and had a look at different cultures would be obviously as a head teacher with all the different cultures within the school and the parents from all around the world but I have also run international summer schools in London, you know, for Italians, Russians, Ukrainians, French, Spanish and worked them and spent 4-6 weeks running summer schools there and getting to know the teachers and the kids so there is that way but more as a teacher and a head teacher it is dealing with all the different cultures here." Head Teacher Seymour

Specialist Teachers' Biographies

There were three specialist teachers who had all undertaken the same PGCE PFL Specialism Degree at two different ITE providers. Christine and Thomasina were employed by their schools to deliver PFL across the Key Stage 2, while Andrea was employed by the Penny Wise Network as a specialist PFL teacher who visits different primary schools.

Christine Chambers

Christine Chambers worked at Sakura School. She had her own job-share Year 2 class with another colleague and, on every Thursday, she delivered French to all of the classes individually in Key Stage 2. In this way, Christine was both a specialist and a generalist class teacher. She was involved in the daily management and organisation, attended staff meetings and was subject to the same curriculum changes in content and accountability. Christine was acutely aware of data scrutiny as her home class is Year 2, the first primary year group that undertake SATs.

As part of Christine's undergraduate degree, she spent time living in both France and Germany. Perhaps it was this experience, which while as she explained may not have influenced her French linguistic ability, has developed her confidence in foreign language situations, and contributed to her confidence teaching German.

> "I speak the language [French] so, you know, it is easier for me and I am confident …I do love languages." Christine

However, due to transition arrangements in place before 2010, the language taught in the school is French.

> "Well, I had to live when I did my degree in French and German. I spent five months in France and five months in Germany… I mean, it was a great experience, yeah, I mean in terms, in France for example I didn't actually, in terms of developing the language, 'cos people say to me 'oh you know, you must be completely fluent if you have got a degree' and in France but I lived with a bunch of English girls… Germany was a bit [different], I was a bit more immersed and French was always my preferred language but after living abroad I became much more confident with German and German became my preferred language." Christine

Christine did not learn a foreign language in the primary school, but commenced her language learning in secondary school.

> "…and I just, straight away, you know, I seemed to pick them up and it was just French initially, I just seemed to pick it up, did really well, got lots of praise from the teacher and was told that I was really good at it and I had a bit of a natural flair for it…I really don't know [why a natural flair] 'cos there is no-one else in the family who, you know, who is a linguist I really don't know but I always more arty. you know. I was always better at English and art and things like that, the arty subjects so I don't know… I definitely had a flair for languages, you know, 'cos I do think definitely some people,

you know, pick them up quicker than other people but I did just, I just loved learning French." Christine

This self-identified natural flair coupled with positive learning experiences was a theme which occurred for other specialist teachers in the research. Christine explained how she became a teacher. When she told this story, it was told with humour and with what I perceived to be a sense of security in having done the 'right thing',

> "… well, teaching was always something I said I didn't want to do. I always said that I don't know what I want to do, but I know what I don't want to do and that's teach but here I am… so I finished my degree. I had a degree in French and German and didn't want to live abroad and didn't really know what I wanted to do so I worked in a few call centres using the languages but it just wasn't for me. I hated it and then I saw an advertisement for a primary PGCE with a language so I went for it and the first year I went for it, I didn't even have any experience in a school and they said 'look', they interviewed me and said 'we think you'd be really good at it but get some experience' and then so I did. I went and got some experience and thought 'well, actually yeah, I think, you know, this is what I want to do' and the next year I reapplied, got in and here I am." Christine

The decision to become a teacher for Christine was not one which was entered into lightly, nor one which she was unaware of the realities of the profession, as her mother was a teacher. However, perhaps one of the reasons why Christine felt she did not want to be a teacher was that she felt there was no job role for a languages specialist in primary school and did not want to teach in secondary school,

> "… my mum was a teacher as I say teaching was always something, it was never something that I wanted to do but I think with languages I always thought, 'cos languages like didn't used to be taught in primary schools at all did they and I think I always thought if I was going to go into teaching it would be secondary and I never fancied that at all." Christine

The Primary PGCE with a languages specialism provided Christine with a career pathway that if it had not been available she would perhaps not have entered into teaching. Since 2010 and the changes to ITE, the number of providers nationally offering an undergraduate route into primary school teaching with a languages specialism has been reduced to two providers. The number of PGCE routes with a MLF specialism has also reduced. Currently, there are 12 routes across England that are provided by universities, one which is provided by a School

Centred Initial Teacher Training (SCITT) and seven routes through the School Direct programme, although it should be noted that, of these seven, there are actually only three accreditors. This means that the availability of training routes to become a primary specialist languages teacher have declined at the same time that PFL has become statutory for the first time. McLachlan summarised the issue of a lack of training models and providers, "many schools will not be able to recruit adequately trained and qualified staff, because there simply will not be enough [teachers] to go round" (2009: 198).

Christine considers her upbringing to have not been particularly multi-cultural or exposed her to different cultures,

> "To be honest, growing up, I hadn't really had much exposure to different cultures. It was very much, you know, the schools that I went to were, you know, 95% white British kids" Christine

However, she described herself as being naturally curious and this is perhaps a key attitude for students of language and culture. Being curious is part of the composition of '*savoir apprendre/faire'* (Byram, 1997). He described this 'savoir' as the "ability to acquire new knowledge of a culture and cultural practices" (Byram, 1997:13). Christine credited a school trip taken in secondary school as well as this natural personality trait as the catalyst for a passion to learn about others and their cultures,

> *"*Well, I didn't go abroad. The first time I went abroad was when I went on the German exchange when I was in high school… I think I've always been a curious person, even as a kid I was known for asking loads of questions all the time and annoying everyone so yeah….I just think it's such a gift, I think being able to speak another language, it fascinates me that there are, you know, people communicate, there are all these different languages in the world and, you know, wanting, yeah, wanting to understand what other people are saying." Christine

Christine also lived in France as part of her undergraduate degree and taught in France as part of her PGCE. She enjoyed very much comparing and contrasting practice in English and French primary schools in her language lessons with the children. Driscoll et al. (2004) noted this as a characteristic of effective PFL teaching. However, as it is Christine who was delivering

these cultural anecdotes (Driscoll, 2000)m rather than engaging the children in reflective consideration themselvesm it may not be as effective as first glance suggests. While there are no clear explanations for thism there are two possible suggestions. The first is that the training relating to ICU that Christine experienced while studying for her primary PGCE with languages specialism was perhaps lacking or not explicit about how ICU could be taught. The second idea could relate to her teaching from the planning units that she received from the Penny Wise Network, rather than planning her own units, linked to the wider curriculum with the Key Stage 2 Languages Framework (DfES, 2005) as the base.

Andrea Dufresne

Andrea Dufresne works at New Forest School once a week, where she taught all the children in the primary school from the reception class through to the year six class. This is unusual in that foreign languages are only statutory for Key Stage Two children and so, in this way, it could be considered that the school was providing more than the baseline National Curriculum requirements. Andrea was employed at the school through the Penny Wise Network. This meant that she had access to a scheme of work, some resources and planning which were provided by the network. It also meant that she was accountable to the head teacher as well as Penny Wise.

Andrea described becoming a teacher as a natural progression:

> "'Cos I love children and I love that feeling of passing on knowledge to them. It is very rewarding and, yeah, I just really enjoy it. It is a very rewarding job and a great audience that you get to work with."

As part of her undergraduate degree, studying French and Spanish, Andrea studied abroad. It was this experience that made her intrinsically motivated to continue and, furthermore, had become, as her friends and family watch her speaking a foreign language, part of her identity, a part that she was proud of.

> "I suppose, like, just the study of it and then actually being abroad, it kind gave me a bug then and after my year abroad that was it. Like being, actually being over there

and being a part of it was almost, it was addictive and just being aware of it, it made me want to carry on… I suppose because I felt like 'oh, this is something I'm good at and that I can actually do' so I kind of latched on to it, initially, because of that but since then it is my thirst for knowledge of other languages. And knowing how useful they are, especially when you are on holiday and how good it makes you feel when you can actually use it and go over to the country and actually use a language is, yeah, it just feels amazing. People that I know that don't use languages and who I would go on holiday with and they would see me speaking and they were just in awe of me and I would think like gosh, I don't find it that hard and I don't feel it is that much of an achievement but then the way they see it is that is absolutely incredible and so that feeling that you get from it is amazing and it just makes me want to carry on with it all the time. It just makes me really passionate about languages." Andrea

Andrea described identity as feeling English with a passion for European culture.

"…that sounds awful, doesn't it, but I don't know, maybe it is because we are an island and we don't feel attached to the rest of Europe but I feel very English but very open to other cultures as well like so I wouldn't say I felt, I know it sounds awful but I don't feel European. I feel British but I have a thirst for the European culture and I have a passion for it and a passion to be more aware of it and to experience it so yeah I would say it wasn't really part of my upbringing it was just something I latched on to."

Similarly to Christine, Andrea felt that there was nothing 'special' in her upbringing that would have resulted in her feeling motivated to learn a foreign language and about their culture.

"I think it was just me [interested in languages], like my mum and dad don't know languages, like my brother doesn't either really and my grandparents before them didn't and they were thoroughly British and I would say I'm a little bit more open to like the European aspect and that I have more of passion for it than the rest of my family." Andrea

Andrea felt she had an in-built preference for language perhaps coupled with a natural curiosity.

"I don't think I've had exposure to it [different cultures] very much over here in the UK but, yeah, obviously when I was abroad I have had that exposure to it and did quite a bit of travelling when I was in France so I got to see quite a few different places and got to appreciate how France is different but not so different to us …think it was more the fact that I started it when I was 11 and I realised it was something I could do and realised it was something I enjoyed and so I just kept it up really and then really enjoyed my time spent in France and an awareness of the culture. But I would say that I have probably built up my knowledge of the country through research here as well as actually being there and a friend of mine is actually French as well so I have quite a bit of knowledge from here as well so yeah, I suppose that is exposure to it over here then isn't it? 'Cos my friend is English but she is half French as well so obviously that is kind of exposure to it over here." Andrea

Andrea went on to show how her passion that she described above translated into actual time spent working and studying abroad in a foreign culture by undertaking a languages undergraduate degree.

> "I lived in Limoges for five months which is famous for pottery, which is not great when you are 21! So, yes, I lived in Limoges for five months and I studied at the university there. I also lived in Alencon in Normandy and taught in a school there."

Andrea credited these experiences with how she regarded teaching ICU. She showed an understanding of the place of ICU within foreign language learning, and discussed that it is important that not only the 'facts' about a country are taught to the children in her classes. She outlined that she considered it to be the role of teaching ICU to young children to develop understanding of themselves and others; this is important for effective languages teaching (Driscoll et al., 2004).

> "…inter-cultural understanding…is really important that they understand not just the language and it is not just words being blurted out of them and they are regurgitating them, it is about the culture as well and knowing where the language comes from, finding it on a map, being familiar with cities in that country and what is there. And how they are different and how they are similar and appreciating differences and similarities in cultures is really important from a PSHE perspective so it is linking into other subjects as well." Andrea

However, from the observations that were undertaken, this effective ICU (Driscoll et al., 2004) was not seen in practice. This is not to conclude that did not take place as perhaps it occurred outside the period of time that Andrea was observed. It is a consideration perhaps that Andrea was referencing her own practice when she was a generalist teacher with a PFL specialism, which would permit more exploration of ICU through the wider curriculum, such as PSHE as she referenced.

Thomasina Cullen

Thomasina Cullen worked at New Falls Primary school as a PFL specialist teacher. Prior to Thomasina taking on this role, the position was held by Teacher Z, for a number of years until she relocated to France. The position was advertised on the unqualified teacher pay scale,

although Thomasina was a qualified primary school teacher with a PGCE French Specialism qualification as well. Again Thomasina possessed a solid teacher PFL knowledge base (Driscoll et al. 2004) but as she taught so many children throughout the week, her knowledge of the children as individuals and their specific learner profile was not as strong as it may have been if she were a class teacher.

Thomasina, prior to becoming a teacher, had a successful career in business.

> "Well, when I went to Germany, I was a tri-lingual secretary but mainly doing… the spare parts for a plant in Iran. That was before the Shah left, so it is a long time ago and then that fell apart because the Shah left and we had to stock it all and then nothing happened with it. Loads of people lost loads of money because the Shah had to leave but it was because we were buying from it. It was a consulting engineering company and they were buying from English, French and German companies so they needed people who spoke languages. Then after that [I worked] in France, it was a company exporting to China and they were exporting goods on behalf of German, French and English companies so again, it was sort of clerk type work and translating and bilingual stuff." Thomasina

It was the birth of her children that made her want to retrain,

> "I used to be an export manager and then I retrained in 2001 because I thought I had always wanted to teach and I wanted to do something that would fit more around my children." Thomasina

As revealed in the most recent DfE (2014) study into the hours worked by primary school teachers, with the average being approximately 60 hours per week, a career in teaching is demanding time-wise. However, much of this work is undertaken in the evenings and weekends (DfE, 2014a), enabling parents to be present in the house in the role of child carer whilst also working. The role of a primary school teacher also permits parents the same, if not similar, patterns of non-term time, even though the teacher may still be working from home, other child care arrangements do not need to be found. Thomasina expanded on this idea with personal illustrations.

> "France, Germany, Scandinavia, Italy - I used to travel a lot… once I got married and then especially when I started having children, I just couldn't do that anymore so I stopped work completely for a while and then this was something, I did a few other things including stuff with languages like organising conferences and doing a lot of phoning because I am quite good on the phone, in sales. It was always sales but I had always wanted to do some sort of teaching and being able to use languages as well.

Because they brought out the course didn't they, I went to ITE X and it was the first year of the course with Foreign Languages so they were desperate for people." Thomasina

The course that Thomasina referred to is also a PGCE with a French Specialism, identical to the qualification that both Christine and Andrea undertook. This course used to have funding until 2010 when it ceased, resulting in many of the programmes closing. A key feature of the programme was a four-week placement abroad in the target language country. McLachlan (2009) reflected on this placement for two reasons. The first being that perhaps foreign language graduates are probably in less need of being sent to work abroad than other teachers with lower level foreign language qualifications. The second is that not everyone has the flexibility to be away from their home lives for a month and that this feature could have prevented some language graduates from applying for the course, exacerbating the staffing shortage. However, perhaps the aim of the placement should not be viewed as linguistic in nature but rather one of developing confidence, Ofsted (2008b:4) noted that "trainees gain significantly in confidence as a result of their experiences abroad." While it was difficult for Thomasina to participate in the practicum abroad, this did not alter her desire to teach.

"Yes, I did. They made me go abroad for four weeks and the children were tiny. I've never cried so much and the guinea pig died whilst I was away, that was just awful." Thomasina

Thomasina explained that it was her husband that took care of the home while she was away, and she discussed how he was supportive. However, it does raise issues of an engendered workforce. The practicum abroad that Thomasina participated in has now ceased, however even a tradition PGCE can be incredibly demanding and place limitations for language graduate single parent families and women in heterosexual pairings (Sofer and Rizavi, 2008) wishing to train as a PFL specialist teacher. The experience of being a parent and raising children as well time living in a contrasting culture influenced Thomasina and her ideas on education, and who she was as a teacher, in particular as a teacher of PFL.

"I think, at the moment, the way things are now, we try to stuff too much knowledge into children and I think primary school education should be about enjoying yourself and exploring life and exploring who you are and learning about the world. I don't think it should be all Maths and Literacy and exactly how you spell things. A lot of stuff that was in high school is now taught in primary school and I really don't think that is the way it should be because I think we should let the children be children and that we start school too early and I was worried about one of my children when I was in France and I spoke to a speech and language therapist there and, er, 'cos I was really worried about one of the twins and she said 'how old is he?' and when I said six she thought I was mad. But he was having difficulty at school at the time and he was falling way behind and his teachers were worried about him so I was worried about him as well but and I think the trouble with education generally is that children grow up at different rates. There is no standard child." Thomasina

Thomasina had been influenced by learning French in the primary school herself.

"I started learning languages at primary school and I was absolutely enthralled with French and I remember being on holiday and getting my mum to teach me some more, some higher up numbers." Thomasina

With regards to teaching the language, she credited this early experience as giving her confidence to deliver PFL in the primary school as she appreciated this experience. This personal experience fed into her own 'personal construct' of PFL teaching (Banks, Leach and Moon, 1999) and she noted a distinction between 'pedagogical subject knowledge' and 'subject content knowledge' (Shulman, 1986). Due to her background, she seemed to find the language side easier to the pedagogical aspects of PFL,

"I love teaching Foreign Languages because it is quite easy, the French side of it is easy, the difficult bit is getting it across to them and keeping their interest at primary level. Probably this isn't a typical view because most people are scared stiff of languages but I wouldn't be because I have lived there and been doing languages since I was nine or whatever, no younger than that." Thomasina

Before Thomasina worked at New Falls Primary School, she was employed by the Penny Wise Network, like Andrea, delivering languages around different schools in the Castle Rock area. While Andrea enjoyed working for the Penny Wise Network and described the collaboration between member of the network, Thomasina illuminated a different perspective,

"I used to work for Penny Wise at one time, but the pay was so bad and there was no travelling expenses. Although she is okay I didn't like working for her… She is just,

well, she is quite hard to work for. She doesn't like anybody expressing their ideas and she thought she could pay us peanuts and then walk in. She said she was coming to observe me one day. So this was at Cashmere CE Primary School and the teachers knew all about this and they knew that I was quite nervous and they got the class quiet and everything and she didn't come and she didn't come and I got to the end of, 'cos we have started so promptly, and so by the time she walked in the class five minutes from the end I had run out of material because I had only just started teaching then and then she stayed for the next lesson and took over. She didn't even watch the lesson I had prepared. She said 'excuse me', interrupted and did something completely different." Thomasina

It was these experiences being employed as part of the Penny Wise Network that led to Thomasina applying for a non-qualified teacher position at New Falls Primary. As Thomasina had a successful career in business before she entered teaching, this could be perhaps a suggested reason as to why she found working with Penny a little different to the other two specialist teachers. Thomasina respected Penny and her work, however she did raise some interesting ideas about how the network operated, and how teacher autonomy and professional decision-making was received. It may be that after many years of leading Castle Rock LA that Penny Wise is confident that her approach is acceptable and thus despite Thomasina being qualified and thus had 'pedagogical subject knowledge' and 'subject content knowledge' (Shulman, 1986), she was not deemed as 'experienced' as Penny Wise in this area.

"I do think she has done the case for languages any good, a lot of good in Castle Rock. You go to these conference things and there are quite a lot of people who are saying 'oh God, it's all in praise of Penny, isn't it' and then there are some people who think she's wonderful because maybe she has helped them but the people she surrounds herself with are not the people that have lots and lots of ideas so they are people who think she is wonderful and will praise Penny." Thomasina

Perhaps had Thomasina worked for Penny Wise for longer such as Andrea may be she would have experienced a more collegial and collaborative working environment.

Thomasina had travelled extensively. She resided in Germany for three years and also in France for a further three years. She credited this for developing her cultural and linguistical

knowledge. Thomasina described her identity as being British but did go on to add further description,

> "I feel British but much more open to Europe and the outside world than most Brits...it is just some people have such small town ideas in Britain don't they?…I don't know why, is it because we are an island, I don't know. I really don't know. It is in our culture, it is so deeply ingrained in our culture and I don't know how you can overcome it….How does that happen? I don't know, er, why? Possibly because of our parents, I don't know." Thomasina

However, when Thomasina was asked about her upbringing and its effect on her teaching and learning of a foreign language, she explained that she felt it was more the experience of learning French at primary school that had inspired her.

> "No, not the languages bit because neither of my parents, Mum knew a bit of French but they weren't really that much into languages so I don't know. I think what influenced me the most was doing French at primary school because they did this experiment. I think I told you before, they did an experiment which they claimed failed so they stopped it… but nobody asked my opinion and that is what got me going on languages and I have loved languages ever since so it did work for me. Let's hope it works for some of these" Thomasina

This is a thought-provoking point to consider given the absence of any studies into PFL in England, whether introducing young children to PFL has a lasting impact on their long term commitment to foreign languages. Or whether perhaps these children and adults who enjoy foreign languages throughout their lives would have always embarked on PFL study commenced that same journey regardless of when they were introduced to PFL. The Burstall Report (1974) did follow and chart the attainment progression of children in the study while they were in secondary school, and no significant attainment progress was documented for this group. However, subsequent follow-ups, in their later life, were never made, making it impossible to determine.

Generalist Teachers' Biographies

There were 21 generalist teachers who participated in this study. Initially, this study was concerned with trying to ascertain if teachers with shared experiences also held similar views about PFL. However, there appeared to be no correlation between biographies and perceptions. Nevertheless, by presenting the 21 generalist teachers as individuals rather than 'en masse' it is felt that the reader will obtain a more rounded view of the participants.

School	Teacher	Responsibilities	Becoming a teacher	Teaching PFL and Confidence	Cultural Insights	Upbringing	Other
New Falls	A	Deputy Head Responsibility for English and Maths across the school	Completed UG QTS Primary route. Took a career break and travelled the world. Set up own business and then returned to teaching as missed camaraderie.	Has taught it in the past, was unconfident and would avoid teaching it now.	Has travelled the world but the countries she visited she described as mainly speaking English but worked in very multicultural school in London	Family did not speak foreign languages but did holiday in France	

C	FS Teacher FS Leader Senior child protection officer	Completed UG QTS Primary route in Wales	Does teach basic French in FS such as numbers when reorienting the board. Enjoyed Spanish at school more than French but had same teacher for each	Living in Wales had experience of dual language. Participated in two exchanges, to Canada and Chez Republic when a child.	Liberal upbringing with no expectations apart from to do your best and be happy.	
D	Yr 1 teacher Subject Leader for Phonics	Lifelong dream to be a teacher but considered self 'not clever enough'. Did not get high enough A-level grades for	Did not enjoy French at school, treated Welsh lessons as a 'mess around lesson' and then struggled with Spanish at night school. Does, however, teach basics to children in year 1 but worries about pronunciation	Living in Wales had experience of dual language but was a monoculture area. Worked in Spain in a bar for a summer. Lots of links to Jewish community and participates in culture and customs with her	Mum and dad open to new ideas and places; her dad worked in Saudi Arabia and her grandparents lived in Spain, so time spent there as a child.	Hated school. Does not enjoy reading, prefers to go from experience. Treated foreign languages lessons

	and Geography hy	UG Teaching Degree. Did another degree and then applied for a PGCE. Was declined first time for PGCE so worked as a TA for a year and re-applied.		friends. "I am always fascinated about different things and different places but I studied sociology as well, sociology and geography. I was interested in other countries, not necessarily in language but in other people and why they do things and where they live and what is different and what is the same"		as 'mess around lessons'.
E	Yr 1 teacher SENCO	Mother was a teacher and was inspired to be a teacher.	Does. However. teach basics to children in year 1 but worries about if she had to teach it in Key Stage 2. Has a French GCSE	Often holidays in Austria	Parents took her on holiday and encouraged her to speak the languages. Mum and dad do not speak a second language, but her mum will 'have a go' when abroad. Education was always very valued.	Believes intercultural understanding to be the most important part of PFL. Has a friend that studied

	Was KS1 Leader last year					German at degree level and regrets not pursuing this herself.
F	Yr 2 teacher Subject Leader for PE And School Sport.	Completed her three-year BA degree plus 2 years for QTS in teacher training in her native home of New Zealand. Followed her husband to America and then Scotland and then Castle Rock.	Taught bilingually in New Zealand and is very confident and is aware of different curriculum delivery models. French just like any other subject for her. Has an A-level in German.	Working with South Pacific cultures in New Zealand. Working with South Asian children and communities outside of New Zealand.	Learning about other cultures and speaking other languages was part of her upbringing and is described as being natural.	

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G	Yr 4 class teacher Subject Leader for Literacy	Worked as a TA and then progressed to HLTA. Completed a day release programme from work to complete a BA (Hons) degree. Then completed the graduate teacher programme.	Studied for O-level in French but did not pass. Did not like the teacher nor being asked to speak in front of others. Is not confident in own ability to deliver any French now Is open to the idea if she was given time to upskill herself in-depth.	Her daughter lives abroad in Verona, Italy, but living abroad is Teacher G's "worst nightmare" because "you would have to speak the language."		Is scared of speaking a foreign language possibly due to experiences at secondary school.
H	Yr 5 class teacher	Teacher H's mother was a teacher which 'put her off teaching'. So she	Has a grade D GCSE in Welsh but does not consider this to be a foreign language as she identifies as Welsh. She dropped French and German as GCSE options and as a	Her husband used to live in Spain and so she travelled out there most weekends. He now works in England but travels for	Used to travel abroad with family. Identifies strongly with being Welsh and feeling patriotic.	Feels many people have a 'stigma' about learning languages from their own

| | | Subject Leader for Science

Child Protection Officer | completed a BA (hons) psychology degree and then worked in a bank for several years. She found working in the bank boring and so completed a two-year Key Stage 2/3 PGCE. | result feels that she is not very good at either. | work to France, Germany and America amongst other places. | | experiences at school. Foreign language lessons seen as a mess around. Did not see languages as important but now very much regrets not being able to speak a foreign language. |
| I | Yr 6 teacher

Upper Key | Always wanted to be a teacher but completed BA (Hons) geography as a career fall- | Does not feel confident to deliver quality PFL. Did not study languages past Year 9 as she did not enjoy them. The German teacher's style was very 'Victorian' | Her husband travelled widely and since meeting him has gone on to travel with him. Has many different multicultural friends and | Teacher I described her parents as being very liberal and tolerant of others, believing in equality. | Regrets not learning a foreign language when younger |

		Stage 2 Leader TLR for Maths	back, but then after graduating completed a PGCE straight away.	and the French teacher was 'not enthusiastic'.	friends that have lived and worked abroad.		
Forest School	J	Receptio n teacher FL Co ordinator Early Years Co- ordinator	Always wanted to be a teacher but completed a BA (Hons) English Language and Literature as a career fallback. Tried various jobs but then completed a	Teacher J has always loved languages. She did French and German to GCSE and then later completed Spanish to GCSE and then to A-level standard in 2 years. Would have studied Spanish at University but considers herself to be a 'home bird' and so felt that Leeds was far enough.	As part of 2x British Council development course went to our link school in Bagnol-sur-Mer and spent a week actually in the school and on a course in Antibes at a language learning college as a student.	Feels that her mum and her Auntie Polly(who was a French and German teacher at High School) had a large impact. Her mum loved French so they would go on holidays to France and her mum would interact and speak.	Thinks to teach PFL you have to be confident. Acknowledges that it is " different for [her] in Reception because it is basic words and phrases but [she] know as you progress higher up the

	Schools Council Co-ordinator	PGCE with Early Years Specialism.				school, especially in Year 6 it can become a lot more detailed for someone who hasn't got the basic understanding"
K	Yr. 1 teacher P.E co ordinator	Always wanted to be a teacher but completed a BA (Hons) Biology and Geography and then completed a PGCE afterwards.	Has planned a couple of lessons during PGCE. Completed a GCSE French and got a B and yet stated "I can't speak French for toffee" and stated that she "would run a mile" if asked to teach a French lesson.	Teacher K has taught Polish children in the school. Enjoys going on foreign holidays.	Teacher K's grandma was Greek and her granddad's granddad was Italian.	

| L | Deputy head Yr. 2 teacher Curriculum and Curriculum Development Co-ordinator Reading and Writing | Always wanted to be a teacher, as she had been interested in science and the teaching of it but after A-levels went into health work. Volunteered in schools with her own children and then applied for a PGCE as a mature student. | Loves teaching French and speaking French at school. Always has since being a child. Enjoys using the language abroad Has an O-level in French | Teacher L enjoys the authenticity of cultures. She enjoys communication and conversation with local residents. She feels that learning about culture is about "opening yourself up." | Teacher L feels that her upbringing has no bearing on her feelings to PFL, but does feel that he schooling has had an effect, especially school trips. | |

			Co-ordinator		
N	Yr. 2 Teacher 'Numbers Count Teacher Maths and Art Co-ordinator	Completed UG QTS Primary route.	Teacher N completed GCSE French, Grade B "which is okay but the only reason I took it is because it was sold to us that everybody will have it in the future and, if you don't have it, you will be at a disadvantage when it comes to getting a job so that is the only reason and it is the one I had to work the hardest at because I hated it." Teacher N did not like the teacher nor the subject. However, she would be willing to teach PFL even though she thinks this would be hard.	Teacher N went to university in Bradford which she described as exposing her to many different cultures. She described this as "quite a shock "at first as the first school she taught in had "so many teaching assistants to help with the languages within one classroom there was Urdu, Punjabi…a lot of the children only actually spoke English in school." That was her first experience of people who speak different languages. She now lives in a white British mono-	Teacher N never went abroad as a child but her mother used to speak to her about learning French because she loved learning French at school, but never went abroad.	"I have not really seen a purpose for learning French as I have grown up."

				cultural area. When Teacher N goes abroad, she feels "so embarrassed to even try and speak the language and say hello and thank you".		
O	Yr 3 teacher Geograp hy and Library Co- ordinator	Teacher O worked in a school from 18 years old as a Teaching Assistant for several years then completed a Foundation degree. The she completed a UG	Teacher O is confident to teach PFL in her year group and to the infants. She feels she has been upskilled by watching the specialist. But would worry about teaching Key Stage 2 in case she "gets it wrong". Has a GCSE grade C in French.	Teacher O described herself as being a 'Forester' in that she was born, lives and works in the same area around Forest School which is a white British mono-cultural area. She worked in a school previously, on a placement, which was very diverse, and she very much enjoyed this aspect of her teaching. She participated in an exchange to South Africa where	Did not go on foreign holidays with family and stated "my mum and dad didn't encourage languages or anything like that. If I'm honest, I don't they perceived it as worthwhile". But she really enjoyed secondary school languages, even though she found it difficult "I really enjoyed it and I weren't particularly good at it but, yeah, I	

		QTS BA (hons) route.		she had to teach; she describes this as an amazing experience.	didn't mind. I liked it, I enjoyed it."	
P	Yr. 4 teacher Inclusion Co-ordinator	Wanted to be a Secondary history teacher and so completed BA (Hons) History degree. History teacher jobs were difficult to find and so took a job as an accountant to consider what to do and then decided to do a	Teacher P would be happy to teach it and thinks that this is a typical view for most primary school teachers. Teacher P has O-levels in French and German.	Andrea worked in Oldham with a variety of different children from a variety of different cultures; some children had no English ability at all when they started school. She really liked the children and really enjoyed the experience. She enjoys taking holidays abroad.		"I am reasonably confident. I can teach them at this level, that's fine so, you know, it is just nice to have a structure and a progression and then you can see that, you know, that they are moving on whereas if I was sort of to move

| | | two-year Primary PGCE. | | | schools and say 'right, you're in Year 5 now and you are teaching Spanish' I'd be like 'well, I don't know where they are up to' so it is nice to have that structure there and there isn't anything in the National Curriculum. As long as I have got a starting point and with French, I did do French at O- |

					level and I did German so at a pinch I could do. I could probably scrape German a bit, yeah."
R	Yr 6 ICT Co-ordinator Dand T Co-ordinator	Teacher R wanted to be an educational psychologist, and so had to teach for two years. However she feels that those jobs are not secure anymore in light of funding	Has an A-grade GCSE in German, but says that she can only remember how to day 'hello' now. Teacher R feels that she could teach French "if she had to. She would want time to prepare because " once we got told we would be teaching it the next year and [she then] paid close attention that year to learn things and remember the games and keep all	Has participated in an exchange to South Africa and feels that it is important to teach about SA culture to children at Forest School as they have quite stereotypical ideas about South Africa which she challenges and educates about. Enjoys holidaying abroad and communicating in the languages of the countries that she visits.	"I suppose the fact that we never went out of England therefore meant that I didn't need to learn any other language. Whether if I had gone to France earlier on in life, I probably would have been more comfortable and known more cos like, that is where I picked most of it up so probably a bit that we never and when I went	"And I suppose I got through life not doing it." "I've not done as much in Year 6 because I've been busy. I use the time for something else but when I was in Year 2 I did quite enjoy it and I would

		cuts and so wants to stay in teaching	the notes" However, she was not required to teach as the school employed a FLA. "So I think I could, I wouldn't be terrified of teaching"		with school you were in a British resort so you didn't need to know a language there whereas now we make a bit of an effort to learn a tiny bit, if we go somewhere new, even if it is just the greetings, so you don't seem ignorant. Erm, so it probably has a little bit, the fact that we never went and we always just went down South, we didn't have to learn a language whereas friends who were going to France a lot longer, learnt it and picked it up and were more fluent, not perfect but they could cope better.	make notes so I could remember and so I could join in with the children and help the ones who were struggling."

Sakura School	S	Receptio n teacher Dand T Co-ordinator	Teacher S was a Teaching Assistant for three years, when the teacher she worked with recommended that she trained to be a teacher.	Teacher S would not be confident to teach German but feels able to deliver French or Spanish. She feels able to teach PFL to a basic level. Teacher S has a GCSE in French.	Teacher S lived and worked in Spain for a year. Teacher S has many multicultural friends; she describes where she lives as multicultural. "I live on a council estate so there are lots of different cultures around and you can see it at Christmas with the houses and things and Eid, obviously. Being a teacher, you come across a lot of different cultures and the beliefs and you have to adhere to them and then abroad, I've not done a year out or things like that but on holidays and things we always try and eat the local food and	Teacher S describes being brought up in a very strict and moral household where it was not expected for her to speak another language, and she now wishes that she had learned another language.	I

				that kind of thing, that's basically it."		
T	Yr 1 teacher RE Co-ordinator Science Co-ordinator	Teacher T used to be a nurse and, when she had children, she had to change career. And so she undertook a PGCE to convert her nursing degree into a teaching qualification.	Teacher T describes herself as being very nervous about teaching it; she worries about the accents if she would be teaching French. If she was asked to teach other languages that she knows nothing about, she would be very self-conscious about leading a class, and she feels this comes from her "own struggles" with language at school. " Has an O-level in French	Teacher T does travel abroad but has only started to do so since she has had children. She says that she likes it once she is there but that she finds herself very nervous about the new experiences	Teacher T feels that her formal schooling and, in particular, the languages lessons have made her scared of speaking a foreign language and so feels all education should empower children with confidence.	"I had to have a private tutor because I was so rubbish at French and consequently he used to scare me every week when he came to my house. Not because he did anything terrible but just because I

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					was scared of the language and I think that has carried on."
U	Yr 2 teacher PSHE Co-ordinator Chairperson of the PTA	"To be fair, to give a true honest answer, it was 'cos of the holidays started me off and I did enjoy doing teaching practice when I was at school." Teacher U then went on to complete a BA	Teacher U would teach PFL if asked but worries that she would teach it in a substandard manner and would not be confident. She does, however, make the distinction between languages stating that she would have more confidence to teach French as she has a GCSE in French rather than Spanish.	Teacher U described growing up in a mono-cultural white British environment. She remembered two Chinese pupils joining her school and this being quite unusual. When she was in junior school and going to Castle Rock YMCA, she met many different people from different cultures, some who did not speak English. She remembered finding it interesting and different to	Teacher U described her parents as being unfamiliar with different cultures as they had not been exposed to it. However, through their work with the church they had started to participate in exchanges and work in South Africa. Teacher U described how she felt since leaving home; she had cultivated different values and beliefs because of the diverse people that she has met.	

		UG QTS route into teaching.		where she had grown even though it was only five minutes down the road. She also met many diverse people while at university.		
V	Yr 4 teacher SENCO ICT Co-ordinator Member of Senior	Teacher V left school without many qualifications. He worked as a Teaching Assistant. He worked in a Special School for four years.	Teacher V felt that he had developed his knowledge of PFL but would not be confident to teach it and would prioritise other subjects instead such as Maths and English.	Culture was important to Teacher V. Teacher V's mother died 18 months ago and he spent the night before the funeral learning Kaddish which is the Hebrew prayer, watching it on YouTube with the phonetic version in front of him so he could then read it at the side of the ceremony. He delineated	Teacher V felt that it was perhaps the personalities that one inherits from one's parents that are more influential than upbringing. He described his dad as being patient and yet interested in new things.	

		Leadership Team	During this time, he retook his O-level Maths and A-level English at night school. He then applied to go to university but was turned down by them all. He then wrote to them all asking for feedback about his rejection. They replied that his GCSEs were not high enough.		that his family are Jewish but he did not consider himself to be Jewish because he was not Bar Mitzvah'ed. But that culture still impacted on him. Teacher V enjoyed travelling abroad and learning about cultures and languages. He has also worked in schools with over 50% EAL children and described how he worked with the parents of the children and the strategies he used to communicate.		

		Then Liverpool Hope called and offered a place on the BA (Hons) "English combined with something else". He accepted knowing that when he got there he would switch to the B.Ed., which he did.				
X	Yr. 5 teacher	Teacher X always wanted to be a teacher and so	Teacher X has an O-level in French but did not feel confident or skilled enough in speaking French myself. She felt that she could	Teacher X travelled a lot in Europe and enjoyed immersing herself "in the culture and the history and the food and the	Teacher X felt that through travelling and being a teacher she had learned much about different cultures that she had	"I don't feel there have been a lot of courses for primary teachers on

| | | Deputy Head Line Manager for Mid-day Assistants, teaching assistants Co-ordinating a study on | she completed a B.Ed. degree. | deliver a lesson if it were pre-planned for her but worried about if the children were to ask her a question. She explained "I mean, it's fine to say 'well, actually I don't know but we can find out' but that would be frustrating if that happened a lot for the children." | language is part of that really and the arts. So, the language to me is always a bit of a disappointment because I can immerse myself easily in the history and the culture and the arts but that is always a big stopping point so, I love going but I find it frustrating that I'm not better at the language." Teacher X said that she had always enjoyed learning, finding out about things she does not know about. She felt that this skill applied to languages and cultures. She found them interesting and said "I do think | not learned about growing up in a small mono-cultural White British village. She pinpointed moving to university at the start of her learning journey which had continued with her into her teaching career. | languages. I certainly have never been on one in 23 years that has been a foreign language course and I think only the specialist teacher or the designated person who is paid to do it, ever gets that, err, luxury, if you like. So, if you haven't got the skills there isn't really anything coming your way |

		spirituality			that if we could all just understand each other a little bit better, it would be very helpful. I think a lot of problems are bred by ignorance rather than anything else and so the more we can, you know, gets rid of the ignorance the easier things may be."		that is going to up your skills."
		Art and Design and Creative Arts work Co-ordinator					
		Residential visits Co-ordinator					

| | | Y | Yr 6 teacher Maths Co-ordinator | Teacher Y used to teach drama while she was at school and very much enjoyed being with the children. She therefore completed a B.Ed. degree in primary education. | Teacher Y had a C in French GCSE. Teacher Y also had the strongest opinions about teaching PFL. "I don't like it. I don't want to do it. I can't do the accent, I can't remember any of it, it is just not me. I don't think, I'm not good at languages. I'm not good at remembering vocabulary and things like that." She explained that she felt confident in the other subjects that she taught but not French and so worried that she would teach them 'the wrong thing'. | Teacher Y had travelled extensively to a variety of different places including participating in an exchange abroad to China. She worried about how she was perceived, "you'd think I was someone who'd never left the country and things like that before and you know was like 'oh I only like egg and chips' and stuff like that when I've actually been to a ridiculous amount of countries. I've been travelling, I've been to China with work and things like that, I have done a lot of travelling and been to a lot of | Teacher Y described her mum and dad as being really liberal and accepting of anybody regardless of "race, religion, sexuality, it didn't matter." She felt that this has had a big impact on her. She explained "I can't stand any racism, sexism, homophobia of any kind; it really makes me feel uncomfortable so I think that, my upbringing has had a big impact, in a good way." | "I'm not great at art but I will always have a go at it because it doesn't have to be right whereas French you have to get the accent right, you have to get the tense right and things like that. Languages are very specific aren't they whereas other things that I might not be as good at, like Art, you can |

				European countries and been to America loads of times, I just can't speak any of the languages. I feel horrendous when I go to these places and I can't speak anything."		kind of get along and everything else I feel confident with because I do it every day."

19.9.13

19.9.13

Talked about the challenges of
delivering 4 x 30 mins + having
to be on your A-game to
prep for each and also then to
be able to do her own work is
diff. She said she is always more
tired after a ~~what~~ Thursday.
In Yr 3 the whole board
was broken so diff to teach and
in Yr 5 she said its difficult
in each class as its not set up.
She said that none of them self,
would be confident to teach.
but its better now as HT Priory has
made them stay in class now
But 1/3 writing / Yr 5 had to go
out to deal with an incident
+ Yr 4 participated.
It's difficult because they have
diff. levels e.g. 2 x boys mm. switterland
and also those that go to French.
we talked about Mylo.

3.10. Y16

Drill the ch on the subjects
complete with if it is le or la.
put in the plurals + the colour
for the dy't'ate article which it belongs
to

Andrea

could not render a penne
"Tks I don't know date wing with me'

I like ... :)
I don't like
+ drawing + hand movements
Class watching pairing .. This class
rather bored not R.E.

✓ Went round the class + oh so
moved to
J'adore + je deteste   CT.
                          ✓
            think of an English
            word nears he
            ~m

↓ overwhelmingly and
enough time.

In the staff room they
were talking about parents calling
them + find things like teachers
humps and jumpers but the
parents don't label or know that
the T are professionals with degrees.
They also talked about a mother
who said she had seen a vid
of gridded reading on that the
T wasn't doing what she saw on the
vid & but then she was v. busy
with her hi here extension +
couldn't come in.
Parent called who had to speak
L a T to ask about why a
cl. had just gT she said how
she was having lunch.

14.11.13

14.11

white card is names of
places in the town.

Teacher ✓
■. ■ questions + asking him
about their card.

is the   le stade - a hotel
cos people have stayed?

chateux is castle ⟹
    I prob. learned it from
    ⟹Johnny English.

Finish with a video. a little
girl she lives in a Fr town
    Boulogne -sr -mer

Go back to the beginning + slow
down - voici ma ville . . . .

Here is . . . . .

420
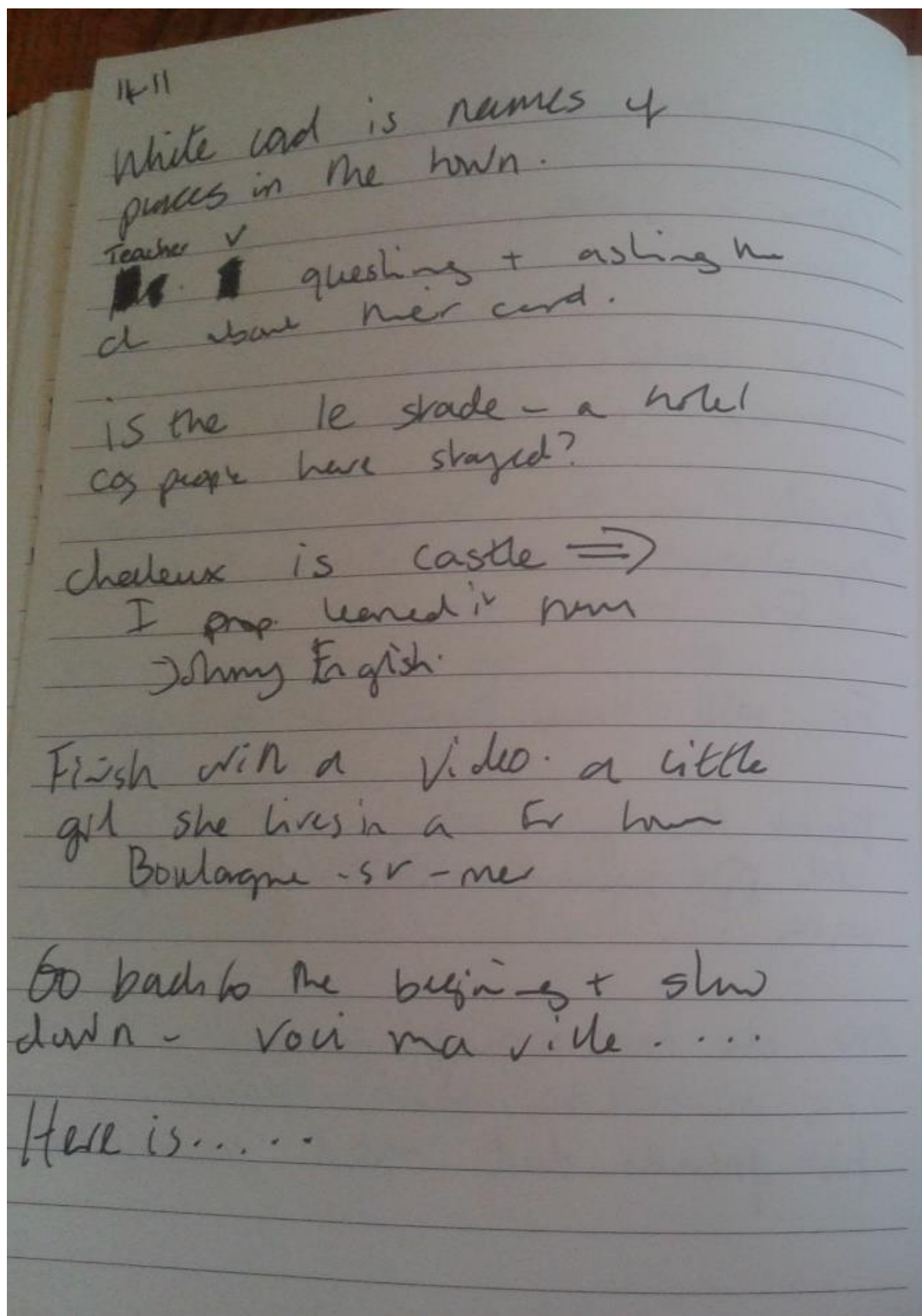
14.11.13

14.11

Years . 2.39.

Andrea at lunch said she feels tired
on a Thurs & said I'm not
surprised — + that christine also
felt like this ⇒ she said that
she loves MFL but that she
doesn't always look forward to it.
Never get the full time.

Need to practise the questions
pt. if they have a spare
5 mins. Reluctant to take work
down until laminate slips here.

Recap ⇒ Qs + ask Cg to do
it if have spre 5 m~s.

Ville town what is there.
Ct. sit + watch 2.44.

Tell Mea picture — Quentin
Blake.