Children's multilingualism and teaching French as a foreign language in a primary classroom in England

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Declaration

I, Katharina Kayser, hereby declare that this thesis and the work presented in it is entirely my own. Where I have consulted the work of others, this is always clearly stated.

Signature: _____

Date: _____

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The process of completing my PhD thesis has been a long and winding path.
When I started my research, I was living with my husband in London and by the
time I finished I had lived in Boston, USA, worked a full-time job, given birth to
two sons and moved back to Germany. Finding the time and discipline to write
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Abstract

In England, schools are now required to introduce a foreign language at primary level, necessitating class teachers to teach a language in which they may have little to no experience. At the same time, many catchment areas boast high percentages of children who are fluent in more than one language.

The rising number of multilingual children in England's schools in recent decades suggests that this could impact on the classroom, particularly when it comes to teaching foreign languages. However, few studies have specifically addressed multilingualism in the primary school's foreign language lesson. There has been little discussion about teachers who are inexpert in regard to the relevant subject knowledge and the difficulties they may face.

This study aims to investigate the role of children's multilingualism when being taught French as a foreign language in a Key Stage 2 primary school classroom by a teacher with limited knowledge of French.

The study adopts an ethnographic approach employing observations, interviews and language diagrams for data collection within a single classroom of thirty pupils, all multilingual.

Findings suggest that the teacher's language limitations and approach to teaching may have a bearing on the classroom dynamics, specifically, the reversal of the assumed expert-novice roles, and what I refer to as *windows of opportunity* – for teachers and schools as well as for policy. The findings also suggest that the children perform their identities differently according to situation. While children could benefit from their multilingualism, it

was found that they have reduced possibilities for using all languages at their disposal at school compared to home and community.

The study could contribute to a better understanding of multilingualism in the mainstream classroom and may offer ideas for finding ways in which children's multilingualism can contribute to the learning process within the foreign language classroom.

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Transcription conventions

Speech	transcribed speech
(italics)	stage directions, contextual information or background information
[inc.]	incomprehensible or unclear speech
// ... //	overlapping speech
…	pause (longer than 2 seconds)
[...]	parts of the speech deleted
(elapsed time)	the time from the beginning of the interview

To make the transcripts comprehensible and readable, I transcribed using standard orthography and punctuation but have left contractions used by the speaker. Further, I have included non-verbal communication such as laughter and silences. Also, I have not included repetition, incomplete words, phrases initiated and not completed, or non-lexical conversations sounds e.g. clears throat, uuh, uh-hm and left these out (also see *Section 5.4.2.2*).

Abbreviations

BAAL	British Association for Applied Linguistics
BERA	British Educational Research Association
BPS	British Psychological Society
CUP	Common underlying proficiency
DSG	Dedicated School Grant
EAL	English as an additional language
EMAG	Ethnic Minority Achievement Grant
EMAS	Ethnic Minority Achievement Services
EMTAG	Ethnic Minority and Traveller Children Achievement Grant
ESRC	Economics and Social Research Council
EYFS	Early Years Foundation Stage
FL	Foreign language
GCSE	General Certificate of Secondary Education
KAL	Knowledge about language
KS	Key Stage
L1	First language
L2	Second language
LLS	Language learning strategies
NC	National Curriculum
Ofsted	Office for Standards in Education, Children's Services and Skills
PGCE	Postgraduate Certificate in Education
SAT	Statutory Assessment Test
UNCRC	United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child

1 How the journey began – autobiographical outline and research questions

In this chapter, I would like to provide some background on leading factors in my research journey and, in particular, key relevant stepping stones in my personal life.

The chapter is divided into three sections. Section 1 discusses briefly my experience teaching in a primary school in two different countries, and how this background motivated me to want to conduct research within a multilingual classroom. In Section 2, I link these experiences and motivations to broad areas of the literature which have guided my research questions and which I discuss in more detail in the literature review. Also, I describe the research questions I refined over time and discuss the specific terms I use and why I decided to use these, as well as the approach I adopted. Section 3 describes the organisation of my thesis. The chapter concludes with a summary of the three sections: autobiographical reflections, the research questions and the outline of my thesis.

1.1 How the journey began

My foreign learning experiences in school showed me the passion I had for learning and teaching languages, and I realised that I could share this excitement for learning as a teacher. Over the course of my English studies at the university of Hanover, Germany, I noticed that the classes were taught from a German-centric perspective, in German and with a monolingual and monocultural angle. What I had not expected was that

in moving from studying to teaching, I was still confronted with a monocultural norm in education (Pearce, 2012) despite studying a foreign language and despite teaching multilingual children. My first teaching post was as a primary school teacher in Hanover, Germany, in a multilingual and multicultural diverse neighbourhood. While teaching English, I became aware that the majority of pupils were not learning a language for the first time, it occurred to me that German was their second language and English, therefore, their third, however, nothing at school pointed towards using the children's languages for their learning or at least encouraging them to speak their home languages on the playground. In other words, it seems difficult for multilingual learning to happen in the classroom where languages other than the national language do not seem to hold equitable status. Further, as Agirdag (2010) argues in his study on exploring bilingualism in a monolingual school system in Belgium, that monolingual views are imposed on the entire education system: policy makers, decision makers, teaching staff, parents and pupils. Still today, in education monolingualism seems to be the desired norm, and language diversity seems to be a *problem* (Safford and Drury, 2013) and unfavourable for success, a concept I will further discuss in *Chapter 2* regarding policies and in the literature review in *Chapter 3*. I reflected on my pupils' facility with multiple languages and wondered if their multilingual experience would inform their learning of English as a foreign language.

After teaching in Germany for 1.5 years, I was offered a job in a primary school in London where I worked for the next 5.5 years. The school was

located in a very diverse neighbourhood in south London with a total of 36 different languages spoken across the pupils. Being a non-British teacher with English as my second language gave me a unique perspective from which to observe and interact in a multicultural space and with multilingual children in an English school. During my time at that school I assumed different roles: teaching assistant in Reception class, cover teacher, being the first language teacher at that school to introduce German lesson to pupils in Nursery up to Year 6. I also became a class teacher of Year 4 and Year 5 and the coordinator of Ethnic minority achievement, English as an additional language, and Foreign language, being part of the senior management team. Throughout the years I taught in London, my colleagues welcomed me and willingly provided support in helping me to improve my English. They sympathised with the fact that I was away from home. However, I noticed that the same kindness and empathy afforded to me was not extended to the many pupils at the school who also learned English as a second or third language. I also found it surprising that most teachers and teaching assistants were amazed at my ability to speak German, English and some French and to teach classes in English as a non-native speaker, and yet they did not regard with awe the same language skills in the multilingual pupils. Still, the aforementioned notion of a monolingual and monocultural ideology (Pearce, 2012; Safford and Drury, 2013) seem to not make teachers see multilingualism as an asset and resource for academic achievement for their pupils. I felt uncomfortable and sad that these children were attending school in an

environment where their home languages and cultures seemed to have no place within the school.

When I entered the school for the first time, I had seen that the school had a weekly greeting project on the newsletter. Each week the children greeted each other in another language. Much later I realised that only a few teachers supported this approach thoroughly, especially in the Early Years Foundation Stage, and that the weekly greeting was more out of habit than for real value and the appreciation of diversity. Also, I became aware of multilingual signs around the school such as the months and a few dual language books in some classrooms. But again, I soon discovered that neither teachers nor pupils were actually drawing on the children's language resources. Languages other than English seemed to be reduced to be used in non-teaching contexts and not involved in learning i.e. register, greetings, celebrations or labels across the school, which has also been discussed in Arnot et al.'s (2014) report on school approaches to the education of EAL pupils.

Total language immersion helped me learn a great deal of English in my first years in London, but at no point did I feel that I had to leave my German identity at the classroom door. While teaching a diverse classroom of children in London, I was reminded of multilingual pupils I had taught in Germany and the school's implicit expectation that German would be the only language spoken in the school. The notion of monolingualism in education settings has been widely discussed and will be further addressed in the literature review in *Chapter 3*. Examples include Chen's (2007) study about the equality of learners in the

mainstream classroom, Kenner and Ruby's (2012) discussion about the construction of monolingual identities, Arnot et al.'s (2014) report about EAL in the mainstream school, Robertson et al.'s (2014) research on the missed opportunity to make use of bilingual teaching assistants and Sierens and Ramaut's (2018) research about valorising home language in the mainstream classroom.

Even though I had begun thinking about my pupils' facility with multiple languages back then, I wondered how I might have taught differently had I been more explicitly aware of the children's languages and the language knowledge they brought to school.

Now in London, most of the pupils and myself had a trait in common: We all spoke more than one language. However, the pupils' multilingualism seemed to be an undetected asset to learning throughout the school. Even though I began thinking about it, I did not use their multilingualism in class either. Reasons could include little understanding what an inclusive curriculum entails, for example "challenging white norms in the curriculum" (Pearce, 2012, p. 470) or not regarding children's prior knowledge and multilingual experiences as contributions for learning (Safford and Drury, 2013; Conteh, 2018b). And while I disagreed with excluding other languages than English in the classroom, I did not feel in a position which enabled me to influence the school's practice. This changed once I was appointed to be the Ethnic minority achievement coordinator. However, this realisation made me begin questioning whether a monolingual approach to education was the most effective way to teach a linguistically diverse

class. My observations led me to further question the school's lack of support for using multiple languages in the children's learning. I also wondered whether that was the reason the children did not use their home languages in the lesson. Not using home languages in the classroom is complex and tied to many different issues such as pressure of the curriculum in terms of performance and accountability or language ideologies, social attitudes and beliefs by the dominant monolingual group: policy makers, educators, community, parents and pupils alike which I will discuss in *Chapter 2* – language policies in the English education system. In the same vein, Conteh and Riasat (2014) note that maintaining monolingualism in the classroom is also interrelated with the teacher's professional insecurity regarding language diversity in the classroom and thus the teacher's professional identity. Similarly, Sierens and Ramaut's (2018, p. 308) data suggest that teacher control "as a prerequisite for effective classroom and learning management", and the impossibility to maintain that in a multilingual classroom, had an impact on first language use. On the other hand, in an evaluation of a pilot project *Raising the achievement of bilingual learners in primary school*, White et al. (2006) discuss that besides teacher's confidence or lack of understanding regarding home language use, it was also parents' resistance to their children using their home languages. However, the report failed to state the reason for this, which could suggest that they regarded English as the only legitimate resource for academic success and might point to the extent that monolingualism has been imposed on the education system.

In assuming my role as part of the senior management team at my school, one of my duties was supervising and collaborating with PGCE (Postgraduate Certificate in Education) student-teachers at our school. This brought me into contact with Dr Claudine Kirsch from Goldsmiths, University of London with whom I shared my experiences and thoughts about the multilingual primary classroom. I spoke to her about the multilingual pupils at the schools where I had worked in Germany and London, about my observations on learning the language of the dominant culture as an additional skill set, and about the schools' rather monolingual approach and their non-engagement with the children's multilingualism. Our conversations sparked the idea to pursue research in this domain myself.

I realised that there were many questions to ask regarding the untapped language resources that multilingual children brought to school, the purpose and effectiveness of monolingual ideologies in schools, and the role of the teacher in a child's learning. Not only did I have a desire to know more about this subject matter, I also wanted my research to contribute new knowledge regarding multilingualism as a learning resource in the classroom, particularly, in the foreign language lesson.

1.2 Research questions and overview

My personal experiences led me to explore how pupils draw upon their multilingualism at home and within their communities, as well as how pupils engaged their multilingualism in the learning of a new foreign language within the classroom. I saw that these two areas seemed to be treated separately and that there appeared to be a gap in knowledge where no research had connected multilingualism at home with foreign language learning at primary school. When I began to examine the literature, I realised that this lack of connection between multilingualism and foreign language learning was made even more apparent by the fact that each had its own distinct theoretical traditions, concepts and terminologies.

Studies have recognised children's multilingualism in learning in a variety of contexts, for example in different settings (Martin et al., 2007; Robertson, 2007; Ruby et al., 2010; Gregory et al., 2012; Kenner and Ruby, 2012; Conteh, 2018b; Sierens and Ramaut, 2018), in language practices such as translanguaging (Conteh et al., 2014) or in literacy projects (Kenner et al., 2008; Sneddon, 2009; Cummins and Early, 2011a; McGilp, 2014) and foreign language learning in primary school (for example the studies of Kirsch, 2008; Cable et al., 2010; Graham et al., 2016; Finch et al., 2018). Nevertheless, there is a surprising paucity of research bringing these two areas together which I will consider in more detail in the literature review, *Chapter 3*. I will argue that linking multilingualism and foreign language learning and teaching will lead to the emergence of novel teaching approaches that

will better serve the needs of the growing multilingual and multicultural society. By uniting two areas of language research, I aim to make an original contribution to theory.

From my experiences in the classroom, I wondered whether the foreign language lesson might be a good space in which to examine multilingual dynamics in the classroom. I wanted to explore the effects this would have on the class as a whole and see whether a space that is open to multilingualism would entice children to draw and share on their knowledge of their home languages and add anything significant to the learning experiences of the children. I will address these questions in my literature review in *Chapter 3*, where I will discuss learning from a sociocultural perspective, construction of multilingual learner identities and multilingual learning experiences in the classroom.

With these ideas in mind I began conducting a pilot study in order to develop a better understanding of children's language resources they brought to school and their use in class. The pilot study took place in a primary school Year 4 classroom in one of London's inner boroughs in the south east. Over a period of five months, I observed English lessons, Creative Curriculum lessons (a combined subject of arts and humanities) and French lessons which he had just started to introduce. All subjects were taught by the same teacher. The teacher held a Bachelor degree in French and was supported by a French language assistant.

Findings from the pilot study suggested that the English lessons had a higher status than the French or the Creative Curriculum lessons, which is in line with the discussion about prioritising subjects in the light of tightening control on teachers regarding performativity, accountability and assessment agendas (Pearce, 2012; Harlen, 2014; Finch et al., 2018; Sierens and Ramaut, 2018; Tinsley and Doležal, 2018) which in turn is interconnected with a full curriculum (Legg, 2013), also see *Chapter 2*. This appeared to be reflected in the French and Creative Curriculum lessons being much more teacher centred without drawing on the pupil's language knowledge and resources the children had displayed during our interviews. These results corroborate the long-standing discussions about using or not using pupils' but also teachers' languages as resources for learning and teaching at school l, which has for example been discussed in the work of Robertson et al. (2014), Safford and Drury (2013) or Conteh (2018b) but also about the construction of professional identities, confidence and maintaining control in the classroom (Conteh and Riasat, 2014; Finch et al., 2018; Sierens and Ramaut, 2018). The findings of my pilot study provided me with an insight on the extent of children's multilingual practices at school which in turn raised questions about the construction of multilingual identities in the classroom, the use of home languages during the foreign language lesson and the role of the teacher in constructing the learning space.

Bearing those questions in mind I started my main study. I conducted my research within a single Year 5 primary classroom with the class

teacher teaching French as a foreign language and 30 children, all multilingual. Like in the pilot study, the class teacher was the first teacher introducing French as a foreign language to those children. I observed the French as a foreign language lesson over the course of one school year and the Guided Reading lessons for five months. After five months, the class teacher granted me this lesson period for further activities for my research such as interviews and language diagrams. For my study, I adopted an ethnographic approach employing observations, interviews with pupils and teacher and language diagrams with the pupils as data collection tools (also see my methodological considerations in *Chapter 4,* the design of my study in *Chapter 5* and the *Appendices*).

After my first French lesson observation, I suspected the teacher to be rather limited in her French knowledge which is, according to Tinsley and Doležal (2018), not uncommon as, to date, foreign language teachers in primary schools are often not sufficiently equipped for teaching foreign languages. The teacher spoke and understood a few words of French but the vocabulary for Year 5 was almost all new for her. After that first lesson, I began to think about how the language limitations in French of that teacher influenced classroom dynamics, especially since all the pupils were multilingual. Such dynamics could include the teacher's professional and pedagogical confidence in her linguistic competence (Conteh and Riasat, 2014; Finch et al., 2018) but also the teacher's attitudes towards multilingualism: language as a hindrance or languages as a resource for academic achievement

(Safford and Drury, 2013; Conteh, 2018b), which I will discuss in more detail in the literature review in *Chapter 3*. How does children's multilingualism impact the teacher's pedagogy and how does multilingual learning work in that kind of context? What would happen to the class? How would the children negotiate their learning? How would the teacher approach teaching a foreign language? All of these questions were swirling around in my mind, shifting my focus towards the teacher and her limited French language knowledge which potentially influenced her teaching approaches in the foreign language lesson.

These questions formed the basis of my initial inquiry into the subject of children's multilingualism. I probed further by looking at the complex intersection of factors at play within a classroom and aimed to address these elements by examining the topics of identity construction, multilingual learning in the foreign language lesson and the role of the teacher in the foreign language lesson. The information I gathered initially, led me to my main overarching research question from which I developed three sub-questions. I modified these questions over time in the light of literature I read, conceptual frameworks I explored and the information I gathered. In what follows, I lay out, provide a rationale for and clarify the research questions in detail. Because the research questions form the entire foundation of the research, I decided to approach them in an exploratory way, which could be fully developed over time (also see *Section 4.1*).

1.2.1 Main research question: How does children's multilingualism influence the learning of French as a foreign language in a Key Stage 2 primary school classroom in England when taught by a teacher whose knowledge of French is relatively limited?

To address this question, I will first clarify some of the key terms used beginning with *monolingualism*, *bilingualism*, *multilingualism* and *plurilingualism* respectively.

With the formation of nation-states at the end of the 19th century, the societal awareness of languages also changed, from using *a* language to bringing *the* language to native speaker perfection (Singleton and Aronin, 2019). Monolingualism became the norm, a national language a way of belonging, still prevalent at school (Safford and Drury, 2013; Arnot et al., 2014; Robertson et al., 2014; Sierens and Ramaut, 2018). Monolingualism may be viewed in terms of linguistic knowledge and experience and, as Baker and Wright (2017) argue, can be regarded as knowing and/or speaking one language. Also, monolingualism may refer to a norm or a political stance assuming that one language alone should be spoken and that language should be the currency of exchange in the culture in which one finds oneself thus fostering "national unity" (Blackledge and Creese, 2010, p. 10; Tamburelli, 2016). In other words, single language dominance and the assumption among its speakers that their language is or should be the primary linguistic resource for all the people living in that culture may foster a monolingual view, which can lead to a one-language-one-nation perspective where the language serves as a criterion for nation formation. I will argue that the teacher in my study could be understood as being monolingual because she

primarily used one language in her daily life, which was English. Even though she spoke a few words of French and German, she was rather limited in both. From the beginning, she declared her concerns about the children's English language development. She favoured that English should be the language used in the classroom during the English lesson, which could narrow the use of multilingual literacy practices in the classroom. A class of multilingual children does not by default assume multilingual teaching. Even though the teacher in my study seems to take a rather monolingual approach, it does not seem to be ideologically driven but rather an unquestioned norm in today's classroom. I will discuss the teacher's view on English language learning, teaching a foreign language and multilingual education in my findings in *Section 7.1*.

While exploring the literature, I have become aware that different disciplines, as well as various researchers within the same discipline, use their own terminology to describe speaking more than one language. I have discovered that there is not only contradiction, overlap in meaning, disunity, inconsistency or ambiguity with regard to the terms bilingualism, multilingualism and plurilingualism but also in regard to the use and context showing sometimes no clear demarcation between those terms. Some scholars like Baker and Wright (2017) or García (2009) argue that multilingualism can be included in the term bilingualism as long as the terms have similar meanings. Other scholars discuss combining multilingualism and bilingualism under the term plurilingualism (Bhatia and Ritchie, 2013).

Before describing my own understanding and employment of those terms, I will outline some ways they are used. In the first half of the twentieth century, bilingualism generally referred to competence or fluency, as Bloomfield (1933, p. 56) argued, the "native-like control of two languages". In the second half of the twentieth century, the term began to focus on language use which Weinreich (1953, p. 1), for one, describes as the "practice of alternately using two languages". However, Diebold (1961) puts bilingualism on the other end of the spectrum from Bloomfield (1933) by asserting that the beginning stages of dual language competence already warrant a bilingual label and consequently Diebold (1961) coined the term *incipient bilingual*. The shift in focus from language competence to language use was also related to the swell in immigration in the 1950s and 1960s in Britain. In need of economic skilled and unskilled labour due to World War II, the *British Nationality Act 1948* (11&12 Geo. 6, c.56) offered people from the Commonwealth countries UK citizenship. The number of children using two languages grew which, in turn, raised issues in education regarding bilingual speakers. The consequences regarding policies and practices in terms of diversity and multilingualism in education will be discussed in more detail in *Chapter 2*. Overall, it can be suggested that bilingualism recognises the use of two languages, at a personal (the individual) and at a societal (within the community) level (Baker and Wright, 2017).

Multilingualism is not a direct consequence of bilingualism or a "recent phenomenon" (Cenoz, 2013, p. 3; Aronin, 2019). As discussed before,

establishing nation-states in the 19th century led to the predominant view of one language, one nation, and the newly established nations were typically identified by one language. But already the beginning of the 20th century hinted towards a new stage of the awareness of languages with early studies on bilingualism like Leopold's (1970) case study on the bilingual development of his daughter Hilde or, even earlier, Ronjat's (1913) study on his son's Louis bilingual language development. However, Aronin (2019, p. 10) argues, it was only at the end of that century with growing globalisation that processes such as mobility, diversity but also technological advances were deemed to increasingly "reflect multilingualism practices". In her historical account of multilingualism (also see Aronin and Singleton, 2012), she identifies three main parts of multilingualism: the language, language user and the environment of the multilingual speaker. And with such an understanding, I agree with Flores and Lewis (2016, p. 98, italics in original) who see "language practices and language categories as *sociopolitical emergences* that are produced by the specific histories and contemporary contexts of interlocutors". And we have to keep this in mind when later discussing the findings of my study that language use and practices are related to humans and society and in that also dependent on time and context.

There are many definitions for multilingualism as a generic term. For example, recognising that there are multiple languages spoken in society (Conteh, 2015) or the "exposure to, and use and/or knowledge of more than one language" (Mehmedbegovic and Bak, 2017, p. 150).

Yet, definitions of multilingualism are more complex. They may involve the time of language acquisition, level of proficiency or the dimension of use. Languages can be acquired in early childhood, in school or later in life, be added to the existing language repertoire, or an already spoken language may be replaced by the newly learnt language, i.e. *additive* and *subtractive multilingualism*. Different forms of multilingualism may change with time and place such as simultaneous bilingualism or later language learning (sequential bilingualism) (Mehmedbegovic and Bak, 2017). In terms of multilingual language practices, Blackledge and Creese (2010, p. 17) argue that multilingualism emerges through "the appropriation and incorporation for meaning-making of any and all linguistic resources which come to hand". This draws on the notion of translanguaging. However, Cenoz (2013, p. 9) rightly argues that language choice

> is not only dependent on the availability of the linguistic resources the multilingual individual has at his or her disposal, but at the same time an act of identity.

Both, translanguaging as a multilingual practice and identity construction will be discussed in the literature review in *Chapter 3*. I conclude as follows: Multilingualism as a term captures a wide range of definitions from the ability to speak multiple languages, or use of multiple language to the existence of multiple languages within a given society.

The distinction between *individual* and *societal multilingualism* has gained currency over the past years (Cenoz, 2013; Aronin, 2019).

Also, in some context and literature, individual multilingualism has been referred to as plurilingualism – a distinction more often made on European level, especially in French literature (Conteh and Meier, 2014; Council of Europe, 2014). While (societal) multilingualism is used when addressing context or circumstances in communities, individual multilingualism (plurilingualism) accounts for the individual's use of several languages. I might speak to my German friend in German and then turn to a French friend and speak French fluently. Individual multilingualism could imply that I am using my different languages but probably not operating just in the realm of any one language. I would not be using one language in isolation, but bringing in my understanding of other languages either in the way I communicate concepts or in the way I phrase the language I am using.

My understanding of the term multilingualism includes a way of being, thinking and seeing life through the use of diverse languages which might "serve to construct a sense of belonging to one or more groups" but also through which "social cohesion and justice for all can be promoted" (Conteh and Meier, 2014, p. 1). I use *multilingualism* to refer to engagement with multiple languages, acknowledging the "coexistence, contact, and interaction" of various languages (Wei, 2013, p. 26). In this way, multilingualism not only captures the presence of multiple languages within a society but also their use by the individual. I would like to add that, for my study, I will use the term individual multilingualism over the terms bilingualism or plurilingualism, following the current English tradition and because it best describes and

encompasses the participants of my study, who speak more than two

languages; therefore, bilingualism does not take into account the many

languages with which my subjects engage on a daily basis. Further, by

using the term multilingualism (societal or individual) I would like to

stress that it is not only the individual's use of language within a

multilingual context that is relevant but also that the individual is part of

that context. Here I agree with Aronin (2019, p. 4) who argues that

> it is impossible to study individual multilingualism without
> considering its societal dimensions. And the opposite is
> also true: societal multilingualism cannot be understood
> without knowing how multilingualism affects individuals.

In terms of schooling, this suggests acknowledging, for example, the

pupils' backgrounds, experiences and language knowledge. In this way,

my understanding of the term multilingualism is not limited to the

coexistence of a number of languages in a society, but also

encompasses the language knowledge of individuals as well as their

interaction within that society. In this way I see language as a resource,

where speakers draw appropriately on their linguistic repertoire

according to use, environment and purpose acknowledging that

language may change in time and context. In this dissertation, I use the

terms individual and societal multilingualism almost exclusively unless

with reference to a citation which is framed in terms of bilingualism or

plurilingualism.

In my study I will investigate the way multilingual speakers communicate

in everyday life in their education setting. Here the focus is on the

multilingual individuals rather than on the languages spoken by them,

language learning and use in the foreign language lesson. At the same time, the individual's multilingualism is embedded within society as I have argued on the previous page. Thinking of the earlier discussion on language ideologies (which will be continued in *Chapter 2*), the use of linguistic resources may be encouraged or constrained, which is related to power relations within, for example, the education setting.

Now the question arises what counts as language? I draw on the work by Blackledge and Creese (2010), Cenoz (2013) or Conteh (2018c) in that language is a social practice which acknowledges that it is constructed by people in specific contexts. In her terminological account of multilingualism, Cenoz (2013, p. 9) argues that "languages are sets of resources rather than […] fixed linguistic systems." However, I would like to add that this social construction is often a political question for example considering the question what counts as language or in the course of state formation where language serves as a criterion for nation building, drawing on the earlier alluded view of monolingualism in this section. Yet, if language is furthered by the notion of communication, language then encompasses co-constructing meaning in specific contexts which in turn "widens the possibilities for understanding and analyzing interactions" (Conteh, 2018d, p. 255). This understanding underlines the interconnectivity between language and identity (Baker and Wright, 2017), since features of language may include not only geographical aspects but also belonging to a group or society. This also underlines the notion that using multiple languages within various contexts may change over time as Aronin (2019) argues.

Here language becomes an expression of identity, putting speaker and context in the foreground. I would like to take this discussion about language and identity further to my next research sub-question.

The second part of my main question refers to the class teacher who taught the Key Stage 2 primary class in all subjects including French as a foreign language (further background information about the teacher also see *Section 5.1*). The teacher was not a French language teacher by profession and had not been given any form of language teaching related training, which is not an unusual situation as Tinsley and Doležal (2018) report, but was an English-speaking teacher teaching French, limited in her language knowledge of French and new to the teaching of a foreign language.

The third element of my question refers to the school system in which my participants learn or teach. The school in England is divided in primary (ages 5–11) and secondary school (ages 11–16 or 18). Pupils are further divided into stages, based upon age: Early Years Foundation Stage (from birth to 5 years old), Key Stage 1 (KS) comprising Year 1 and Year 2, and Key Stage 2 containing Year 3 to Year 6 (Department for Education, 2013). The pupils in my study are in Year 5 (ages 9−10) and considered to be in Key Stage 2.

The National Curriculum (NC) in England consists of a set of subjects taught and standards to be reached, to ensure equality in learning for all children. For the *Languages programmes of study* within the NC sets out the statutory guidelines for foreign language learning in primary and

secondary schools, formally in primary schools since 2014. It states that in KS 2 to teach a foreign language can be either a modern or an ancient language (Department for Education, 2013). The NC points out that KS 2 uses the title *foreign language* whereas KS 3 uses the title *modern foreign language* (Department for Education, 2013). I use the term foreign languages to refer to languages learnt and taught as a subject in school in contrast to the term multilingualism (individual and societal), where I refer to the languages spoken at home and within communities.

I conclude this section as follows. I have shown that the awareness of languages changed over time. Beginning in the 19th century, monolingualism was closely related to the criteria for nation-states. Then, in the beginning and mid 20th century, also connected to immigration, bilingualism received growing interest and finally with raising globalisation, research into multilingualism seemed to gain currency. Multilingualism comes with various understandings ranging from multiple languages used by an individual or and their presence within a society, to the ability to speak multiple languages but also as an equitable entity through which social cohesion and justice for all can be promoted. For the purpose of my study, I argue that the coexistence and interaction of multiple languages within the foreign language lesson offers an opportunity to draw on all language resource. I will discuss multilingualism and foreign language learning and how these areas have been implemented but also been contested within the English education system in *Chapter 2*.

I lay out my first sub-question as follows.

1.2.2 Sub-question 1: How do identities provide a context for understanding what the children say or do?

With this first sub-question, I am interested in seeing how children understand themselves as multilinguals and at the same time, how their distinct environments influence their understanding of their identity.

From a sociocultural perspective, identity construction suggests that a person's sense of self is influenced by the social context and discourse; in other words, the way people interact with others and the culture they live in may have a bearing on an individual's development, two factors that seem to continually change in the life of a human being (Blackledge and Creese, 2010; Meier and Conteh, 2014). Here, I agree that identity is a social construction in which the environment such as home, school or (faith) community, belonging and affiliation to a certain setting as well as to those involved in it, contribute to its formation. In other words, identity to this end could be interpreted as fluid and dynamic as well as subject to negotiation (Creese et al., 2006; Harris, 2006; Riley, 2007; Blackledge and Creese, 2010), negotiating between how individuals construct their identity and how context and ideas influence experiences.

For the purpose of my research, identity is referring to a person's sense of self and how they might be beginning to understand who they are and where they come from and how they might use this. I will discuss the process by which a person forms a sense of self as multilayered and

continually mediated between the individual and the social environment (Esteban-Guitart and Moll, 2014; Swain et al., 2015), within in the context of my study multilingual learner's classroom experiences and how their learner identities are constructed and impact upon their French learning environment. Furthermore, I am curious about how the teacher and pupils negotiate their learning with each other within their classroom. Identity might have a bearing on the dynamics within the classroom and, therefore, I will investigate to what extent this might play out in the classroom situation.

The term multilingual identities will be used in my research to refer to the children's understanding of themselves in linguistically diverse social contexts where multiple languages and cultures coexist and interconnect, which has been described by Kenner (2004, p. 43) as "living in simultaneous worlds" in which multiplicity and simultaneity of languages coexist. What do multilingual children do, either consciously or unconsciously, to understand themselves in multiple linguistic and social environments and how do they position themselves? Ways in which children might exhibit their understanding of their identities include how children describe themselves, language choice and which language/s children use in specific contexts or with certain people and how children describe their understanding of themselves at school, in a faith community or within the family, how they might negotiate their identities in different contexts and how this might become a resource. At the same time, this question addresses who multilingual children are allowed to be at school and the teacher's role in their identity

construction which, in turn, leads to certain identity positions, options and choices of the pupils and, to this end, I will explore the notion of identity in the literature review in *Chapter 3*.

To sum up this section, I adopt a sociocultural perspective on identity construction which acknowledges that identity is socially constructed and reconstructed both by the individual and the social context. Such an understanding acknowledges that identity is subject to change through time and context, which underlines that identity is fluid, changing and not fixed but rather created and developed. For the purpose of my study, identity construction is linked to how the pupils are trying come to understand and recognise their multilingual identity within the classroom situation and the kinds of identities children bring to the classroom i.e. learner identity or ethnic identity. I will explain this proposition and others in the literature review in *Chapter 3*.

Children's understanding of themselves as multilinguals and multilingual learners leads to the next sub-question regarding multilingual language practices and how multilingual pupils draw on their linguistic knowledge and experience as well as their language repertoires in the school setting for foreign language learning.

I lay out my second sub-question as follows.

1.2.3 Sub-question 2: How do children use their existing languages when learning French as a foreign language in class?

As the focus of my research is set on children's multilingualism coupled with foreign language learning at school, I aim to see how children use their existing languages at school. I am also interested in how they show awareness of themselves as multilingual learners and at the same time how they become identified as learners by the teacher. In this question, I use the term existing languages to describe all of the languages the children already have at their disposal; these may include languages, languages spoken at home or learnt in faith communities but also language classes provided by the diasporic community outside mainstream schools which are referred to as complementary, supplementary, heritage language schools or community schools. Even though I have used the term *existing languages* in my research question to emphasise the multiplicity of languages and their contexts in which they are used, I use the term *home languages* in my thesis to unite the different names given to the languages spoken outside school, used within the family and/or community also referred as family language, mother tongue or native language. The participant pupils in my research often spoke more than one home language with their families, so this term frequently appears in its plural form.

Learning while drawing on the resources from existing languages has been widely discussed and recognised within a variety of settings (mainstream schools, complementary schools, family or faith settings), for example in the work of Martin et al. (2007), Robertson (2007),

Ruby et al. (2010), Gregory et al. (2012), Kenner and Ruby (2012) or Sierens and Ramaut (2018). Within my research, I use the term *multilingual learning* to describe the use and contribution of all language resources at children's disposal within any learning situation. However, specifically to my research, the dynamics of the mainstream primary school classroom may influence pupils' learning. I am particularly interested in observing the relationship and environment created between multilingual pupils and their teacher in the foreign language lesson because here the foreign language could be a subject where some pupils may have more knowledge and experience than the teacher. This interesting deviation from the customary expert-novice dichotomy may create a unique set of circumstances for learning and interacting. While multilingual learning as a term does not appear in this sub-question, it is a significant component of my study. I argue that multilingual learning can be seen as neither an outcome nor an approach used in teaching, but instead as a process that occurs when pupils engage in creating meaning using multiple linguistic means. With this understanding, it seems useful to me to adopt a sociocultural perspective, where learning can be described as an active process of knowledge construction, a socially mediated activity and interaction between teacher and pupil as discussed, for example, in the work of Mitchell et al. (2013), which I will further address in *Section 3.1* where I discuss a sociocultural perspective on children's learning. Conteh (2015, p. 41) argues that under this premise, learning is "a process of negotiation and co-construction between teachers and learners".

This may and should include the use of children's multilingual languages as contributing resources for learning and, which I will explore in *Chapter 3*.

In summary, I would argue that fostering multilingual learning in the mainstream primary classroom draws on values but also validates the children's cultural and linguistic backgrounds. Thereby, pupils may feel empowered to act in accordance to their identities in and through multilingual language practices using their languages as contributions to and resources for learning.

While my first two sub-questions focus specifically on children, my third sub-question takes a closer look at the teacher which I lay out as follows.

1.2.4 Sub-question 3: In what ways does a teacher with limited expertise in the subject approach teaching French as a foreign language to a classroom of multilingual pupils?

I use the term *approach* to describe how the teacher engages with the lesson materials as well as with the pupils themselves to achieve learning goals. Further, the term *approach* describes something in motion, something which may developed over time which may well be unintentional, as opposed to the terms *strategy* or *tactic* which rather describe an action to achieve something.

I wonder if the teacher's approach to teaching the French language has a bearing on the teacher-pupil power dynamics. Here I mean the either coercive or collaborative power relations (Cummins and Early, 2011b)

that may exist within the classroom environment. The traditional power dynamic in the classroom is often rooted in the teacher's overall authority and possessing knowledge the pupils do not have. However, adopting a sociocultural perspective and Rogoff's (1990) concept of *guided participation*, learning is seen as a much more equitable process in which both teacher and pupils contribute to the learning. Such an approach stresses the reciprocity between teacher and pupils. Here learning is achieved through a collaborative process, drawing on the notion of *learning power* which has been discussed by Kenner and Ruby (2012). To this end, I will explore the above-mentioned concepts in the literature review in *Chapter 3*.

So, what constitutes effective teaching and successful learning in multilingual contexts? Conteh and Brock (2011, p. 349) discuss *safe spaces*, an environment or classroom where "people create for themselves opportunities for meaning-making and identity construction through language and other social tools". In such a space the learners' multilayered identities are valued, and teachers acknowledge children's language knowledge and prior experiences through, for example, recognising children's *funds of identity* (Esteban-Guitart and Moll, 2014) and fostering language practices such as translanguaging (Conteh et al., 2014; García and Wei, 2014) which will be discussed in the literature review in *Chapter 3*. On that basis, for my research, the notion of safe space incorporates the children's feeling of safety while expressing themselves drawing on their linguistic knowledge which is used as a resource for co-constructing their learning. However, at the core of this

idea is the question: Do they feel free and able to express themselves in any and all languages at their disposal? I am interested in seeing how foreign language lessons in my study may or may not be a safe space within the mainstream school environment and where pupils feel safe sharing more of their linguistic knowledge with the class.

Within my research, I am curious to see how the relationship within the learner community, between teacher and pupils, shifts the foreign language lesson. Finally, I am curious to see how aspects of the pupils' home languages surface as the teacher conducts the French language lesson.

All in all, multilingual learning might be successful if the school creates a space where the pupils are able to draw on their language knowledge and language learning from home and at school. In order for pupils to engage in successful multilingual learning in the classroom, mainstream schools and teachers are key in supporting the children's multilingualism. This can be achieved by modelling multilingual learning approaches and explicitly allowing, fostering and encouraging them to engage and use all of their languages in the classroom "to promote academic achievement for learners, professional recognition for teachers and social justice for all" (Conteh, 2018b, p. 211). Providing opportunities for children to use their languages as resources for successful learning can bridge the two fields of multilingualism and foreign language learning rather than seeing them as separates fields.

I aimed to adopt an ethnographic approach to gathering data in order to observe and collect information about the participants and their

environment, which I discuss and provide a rationale for in *Chapter 4*.
The chosen methods of data collection and data analysis will be set out
in *Chapter 5*.

1.3   Organisation of the thesis

The thesis is structured into nine chapters.

*Chapter 1 How the journey began – autobiographical outline and
research questions* discusses my reasons for my interest in
multilingualism and foreign language learning and sets out my research
questions and the structure of my thesis.

*Chapter 2 Policy debates, research and practice in language education
in England* discusses how multilingualism and foreign language learning
are up to today regarded as separate areas and that they still follow
their own distinct theoretical traditions, concepts and terminology.
Further, this chapter provides an overview of the past seventy years in
regards to educational policies on diversity and multilingualism and
policies foreign language learning in the primary school classroom in
England.

Chapter 3 Literature review discusses learning from a sociocultural
perspective. Further, this chapters addresses identity construction and
development. The chapter ends with a discussion about multilingual
classroom explorations including the potential benefits of multilingual
children, the role of language within the classroom in the form of
translanguaging and the notion of a safe space.

The methodology is discussed in *Chapters 4* and *5.*

Chapter 4 Methodological considerations describes my theoretical thoughts I employ in this research and discusses the ground rules of adopting an ethnographic approach.

Chapter 5 Design of my study – setting, methods of collecting data and analysis addresses the research setting and participants and how I gained consent as well as ethical considerations, the methods of collecting data (observations, interviews and language diagrams) and data analysis.

In *Chapters 6* to *8*, I discuss the findings of the data I gathered throughout the school year.

Chapter 6 Data analysis and findings I: multilingual children's identities explores the pupils' understanding of themselves as multilinguals, their feelings of belonging and how their distinct environments influence their understanding of their identity.

Chapter 7 Data analysis and findings II: multilingual learning discusses the teacher's and children's perceptions and awareness of multilingual learning and the conditions for language learning and language practices within the French lesson and their engagement and use of their language resources.

Chapter 8 Data analysis and findings III: the learner community addresses how the learner community shifted the expert-novice roles by exploring how it was formed by teacher and pupils. Also, the chapter

discusses the newly introduced concept of *windows of opportunity* for the teacher to form a multilingual learner community.

And finally, the last chapter summarises the research findings and offers final reflections.

Chapter 9 Discussion of findings concludes the thesis by reflecting on my research questions. This is followed by a discussion of the research's contribution to knowledge and its implications for the field. Lastly, I will address the limitations of my study and end the chapter with final reflections about my thesis.

The *Appendices* are structured in six parts. In Appendix 1, I discuss Guided Reading. Appendix 2 provides examples of field notes from my research. Appendix 3 lays out the interview questions and topics covered. In Appendix 4, I discuss my use of language diagrams. Appendix 5 provides some additional data and photos form my research and Appendix 6 contains the ethics forms used for my research.

1.4   Conclusion

In this chapter, I have described some of the significant events in my life that contributed to my decision to pursue research in the area of multilingualism and foreign language education in the primary school setting in England. While teaching, first, in my home country, Germany, and then in England, I became aware of the tension and dilemma concerning the longstanding and current issues regarding children's multilingualism and the teaching and learning of foreign languages. I realised how children's multilingualism brought to school was not drawn

upon and remained an undetected resource for learning; they were expected to learn the dominant culture's language and values. Instead of uniting the children's language practices (their home languages, English and the foreign language) they were treated as separate and *stand-alone languages*. I began to think about how the children's multilingualism might impact the teaching and learning in the lesson.

From my reflections on my own experiences and my ruminations and comparison with related literature, I identified a gap in the literature: I realised that multilingualism and foreign language learning were treated as two different areas of study, with their own theoretical traditions, concepts and terminologies. In the light of that realisation, I developed my overarching main question: *How does children's multilingualism influence the learning of French as a foreign language in a Key Stage 2 primary school classroom in England when taught by a teacher whose knowledge of French is relatively limited?* I also formulated three sub-questions which serve to focus my attention on a sociocultural perspective on learning, multilingual pupils' identities, multilingual classroom exploration and, lastly, the role of the teacher within the foreign language lesson.

For each question, I have detailed my understanding of the terms used in the questions and of the views I adopted for this research. To find answers to my questions, I adopted an ethnographic research approach, observing lessons at school, and supplemented my field notes with interviews with pupils and the teacher as well as participant-generated language diagrams.

The next chapter, *Chapter 2*, serves as an introduction and background to England's educational policies in the realm of diversity and multilingualism and policies on foreign language learning in the primary classroom. Here, I will outline policy initiatives from the last seventy years and discuss the curriculum development that has led to the current status of multilingualism, English as an additional language and foreign language learning in mainstream schools.

2 Policy debates, research and practice in language education in England

For my study, it is beneficial to understand how education policies in England have regarded diversity and multilingualism, as well as the teaching and learning of foreign languages in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. The policies and debates in these two fields highlight England's long-standing issues surrounding multilingualism and foreign language learning. Policy makers have come to regard the two areas as separate and unrelated areas, each based on a distinct theoretical tradition. Even though my research tries to bring these two areas together (main research question: *How does children's multilingualism influence the learning of French as a foreign language in a Key Stage 2 primary school classroom in England when taught by a teacher whose knowledge of French is relatively limited?),* here they will be discussed separately, drawing out their different concerns, agendas and terminologies. Some of the themes interconnected with these two strands of educational policies are addressed in this chapter, such as monolingualising ideologies and assessment or accountability also discussed later on in my thesis as these may impact on teachers' attitudes and/or actions. I will address these themes again in the literature review in *Chapter 3* and the discussion of my findings in *Chapters 6* to *8*.

This chapter is divided into two sections. In Section 1, I provide an overview of the history and factors at play in the development of England's educational policy for diversity and multilingualism.

Also, I address facts and figures that have emerged from research, censuses, reports and surveys in regard to multilingualism in England and clarify reasons for the ambiguity of label choice for EAL learners. Further, I describe ideologies of monolingualism and multilingualism that predominate in England and how these policies filter down to schools and teachers, possibly impacting their attitudes towards their pupils, their diversity and their multilingualism. In Section 2, I provide a historical outline of policies regarding foreign language learning in the primary school classroom in England. In contrast to ethnic minority languages, foreign language learning is driven by very different concerns, initiatives and developments and with an assumed higher status. The chapter concludes with a summary of the two sections – the policy review and debates, research and recommendations on multilingualism and on foreign language learning.

2.1   Policies for diversity and multilingualism

England's multilingual history ranges from the Celtic languages through to the multitude of languages and linguistic influences of the present; however, multilingualism in English schools has had a fragmented history of acceptance with monolingualism emerging as a dominant ideology in England and in the classroom (Safford and Drury, 2013). This brief account of the policies of multilingualism and diversity in England is intended to provide some contextual background to what is currently shaping language education and school practice today. However, I would like to point out that I will not provide a historical time line as such but have selected major policies on multilingualism and

diversity to discuss the bearings these complex but also ideologically driven policies have for England's education system.

Policies and prescriptions, initiatives and practices in education vary in the United Kingdom (UK). Each country (England, Northern Ireland, Scotland, Wales) of the UK has its own history, legislation, responsibilities and approaches to education. In this section, I have chosen to focus on the English education system to discuss policies and practice that apply to England, since England is where my research is located.

2.1.1 Population, EAL label construct and multilingual learners

At the time of my research in 2011–2012, out of the 3.3 million primary school pupils in England, 911,570 (27.6%) pupils were classified as being of ethnic minority origin, i.e. not white British and 577,555 (17.5%) of the pupils' first language was known or believed to be a language other than English (Department for Education, 2012c). (For a detailed discussion about my participants' language and ethnicities, also see *Section 5.1*.) I would like to point out that being of ethnic minority origin is not a condition for learning English as an additional language. At the same time, 194,600 (91.1%) of primary school teachers were classified as being white British (Department for Education, 2012b).

And although almost one in six children speaks another language than English, home languages still appear to be regarded as having lower status. Even when teachers display a rather "open attitude towards cultural and linguistic diversity" (Arnot et al., 2014, p. 46), they report

being uncertain about home language use during the lesson, favouring English in the classroom so that the non-native speakers may improve their English language skills. In other words, English is still regarded as the language for success and academic achievement.

Pearce (2012, p. 460) argues in her study about four student teachers that teachers often feel constraint in addressing diversity at school for example in the "deficit discourse" of English as an additional language. This is also related to the Englishness of the National Curriculum document (which I will address in more detail in the following section when discussing EAL as a diffused curriculum concern). However, this creates classrooms in which some children's languages and backgrounds are valorised (here, English) while others are marginalised (all other languages). Still today, multilingualism is rather seen as a *problem* (Safford and Drury, 2013), and home language use at school is often reduced to non-teaching contexts (Arnot et al., 2014) instead of being used as a resource for learning. Moreover, opportunities to use home languages in the classroom are not being taken, as Robertson et al.'s (2014) research on bilingual teaching assistants suggests. They could not use their languages with the children to support their learning within the Early Years Foundation Stage (EYFS) setting due to class teacher constraints. This ties in with teachers often not recognising children's multilingualism when they learn to read, unaware that their pupils might already be familiar with different scripts and literacies (Gregory, 2008) and, hence, not drawing on their language resources either. This is also addressed in my third research sub-question: *In what ways does a teacher with limited expertise in the subject approach teaching French as a foreign language to a classroom of multilingual pupils?*

The language competency of the 577,555 (17.5%) pupils whose first language was known or believed to be other than English (Department for Education, 2012c) spanned from little to no English language competency to advanced bilingual competency with native-like command. Yet, all of these pupils were gathered under the term *English as an additional language*. Historically, the terminology pertinent to multilingual pupils has changed over the past decades: *immigrant children* or *non-English speaking children* in the Plowden report (Department of Education and Science, 1967), *immigrant children* or *bilingual pupils* in the Bullock report (Department of Education and Science, 1975), *learners of English as a second language* or *pupils for whom English is not their first language* in the Swann report (Department of Education and Science, 1985), and learners of *English as an additional language* today (Department for Education, 2018).

However, today's label of *English as an additional language* or EAL does not adequately acknowledge diverse pupils' language knowledge base or competencies. Compounding the effects of an EAL label are other *descriptors*, such as: coming from an established minority community, refugees, migrant workers and asylum seekers (Arnot et al., 2014). This ambiguity of label choice makes it difficult to assign a unified approach when addressing concerns about children who acquired a non-English language before entering formal education in England. Although the above descriptors are generally used, the education system differentiates only two categories (English first or English as an additional language), which seems to be a rather

simplistic reduction in regard to the complex phenomenon that is multilingualism. It seems to reflect a political construct that is inherently biased toward differentiating *Englishness* from *otherness* and reflects long-held English notions equating monolingualism with a sense of nation where "the teaching of English is crucial in order to avert any risks to national identity and stability posed by diversity" (Costley, 2014, p. 286). Similarly, Blackledge and Creese (2010) and Tamburelli (2016) argue that it is the idea of homogeneity that seems to contribute to a monolingual ideology. Even though monolingualism had been used as a criterion for nation-state formation in the 19th century (Aronin, 2019) (as mentioned in *Section 1.2.1*), the belief in language hierarchies and status, here favouring English, was still reflected in the policies and the growing focus on EAL pupils' attainment in the 1980s, for example in the Swann report (Department of Education and Science, 1985), discussed in the following section.

The conservative legacy began in 1979 with Margaret Thatcher's eleven years tenure as prime minister. It turned state-run schools into a market, driven by performance, accountability and parental choice, but this did not stop when New Labour came into power in 1997 and performance and accountability was maintained (Adams, 2014). The focus on the educational needs and attainments of pupils learning English as an additional language continued under the coalition government in 2010, taking place at a time when a system of monitoring and performance measures such as league tables was used to "determine the success of the educational system" (Adams, 2014, p. 158). With the introduction of

the current National Curriculum in 2014, the national guidance in the form of levels and sub-levels for assessing pupils' progress and achievement has been removed (Bracken et al., 2017); however, maintaining high standards of achievement within the core subjects of English, maths and science is still key at schools (Harlen, 2014), impacting on other subjects like foreign language learning (which I will address in *Section 2.2*).

In other words, there was and still is a tightening of teacher control over accountability and performance and the prioritising of literacy, numeracy and science, which favours disregarding other languages as they might be an obstacle to academically successful performance. And even though the multilingual pupil population is growing (Department for Education, 2018) and despite, as I have mentioned in *Chapter 1* and will further discuss in *Chapter 3,* research about children achieving academic success when they are supported in using their languages as resources for learning, policies and practices still remain rather monolingual.

The meaning I ascribe to the term *multilingual learners* is: pupils growing up with languages other than English, with different linguistic abilities, coming from diverse backgrounds, ethnicities and cultures, moving between languages by using the languages at their disposal as a contribution to their learning, which I initially discussed in *Section 1.2.3.* Coming from that understanding, I have adopted Conteh's (2015) language by referring to my research participants as multilingual learners to emphasise the asset of multiple language competencies

rather than using the EAL label which, with its ambiguity, is not always perceived to have a positive connotation. However, I have decided to stay with the term English as an additional language, as this is what is commonly used in England today.

2.1.2 Policy development from 1950 to present

In this Section, I outline the development and policy tendencies from the past 70 years in regard to diversity and multilingualism. We can see three different phases of EAL policy approach in the past decades: At first, there is a desire for assimilation in the classroom in the 1950s, then withdrawal from the classroom starting in the 1960s and, lastly, mainstreaming in the classroom beginning in the 1980s (Costley, 2014). The reports and policies I chose to include in this chapter were selected because they show trends in the education system from the past decades up to today: responses to multilingualism in the classroom (for example, the Plowden report, 1967; the Bullock report, 1975) and monolingualising trends (how to keep languages other than English out of the lesson and the focus on English literacy, numeracy and science related to accountability, performativity and assessment and strategies for raising attainment, for example, the Swann report, 1985; the National Curriculum Council, 1991; Department for Education, 2012a). Yet, throughout, these policies and initiatives fail to recognise the children's languages as resources they bring to their learning.

As Britain was in need of economic skilled and unskilled labour, a swell of immigrants arrived from the Commonwealth countries in the 1950s

and 1960s (Costley, 2014). The new migrant population was not expected to stay permanently, and little was done by the Government in terms of policies and practices in regard to language provision for non-English speakers. It was up to the individual local authorities and schools to respond to the growing number of EAL pupils. It was thought that the migrants would return to their homes; therefore, little was changed in terms of language education, which led to EAL pupils tending to be "'absorbed' into the school" (Costley, 2014, p. 278, emphasis in original). This was the era of linguistic assimilation. Though the Plowden report from 1967 (Department of Education and Science, 1967) urged that measures be taken to ensure that immigrant children learnt English, the report supplied minimal recommendations for pedagogical implementation in the classroom. However, over time, and, due to the increasing numbers of pupils for whom English was an additional language, the Government responded to community pressure, and the Home Office provided funding to the local authorities to support immigrant children "whose language or customs differ from those of the community" as defined in Section 11 of the *Local Government Act 1966* (*Local Government Act 1966*, p. 12). Over time, the Section 11 funding was renamed and replaced several times: Ethnic Minority and Traveller Children Achievement Grant (EMTAG), Ethnic Minority Achievement Services (EMAS) and Ethnic Minority Achievement Grant (EMAG). The ring-fenced funding for EAL learners ended in 2011–2012 so that now funding for EAL learners is part of the

Dedicated School Grant (DSG), in which EMAG-specific funds are no longer ring-fenced (Costley, 2014).

The Section 11 funding gave rise to language centres to which EAL learners were sent to be taught, and an era of withdrawal began (Costley, 2014). This resulted in withdrawing children learning English as an additional language from their mainstream lessons and teaching them in separate EAL classes. In this way, teaching occurred in a decontextualised way. The children's lessons had nothing to do with the school curriculum content and seemed rather to "socially and linguistically" separate these pupils "from their English-speaking peers" (Graf, 2011, p. 3). Over time, language centres were phased out and replaced by increased language support for class teachers. Allowing non-English speakers into mainstream schools, "designed to counter racism and to ensure equality of provision" (Bracken et al., 2017, p. 39), however, was not enough to achieve integration. English was still taught outside the mainstream classroom by simply withdrawing the children from their regular classrooms, and thus from the curriculum content, for the length of a lesson to learn English (Graf, 2011; Bracken et al.). Nevertheless, Leung (2001, p. 41) argues, shifting EAL education from outside centres to the mainstream school classroom favours social inclusion of non-English speakers "through common and undifferentiated membership in mainstream processes" without paying further attention to its distinctiveness thus paving the way for regarding EAL as a *diffused* curriculum concern as Leung describes it, which I will address in the course of this section.

In the 1970s, the Bullock report, *A language for life* (Department of
Education and Science, 1975, p. 286), promoted language across the
curriculum for all children with positive assertions and encouraged
schools to regard school and home as more interconnected sites where
learning would take place at both places, not just at school:

> No child should be expected to cast off the language and
> culture of the home as he crosses the school threshold, nor
> to live and act as though school and home represent two
> totally separate and different cultures which have to be kept
> firmly apart.

The notion of school and home as separate sites has also been
discussed by Kenner (2004). In her research on bilingual children, she
argues that children lived in *simultaneous worlds*, hence connecting
home and community and school. The Bullock report acknowledges that
these children are learning English as their second or third language
and regards bilingualism as an asset, stressing the importance of
maintaining home languages and including cultural and social aspects
of the children's upbringing. Further, the report addresses the role of the
teachers in regard to teaching and learning English as an additional
language. Nevertheless, then and even today, the Government seemed
and seems to be more concerned with the organisation of teaching and
learning English as an additional language than with teacher education
or curriculum provision (Costley, 2014). This is especially visible in that
still today no own curriculum provision has been provided for learners of
English as an additional language nor are teachers provided with
specific training. Leung (2001, p. 34) argues that EAL has never held
subject status within the National Curriculum and is rather seen as a

"teaching and learning issue" for which all teachers are responsible. This was also the case in the school of my research (also see *Appendix 2.1 Extract 5 from field notes – English as an additional language, 13.10.2011*).

In 1985, the Swann report was published with the title *Education for all* (Department of Education and Science, 1985). It addresses the underachievement of ethnic minority pupils due to racial prejudice and discrimination in society in general and directly at school. Further, factors are reported that hindered ethnic minority pupils' access to education such as the lack of recognition of children's linguistic and cultural backgrounds. It argues that all children should be educated in an environment that displays multicultural understanding in "all aspects of a school's work" (Department of Education and Science, 1985, p. 769). It also points out that multilingualism is regarded as part of society and everyday life in England but that, nonetheless, at schools this was regretfully not the case as English was seen as the absolute priority. However much the report extolls multilingualism, it also separates community and schools and maintains that mainstream schools cannot teach or support home languages as part of the curriculum, seeing this instead as the responsibility of the community: "Mainstream schools should not seek to assume the role of community providers for maintaining ethnic minority community languages (Department of Education and Science, 1985, p. 771)".

The status quo approach to giving English priority over multilingual education was upheld and, so it seemed, without ever questioning why

a monolingualising curriculum should be the norm. In terms of
teaching EAL learners, the Swann report argues for equal access to
education for all and demands an end to withdrawing children
from the mainstream classroom, shifting away "from assimilation
to pluralist integration" by promoting "educational inclusiveness"
(Leung, 2001, p. 40) of a certain type, seeing EAL as a communication
issue with no difference to English as a subject, which I have discussed
earlier in this section. Similarly, the Calderdale report by the
commissioner of racial equality, *Teaching English as a second
language: report of a formal investigation in Calderdale Local Education
Authority* (Commission for Racial Equality, 1986: referenced in Bracken
et al., 2017), condemned the practice of segregating EAL learning. It
was this call for inclusiveness that integrated learning English as an
additional language within the mainstream classroom but, as
Leung (2001) argues, this led towards a diffused curriculum, where the
way had already been paved by the publication of the Bullock report ten
years earlier English as an additional language was not and, up to
today, has not been given a distinct subject status and is merely
embedded within the National Curriculum.

With the introduction of the *Education Reform Act 1988* local authorities
were no longer in charge of developing curricula independently. It
proposed a National Curriculum which was introduced to set nationwide
standards for primary and secondary schools, setting out attainment
targets and assessment.

With the introduction of a National Curriculum, curriculum development and provision as well as assessment were centralised, and at the time of my research, the aim was to deliver the same English instruction to all children "irrespective of social background, culture, race, gender, differences in ability and disabilities" (Department for Education and Employment and Qualifications and Curriculum Authority, 1999, p. 12). Despite acknowledging multilingualism and demonstrating more awareness of the importance of languages, the National Curriculum upholds the dominant ideology of monolingualism and sees Standard English as an entitlement for all. It is exactly this entitlement which disadvantages children learning English as an additional language. At the surface, it seems that, finally, education is for all, but looking deeper language ideologies, hierarchies and status are still prevalent and, as such, favour English and advantage monolingual speakers. The result was a "'monolingualising' curriculum" which did not make any reference to multilingual children (Conteh, 2015, p. 57) and with little room for enabling children to draw on their language knowledge or cultural heritage. All learners were mainstreamed irrespective of differences and with no allowance for possibly varying language abilities within this spectrum of diversity (Costley, 2014). Again, the educational policies regarding English learning promoted a monolingual agenda, advantaging native speakers and disadvantaging multilingual learners by failing to provide for their language needs within the curriculum, as I have argued in the previous paragraph.

Even though home languages did not play a major role, the National Curriculum Council (1991: referenced in Conteh, 2015) conceded home language use at school and published guidance on language diversity. It advised schools to view home languages and cultures as positive resources for the classroom, while at the same time stating that a home language should only be used at school until the child became proficient enough in English. This seemed to be the first time that home languages were ever explicitly permitted to be spoken in school, however, only up to reaching a certain level of English proficiency. Almost 20 years later, this seemed to have changed again. In a letter, *A brief summary of Government policy in relation to EAL learners* (Department for Education, 2012a, p. 5), the Government states that it sees the benefits resulting

> from the maintenance of ethnic minority linguistic and cultural traditions, but believes the main responsibility for maintaining mother tongue rests with the ethnic minority community themselves. We believe that English should be the medium of instruction in schools.

This perspective on language instruction does not differ significantly from the one described in the Swann report from 1985 (Department of Education and Science, 1985); however, much research had been conducted on home language use and multilingual teaching and learning between 1985 and 2012, recognising that learning takes place in many contexts and across a variety of settings (Martin et al., 2007; Robertson, 2007; Ruby et al., 2010; Gregory et al., 2012; Kenner and Ruby, 2012) or in literacy projects (Kenner et al., 2008; Sneddon, 2009; Cummins and Early, 2011a). This will be discussed further in *Chapter 3*. Today, schools work mainly with the goal of linguistic assimilation,

which strives to teach children the language of instruction as fast as possible. Bracken et al. (2017, p. 7) call this a "transition to English". They argue that initially provided language support would be removed over time, even though the label EAL would stay with the pupils. This is also related to the fact that the National Curriculum is the same for all pupils and English as an additional language and English as a first language had become blended (Costley, 2014).

Schools provide many contexts in which power, languages hierarchies and status may have a bearing on multilingual pupils' education, achievement and success. English, as the only medium of instruction, can undermine the children's use of their existing languages and may lead to the development of monolingualising identities (Kenner and Ruby, 2012) during lesson time by placing an invisible sign over the classroom which Cummins calls the "invisible English-only sign" (as referenced in: Kenner and Ruby, 2012, p. 4). I will further discuss the notion of constructing monolingual identities in the literature review in *Chapter 3*. Such institutional silencing of languages other than English was seen with the launch of the non-statutory *National Literacy Strategy* (Department for Education and Employment, 1998), guidance to raise literacy standards at school. Nowhere did it mention multilingual education, but centred Standard English as the model for literacy (Costley, 2014).

Nevertheless, since the introduction of the Section 11 funding (*Local Government Act 1966*), financial support for schools had been available to assist in EAL attainment. Government initiatives and programmes such as *Excellence and enjoyment: learning and teaching for bilingual children in the*

primary years – which initiated teaching units to support guided sessions for writing in English as an additional language (Department for Education and Skills, 2006a) – aimed at encouraging teachers to see language diversity as a resource for learning. With pilot programmes, the Government tried to increase the confidence and expertise of primary teachers in EAL teaching by providing strategies such as planned opportunities for speaking and listening including speaking frames and guided talk, language learning techniques such as modelling and scaffolding of the English language and the conscious teaching of language structures (White et al., 2006). However, although the initiatives and programmes were about raising the achievement of EAL learners, the teaching strategies neglected to use the children's diverse language resources and focused primarily on English. Home language use was down to the individual teachers and often not put into practice. Reasons included, for example, fear of "loss of authority and control", lack of confidence, not understanding the importance of using all languages for learning, not valuing other languages but also resistance by parents favouring English for their bilingual children (White et al., 2006; Conteh and Riasat, 2014, p. 617; Sierens and Ramaut, 2018).

Despite the different approaches to the teaching and learning of EAL over time, presently EAL has neither been officially embedded as a subject within the National Curriculum nor has it been included in the field of professional qualifications and requirements for teaching (Leung, 2001; Hutchinson, 2018). And as of today, the newly reformed National Curriculum (Department for Education, 2013, p. 8) addresses EAL learners and provide general guidance for teachers very similar to the

former National Curriculum (Department for Education and Employment

and Qualifications and Curriculum Authority, 1999):

> Teachers must also take account of the needs of pupils
> whose first language is not English. Monitoring of progress
> should take account of the pupil's age, length of time in this
> country, previous educational experience and ability in
> other languages.

> The ability of pupils for whom English is an additional
> language to take part in the national curriculum may be in
> advance of their communication skills in English. Teachers
> should plan teaching opportunities to help pupils develop
> their English and should aim to provide the support pupils
> need to take part in all subjects.

However, pedagogical implications for teaching and learning are not addressed

and how this is to be achieved remains unknown.

While the National Curriculum brought advances in desegregation it

nevertheless emphasised Englishness within the school environment, which

implicitly serves to homogenise a culturally diverse pupil population. As I have

argued before monolingualism appears the desired norm, devaluing home

languages which are perceived as a hindrance to academic achievement

(Safford and Drury, 2013). As discussed in the preceding paragraphs, such a

monolingual mindset affects multilingual children's education and achievement

in school due to, for example, the dominance of the white monolingual group

(Pearce, 2012) and teachers' professional confidence regarding language

diversity but also the issue of maintaining authority in the classroom (Conteh

and Riasat, 2014; Sierens and Ramaut, 2018). However, it may also have a

marginalising effect on the school community by insisting on an English only

approach to learning. And instead of using parents for their children's academic

achievement and success at school, their knowledge and untapped language resources remain untouched. However, as I have maintained before, learning is not tied to one setting and context and happens at school, in faith settings or in the family, which Walker (2014) refers to as *invisible learning* as it is not visible to either the teacher or the policy makers.

I conclude this section as follows. England's history of multilingual learning in schools has been fraught with numerous policy debates. Changes in government leadership profoundly affect educational progress in this area, giving the impression that the perceived value of other languages than English is always in question. With no subject status within the curriculum, English as an additional language remains marginalised in all areas of the education system: teacher education, curriculum provision and policy direction (Leung, 2001; Hutchinson, 2018). Following the educational policy trends over the past seventy years, one can see that regardless of the party affiliation of prime minister or parliament, the Government consistently upholds monolingual preferences through its policies and, even today, all but ensures that multilingualism and home language maintenance only play a marginalised and fragmented role in the English education system. Moreover, this also highlights the ambiguity of policies for multilingualism and diversity and the positioning of children learning English as an additional language, shifting between valuing (outside the classroom) and marginalising (within the classroom) cultural and linguistic diversity. This ties in with my second research sub-question which explores the children's use of languages at school: *How do*

children use their existing languages when learning French as a foreign language in class?

The educational landscape and the routes to academic success and achievement seem to consist of prioritising subjects and are shaped by performativity and assessment agendas, related to teachers' accountability for teaching and learning for all pupils, irrespective of their background. Pearce (2012) argues that it is the strong focus by the Government on English and the curriculum and the priorities set by the local authorities which make an inclusive curriculum rather difficult.

2.2   Policies for foreign languages at primary school

While looking at policies for multilingualism and diversity and policies for foreign language learning, the issue of language hierarchies becomes immediately apparent. In contrast to home languages spoken in the family, community or faith settings as discussed, European foreign languages especially seem to enjoy a higher status in England's mainstream schools (Mehmedbegovic, 2017; Tinsley and Doležal, 2018). Even though primary schools have the autonomy to choose any ancient or modern languages (Department for Education, 2013), the Language survey (Tinsley and Doležal, 2018) clearly points to the dominance of European foreign languages (Spanish, French and German). Mehmedbegovic (2017, p. 541) argues that there seems to be a divide between

> high-level awareness of the importance of learning and
> developing skills in several select foreign languages:
> French, Spanish, German and increasingly Mandarin, and a

lack of recognition for the skills children already have in their home languages.

In other words, while some languages are desirable to be learnt (for example European foreign languages), other languages seem to be perceived as of less value, maintaining a lower status. Hilmarsson-Dunn and Mitchell (2011) argue in their research on multilingual migrants in England that language hierarchies also affect pupils' home language use and attitudes. In order to improve their English language skills, pupils in their study choose for example not to use their home languages at school or not to sit next to pupils who speak their home languages as well. To conclude, as argued in the previous section, the way policies approach language ideologies (also see the Swann report, the National Curriculum Council and the letter about EAL policy in *Section 2.1.2)*, also seems to impact pupils' language use and choice at school and thereby, language ideologies and the construction of monolingual identities. This which will be further discussed in *Section 3.2*.

So, even though pupils value their multilingualism, it seems to be reserved for home and not school; a view also shared by parents (White et al., 2006; Walker, 2014). If languages suffer from a perceived low status and are not desirable to be spoken or learnt this might result, as Mehmedbegovic (2017, p. 540) argues, "in language loss at the individual level and language death at a societal level". And, as I have discussed in the beginning of this paragraph, the high versus low status of languages is also mirrored in the languages taught at school, an

important notion for all three of my sub-questions: identity construction of multilingual children, home language use within the French as a foreign language lesson and the teacher's approach to teaching French as a foreign language to a multilingual class.

So how did foreign language learning in primary schools develop over the past decades? Up until the early 1960s, foreign language learning in mainstream schools was reserved for secondary school pupils only. Only in 1964 was a pilot initiative, *Pilot scheme for the teaching of French in primary schools*, introduced to teach French in the primary school sector. Yet by 1974 funding had declined and the Government withdrew its support for the pilot scheme (Mitchell, 2011). Furthermore, an evaluation of this pilot study was released which suggested that learning French at primary school level seemed to have little impact on higher attainments in French at secondary school (Mitchell, 2011). For almost two decades foreign language learning vanished in primary schools, and introducing foreign languages was down to the individual schools and their personal interest in them. Yet, the 1990s proved to promote foreign languages more effectively than years past partly due to the belief that an earlier start in foreign language learning is more effective (Mitchell, 2011). Finally, in 1999 the *National Curriculum handbook for primary school teachers* (Department for Education and Employment and Qualifications and Curriculum Authority, 1999) offered non-statutory guidance for foreign language learning, but it was still down to the individual school to introduce foreign languages. The handbook stated that foreign languages should be used across the

curriculum; however it provided little information on how to implement foreign languages.

The new millennium began with the publication of the Nuffield report (2000) titled *Languages: the next generation*; its purpose was to review the UK's capability in languages. Languages were regarded as a key skill in life, and the report warned that "exclusive reliance on English leaves the UK vulnerable and dependent on the linguistic competence and the goodwill of others" (The Nuffield Foundation, 2000, p. 6). However, only a small number of recommendations on language skills needs were actually implemented.

In 2002, the Government published its strategy for the teaching of foreign languages *Languages for all: languages for life* (Department for Education and Skills, 2002). The strategy set out to establish "language competence as a key contemporary life skill" (Department for Education and Skills, 2002, p. 2) and declared that foreign language learning was an entitlement for KS 2, however not a requirement. It emphasised the necessity for schools to "celebrate the language skills of the many bilingual children growing up in our schools today" (Department for Education and Skills, 2002, p. 10) but also to increase intercultural understanding in order to encourage pupils "to contribute fully as multilingual and culturally aware citizens" (Department for Education and Skills, 2002, p. 5). The strategy encouraged primary schools to introduce a foreign language into their curriculum and shifted the emphasis from the secondary sector to the primary sector for the first time since the pilot initiative in 1963 to teach French lessons in primary

school. With the help of the 2003 introduced *Language Pathfinder programme* for KS 2 primary schools, partnerships between schools and local education authorities are in order to meet the goal of introducing foreign languages in the primary sector by 2010 (Office for Standards in Education, 2005). LEAs – local councils in England and Wales are responsible for education within their jurisdiction. The project was followed by the publication of *Key Stage 2 Framework for Languages* (Department for Education and Skills, 2005). This curriculum model for upper primary schools served as a long-term support, building up generic strategies for language learning and provided resources and assessment support tools. It aimed to begin phasing in foreign language learning prior to this becoming compulsory at the primary school level. In addition to providing learning strategies, the curriculum promoted positive values and attitudes towards foreign languages and awareness of foreign cultures. The intention was that the framework's two strands, *Knowledge about language* (KAL) (prior knowledge, insight into language, social and cultural value) and *Language learning strategies* (LLS) (develop pupils' awareness of how they learn, also for other subjects), would allow for promotion of linguistic, cultural and social diversity. At the time of my research, the teacher used the *Key Stage 2 Framework for Languages* in her planning, or rather the language coordinator in that school used it, as she provided all lesson plans.

Around the same time, a report and analysis of language education, *Languages review* (referred to as the Dearing report) (Department for Education and Skills, 2007), recommended that foreign language learning become part of the

statutory curriculum for KS 2 and that the curriculum offer a more extensive selection of languages beyond just French, German and Spanish. This was emphasised by a review panel of the National Curriculum commissioned by the Secretary of State which recommended, yet again, to include a foreign language in KS 2−4 (Department for Education, 2011). Even though the number of primary schools introducing foreign languages had increased, foreign language learning was still not a legal requirement for them.

So, around the time of conducting my study, 2011-2012, foreign language learning was not a legal requirement in primary schools.

In 2014, the UK government approved a new curriculum which finally made foreign language learning compulsory for all pupils age 7−11 in Key Stage 2 (Department for Education, 2013). However, expectations of what competency level could be reached in primary schools are high and hardly achievable with just an hour of foreign language instruction per week (Myles, 2017). Secondary school teachers would rely on the expected competences laid out in the National Curriculum and create lesson plans for continuing primary pupils' foreign language learning or would just start introducing foreign languages from the beginning (Myles, 2017). However, Myles argues, as do Tinsley and Doležal (2018), also the number of feeder schools and the different languages taught in primary schools make it difficult for the secondary foreign language teacher to seamlessly continue to teach a foreign language.

The *Language trends* survey report 2017/18 published by the British Council (Tinsley and Doležal, 2018) indicates that almost four in five of England's primary schools offered a foreign language. But staffing still seems an issue. In their survey, Tinsley and Doležal report that in around 42% of schools, class teachers delivered the foreign language lesson and of those, 58% did not receive any professional training in teaching languages which is in line with the findings about the teacher in my study. Despite the compulsory nature of the foreign language learning requirement starting in KS 2, the foreign language lesson remains at the lower end of priorities and is still a marginalised subject (Finch et al., 2018; Tinsley and Doležal, 2018). The reason for this is complex and both teacher competence and assessments in other subjects play an important role. Despite its statutory status, there has been little professional training for teachers to deliver language lessons, and in many cases there are no qualified staff to teach a foreign language, and not all class teachers have the confidence to teach a foreign language (Finch et al., 2018; Tinsley and Doležal, 2018).

Furthermore, drawing on my discussion in the previous section, the schools' landscape is full of assessments, testing and league tables which prioritise some subjects (core subjects) and, in turn, lower the lesson status of other subjects (foundation subjects), as teachers feel they do not have enough curriculum time to fit in other subjects such as foreign languages (Legg, 2013) which are not subject to the type of assessment described above, especially as they are not an externally assessed subjects (Finch et al., 2018). As the *Language trends* survey

(Tinsley and Doležal, 2018) confirms, foreign language lessons are often interrupted or discontinued due to a need to prepare pupils for the KS 2 SATs (Statutory Assessment Test). In other words, the priority of externally assessed subjects and time constraints as well as assessment and performativity seem to resent a hurdle in terms of the successful introduction of foreign languages in the primary school.

Tinsley and Board (2017) state that there is still a divide among teachers regarding foreign language learning. In their survey report it was argued that some teachers see foreign language learning as a benefit for all pupils while others contend that foreign language learning is only beneficial to those children who have secure English language knowledge. Legg (2013) also discusses teachers' attitudes and concerns regarding foreign language learning for all children in her research observing that while some teachers advocate learning a foreign language for all children, other teachers are concerned with its suitability for all pupils in terms of the degree of English language proficiency they have already acquired. From such views, learning a new language other than English is perceived to be "distracting and confusing" (Tinsley and Board, 2017, p. 39). Tinsley and Board report that some teachers argue that foreign language learning would put another language burden on children who are just starting to learn English. Arguably, class teachers may be concerned about their EAL pupils' English progress; however, these same teachers may be overlooking these pupils' capacity to learn languages in more effective ways because they have other languages at their disposal.

I summarise this section as follows. Foreign language learning in the primary school in England has formally been introduced as a statutory subject since

2014. Even though foreign languages seem to enjoy a higher status than the home languages most commonly encountered in the English primary school classroom, many constraints are faced with regard to teaching these at school, ranging from teachers not being well equipped to their prioritising other subjects due to assessments and their perceptions of the appropriateness of learning a foreign language for all children.

2.3   Conclusion

In this chapter, I have outlined several of the salient education policy developments regarding diversity, multilingualism and foreign language learning in England over the past seven decades. As Leung (2001, p. 38) so aptly points out,

> official policy discourse reflects an ideological selection of ideas and at the same time it legitimises the practices associated with the selected ideas

which I will also discuss in *Section 3.1* where I discuss learning from a sociocultural perspective.

Despite shifting from segregation to desegregation of EAL pupils, education policy still overwhelmingly reflects England's seeming preference for an English-only approach to schooling. The unquestioned assumption that the only way to master Standard English is through monolingual immersion maintains England's *Englishness* and serves to possibly advantage native speakers and force multilingual speakers to assimilate.

Language policies and practices have changed over time, however to some extent still remain the same: English is preferred. England's preference for

monolingualism can be seen not only in the case of EAL, but also in its approach to foreign language learning.

Introducing foreign languages at the primary school level emerged after decades of ambiguity and indifference to foreign language learning. It took even longer to follow other European nations' lead and raise foreign languages to the level of a statutory subject. But even now, although they are embedded within the National Curriculum, research and surveys suggest that foreign language lessons fall at the lower end of priorities during the school day, while KS 2 SATs subjects (literacy, numeracy and science) are given preferential treatment. In other words, despite both policies on multilingualism and diversity and policies on foreign language learning having been driven by different agendas and concerns and the perceived low and high status of home languages and foreign languages, languages per se seem to have a difficult standing in the curriculum.

Even though I have discussed the connections between the two fields of multilingualism and foreign language learning, I have also discussed their distinct theoretical traditions. However, within my research I hope to bring these two areas together which I have addressed in my main research question: *How does children's multilingualism influence the learning of French as a foreign language in a Key Stage 2 primary school classroom in England when taught by a teacher whose knowledge of French is relatively limited?*

In conclusion, policy development is inextricably linked to ideological constructs such as monolingualism. In an effort to provide equal educational opportunities (and intentionally or unintentionally promoting English linguistic and cultural dominance), some pupils' backgrounds and knowledge are marginalised by

these efforts whilst others bear value on account of their heritage, here an English one. While I would argue that learning the dominant language is of importance to achieve equal opportunities, I also argue that all teachers and pupils, monolingual and multilingual, could benefit in their learning experience from the rich knowledge base existent in the multilingual classroom which is where my research is set. However, in England, as seems to be the case for now, monolingual ideologies predominate and implementing educational policies that cultivate multilingual learning environments might be an enormous challenge.

The next chapter, *Chapter 3*, discusses the literature underpinning my research. It introduces children's learning at school from a sociocultural perspective, the construction of multilingual identities and multilingual learners' classroom explorations.

3   Literature review

This literature review, in addition to the discussion of policies on multilingualism and foreign language learning in the previous chapter, provides an underpinning of my empirical work. It seeks to introduce the key ideas and recent research on multilingual children's learning experiences at school, their construction of identity in education settings and approaches to learning that have been developed in the literature from a sociocultural perspective. I discuss the strength and limitations of the current literature and knowledge base on multilingualism and foreign language learning.

However, as I have maintained in *Chapter 2*, the research to date has tended to focus on multilingualism and foreign language learning as two separate areas of study rather than bringing these together, which is the focus of my study as introduced in *Section 1.2*.

The chapter is divided into three sections. In Section 1, I will focus on previous research and current understanding about children's learning at school from a sociocultural perspective. In Section 2, I will discuss the construction of multilingual identities. In Section 3, I will draw multilingual learners' classroom experiences, the notion of a safe space and translanguaging as a discursive practice in multilingual classrooms. Conceptual frameworks and concepts discussed will include *funds of identity* (Esteban-Guitart and Moll, 2014), the notion of *guided participation* and expert and novice (Rogoff, 1990) and the consideration of power in terms of *learning power* (Kenner and Ruby, 2012) and collaborative power (Cummins and Early, 2011b). The chapter concludes with a summary of the literature discussed.

3.1 Sociocultural perspectives on children's learning

As I have started to discuss while introducing my research questions (also see *Section 1.2*), a large and growing body of literature (Vygotsky, 1978; Rogoff, 1990; Gregory et al., 2004b; Mitchell et al., 2013; Esteban-Guitart and Moll, 2014; Swain et al., 2015) has investigated the role of the social and cultural context in children's development and learning which includes the surroundings children grow up in: family, community and school.

Sociocultural theory has its foundations in the writings of Vygotsky (1978) with the main idea that the social and cultural context and the ways people interact may play a role in their cognitive development. That is, our thinking develops through interaction with others, shaped by the social and cultural environment. In other words, besides biological factors, both social environment and cultural context are major contributors to people's development and influence and impact their learning. A sociocultural perspective views the learner as a participant in a culturally situated and social context, and this is particularly relevant to my study of multilingualism and foreign language learning. Thus, learning "is embedded in social relationships and is constructed by and distributed across members of learning groups" (Gregory et al., 2004b, p. 9).

That is to say, society contributes to individual learning. With regard to the school context, learning can be regarded as a social process which occurs through negotiation and co-construction with the teacher.

Vygotsky (1978) empathises the importance of human ability to voluntary control their higher mental processes (for example problem-solving, rational thought or voluntary memory) through the use of signs (higher level cultural

tools, such as symbolic, abstract representations like language) and tools (concrete material artefacts like objects). Both, signs and tools serve as a "buffer between the person and the environment and act to mediate the relationship between the individual and the social-material world" (Lantolf and Thorne, 2007, p. 203). In other words, symbolic and material artefacts mediate our interactions and development of thinking. Lantolf and Thorne (2007) provide an example by contrasting a dog digging for a bone in the ground (automatic digging response) and a person using a shovel to dig a hole to plant a tree. The person mediates the digging process by using a shovel (a concrete material tool) instead of their hands. Swain et al. (2015, p. 2) argue: "Mediation occurs when something comes between us and the world and acts in a shaping, planning, or directing manner".

Nevertheless, people have to appropriately select these artefacts. With appropriately, I mean the usefulness of the chosen artefacts as a mediating tool such as the kind of artefact or the intended interaction. This may also have implication for education as an inappropriately used learning resource may not successfully mediate learning in a given situation (Swain et al., 2015). Within the context of my study, this draws on the notion of multilingual children constructing monolingual identities in the classroom due to *English-only* ideologies. I will discuss this in *Section 3.2*, which is about multilingual children's identity construction.

I conclude that a sociocultural perspective on learning regards knowledge construction as an active process in which teacher and pupils interact. In other words, learning becomes a socially mediated activity which is negotiated and co-constructed. This has been discussed in the work of, for example,

Vygotsky (1978), Gregory et al. (2004b), Lantolf and Thorne (2007) or Swain et al. (2015).

Over time, the sociocultural perspective on learning and development have been widely discussed and expanded on, for example, in the fields of psychology, child development, education and language learning. Still, within all of these fields, the individual is embedded in society and culture and, therefore, cannot be understood without looking at this context. While I will discuss multilingual children's construction of identity and their classrooms explorations in *Sections 3.2* and *3.3* respectively, for now I will discuss some of the more recent interpretations of Vygotsky's sociocultural theory, including Rogoff's (1990) concept of *guided participation* and Esteban-Guitart and Moll's (2014) concept of *funds of identity*.

In her concept of *guided participation*, Rogoff (1990) interprets Vygotsky's work on guidance provided by others for children's learning. She argues that guidance is a rather impartial process, where both guidance and participation are important in the development of children's cognitive and social skills. Her concept brings both learners and teachers into a collaborative process of learning where the learners' views are as important as the teachers'. Rogoff uses the analogy of an apprenticeship. In the analogy, which can also be extended to the classroom, the *master* teaches skills to the *apprentice* just as a teacher teaches the pupils. The expert (teacher) guides the novice (pupil) in succeeding by improving skills and understanding through the participation with more skilled others, situated in a sociocultural activity. This model argues the active role of the child in social interaction with others, within a sociocultural context, emphasising the interrelatedness of all three aspects to the furthering

of the child's development. In other words, not only the teacher but also pupils

bring something to the learning process and both teacher and learner can

contribute in their own way to the child's development which is inseparable from

its context. This addresses two of my research questions, on the one hand

looking at how pupils use their language knowledge at school and, on the other

hand, the teacher's approach to teaching a foreign language to a multilingual

class, in other words in what ways this teacher and her pupils contribute or are

enabled to contribute to learning French as a foreign language (also see

Section 1.2 for a full discussion of my research questions).

Esteban-Guitart and Moll (2014) have interpreted another aspect of

Vygotsky's (1978) work. Their concept *funds of identity* is a progression on the

earlier developed concept *funds of knowledge* (Moll et al., 1992) which is based

on Vygotsky's work on mediation. As I have discussed before, people use signs

and tools to mediate their thinking and through these they interact in their social

and cultural settings. In Moll et al.'s (1992, p. 133) concept, these are the

"historically accumulated and culturally developed bodies of knowledge and

skills essential for household or individual functioning and well-being". *Funds of*

knowledge account for the collective bodies of knowledge and skills within a

family to mediate their wellbeing; however, they do not account for the

development and learning of the individual and the accumulated personal life

experiences and social interactions within and across social settings to express

and understand themselves (Esteban-Guitart and Moll, 2014, p. 37), here

proposed as *funds of identity*, which "are historically accumulated, culturally

developed, and socially distributed resources that are essential for people's

self-definition, self-expression, and self-understanding". These resources

include cultural artefacts of tools and signs but also include institutions, places or activities. Esteban-Guitart and Moll (2014, p. 38) suggest five major types of *funds of identity*, and these will be further applied in my data analysis and discussion, *Chapters 6* to *8*.

1. *Geographical funds of identity* (geographical settings or territories).

2. *Practical funds of identity* (an activity like work, sport or music).

3. *Cultural funds of identity* (artefacts, cultural concepts, social categories, age, gender or ethnicity).

4. *Social funds of identity* (significant others like family, friends and community).

5. *Institutional funds of identity* (social institutions like family, church and school).

Within the context of my study, using the children's *funds of identity* could be a powerful tool for teachers by building on children's prior knowledge by connecting their worlds, culture, identities and personal experiences, hence choosing the right learning materials. This idea has also been argued by Kenner (2004, p. 43, emphasis in original) who asserts that children "experience their worlds not as separate linguistic and cultural entities but as 'simultaneous'" (a point I have already discussed in terms of how policies constrain or encourage bridging children's school and community experiences: also see *Chapter 2*).

However, looking into pupils' prior knowledge and establishing sufficient guidance to supporting their learning and development assumes that learning entails the social relationship and interaction, the activity of the individual and

the context in which learning occurs, hereby using one very important mediating tool: language. Lantolf and Thorne (2007, p. 205) argue:

> Language is the most pervasive and powerful cultural artifact that humans possess to mediate their connection to the world, to each other, and to themselves.

Adopting such thought, a sociocultural perceptive on learning then provides a platform to explore multilingual children's classroom experiences where their language resources enable them to use their whole linguistic repertoire and experiences to be cognitively successful, hence mediating their learning.

In this way, multilingual learning not only places the language learner in a social context, but also considers the cultural background of the participant. Moreover, this then relates to the cultural setting of the school context which in turn again underlines the relevance of a sociocultural perspective on the multilingual classroom, hereby drawing on the earlier introduced term *multilingual learning* (also see *Section 1.2.3*), where I argued that it could be seen as a process to create meaning using all language resources in any learning. For now, it can be extended by the notion of identity. In other words, language becomes one of the symbols expressing a person's identity (Baker and Wright, 2017) (other symbols may include, for example, gender or ethnicity). This in turn is closely related to language ideologies and the legitimacy of language practices where language choice is not only tied to a person's self-expression but also to the availability of the languages for the speaker, as I have mentioned in *Chapter 2* and which I will discuss in *Section 3.3*, addressing multilingual children's classroom explorations.

3.1.1 Principles of learning

For the purpose of my study, I am interested in insights into the teacher's

practices for children's learning at school. An encapsulation of some of the

ideas of a sociocultural perspective on children's learning has been presented

by Nieto (2010) in the form of five principles of learning which I feel are helpful

to my study, as they address learning from a sociocultural perspective. These

principles are:

1. Learning is actively constructed.

2. Learning emerges from and builds on experience.

3. Learning is influenced by cultural differences.

4. Learning is influenced by the context in which it occurs.

5. Learning is socially mediated and develops within a culture and
   community.

These principles of learning follow a sociocultural perspective and are

consistent with Nieto's (2010, p. 26) understanding of multicultural education

> as embedded in a sociopolitical context and as antiracist
> and basic education for all students that permeates all
> areas of schooling, and that is characterized by a
> commitment to social justice and critical approaches to
> learning.

In other words, these principles of learning are for all learners but address

especially those whose knowledge, backgrounds and experiences have been

marginalised, for example within my research those children labelled as

learning English as an additional language.

As I have argued in *Chapter 2*, monolingualising ideologies, favouring *Englishness* and the tightening control on teachers in terms of assessment and performativity have led towards seeing learning only in terms of academic achievement, especially in English literacy, numeracy and science. Yet, such a limiting view does not consider the sociocultural context of learning. Here, learning is not purely academic achievement, but also a product of interactions between teachers and pupils, shaped and influenced by teachers' practices, attitudes, and values, as well as schools' policies and practices which are situated in the larger social and cultural forces at play. In view of this, Nieto's (2010) five principles acknowledge these many forces influencing a pupil's learning success.

I will now discuss Nieto's (2010) principles of learning one by one in relation to the work I am carrying out.

3.1.2 Learning is actively constructed

Nieto (2010) argues in her first principle that learning is actively constructed by both pupil and teacher alike instead of learning only happening through direct instruction by the teacher.

An insight from Cummins et al. (2011) on this is helpful to my interpretation. They argue that following such a principle requires learning to take place in joint interaction and through critical inquiry of the curriculum content, also relating it to the individual and collective experience of the resources teacher and pupils bring to the school setting.

Here Cummins et al. (2011, p. 28) introduce transformative teaching, a

> collaborative critical inquiry to enable students to analyse
> and understand the social realities of their own lives and of
> their communities.

A transformative teaching approach moves away from seeing learning as a largely passive process to learning as interactive. It empowers pupils to be active in their learning, holding agency in their knowledge construction, supporting critical thinking, reflections and meaningful action in contexts which are relevant to the pupils. Such an approach challenges the view that the teacher is the purveyor of knowledge which Freire (2005, p. 72) also refers to as the *banking* concept, which regards teaching as an approach tending to move in a single direction from teacher to pupil where pupils just "receive, memorize, and repeat". In other words, as Conteh (2018b, p. 215) aptly points out that "one powerful voice silences all others". However, teaching and learning is a much more collaborative process and, in this way, transformative pedagogy is the opposite of hierarchical knowledge construction because pupils are engaged in their learning and co-construct their knowledge through an inquiry-based approach of the social realities that relates to the pupils' experiences. I argue that a transformative approach allows for teachers and pupils to interact and negotiate. This may evoke a learning space where their personal and cultural identities can interact with each other on an equal footing which can embrace the diversity of the classroom and reflect an intention to make interaction, collaboration and critical inquiry central to the learning experience.

Yet, hierarchical structures of teacher-pupil discourses in the classroom are still prevalent, for example in multilingual classrooms. Here, learning is often not constructed by drawing on all the language resources the children bring but rather instructed, even imposing a monolingual ideology. This has been reflected in educational policy discourses in England (Leung, 2001; Costley, 2014) but also in research on multilingual classrooms, for example in the work of Robertson et al. (2014) about missed opportunities to use the bilingual teaching assistants in the classroom or in the work of Gregory (2008) on the assumed monolingualism of the multilingual pupils, especially in reading, disregarding that multilingual children might possibly already be familiar with different scripts and literacies. This relates back to the previous paragraph (also see the notion of monolingualism in *Chapter 2* or the discussion on multilingual children's learning experiences further along in this chapter).

Within my study, I am interested to see how teaching is actively constructed between teacher and pupils. Here, a transformative approach can promote equity and social justice, where pupils are recognised as knowers through the resources they bring. In other words, learning is socially and actively constructed between teacher and pupils challenging the traditional notion of power relations within the classroom. This leads on to Nieto's (2010) second principle.

3.1.3 Learning emerges from and builds on experience

Nieto (2010) recognises that every pupil has prior knowledge which is brought to education and learning. Such knowledge can be experiences but also attitudes and behaviours.

As I have maintained in the previous section, in terms of multilingual speakers, however, these experiences and prior knowledge have not always been recognised in mainstream school, especially in terms of languages seen as an asset for academic success. Rather, as Bracken et al. (2017) argue, schools today work in favour of learning English, the language of instruction, as fast as possible (also see *Section 2.1.2*) instead of including children's language repertoires in their learning.

Yet, Nieto (2010, p. 39, italics in original) contends that "all children have *some* experiences that can help them learn", although they may not have been recognised by teachers. This is also true for multilingual children who may bring a wealth of languages and learning experiences to their learning, which remain untapped by teachers, a concept Walker (2014) terms *invisible learning*. Here, learning at home, in complementary schools or faith settings may remain hidden to the teacher. And instead of actively constructing knowledge as I discussed earlier when writing about Nieto's first principle, teachers draw on Freire's (2005, p. 72) *banking* concept. In this concept "knowledge is a gift bestowed by those who consider themselves knowledgeable upon those whom they consider to know nothing."

This fits with Yosso's (2005) concept of *community cultural wealth*, which describes the resources and knowledge pupils bring to the classroom from their families and communities. In her research, Yosso challenges the deficit thinking about minority pupils prevalent in US schools. She argues that acknowledging cultural and social assets can "transform education and empower People of Color" (2005, p. 82) to draw on their experiences and bring these to the classroom. Her concept of *community cultural wealth* is similar to the earlier

mentioned *funds of knowledge* (Moll et al., 1992) and the later extended concept of *funds of identity* (Esteban-Guitart and Moll, 2014): All three concepts acknowledge that people have prior experiences which should not go unnoticed.

An insight from Cummins and Early's (2011b) work on identity texts during a multiliteracy project in Canada underlines how learning is facilitated around the pupils' experience, prior knowledge and interests, which acknowledges children's *funds of identity* (Esteban-Guitart and Moll, 2014) as resources for learning. Pupils drew on their linguistic repertoire to create multilingual literacy and identity narratives in the form of dual-language books.

For children, learning can take place in a variety of settings: within their daily attendance at a mainstream school, at complementary school, at home among family and/or in their immediate community but also in faith settings. This list is not exhaustive, but it does show how learning is not tied to one context and setting as has been discussed for example in the work of Kenner and Ruby (2012), Robertson (2007) or Walters (2011; 2017), which will be addressed within this chapter. Within the context of the classroom, it is important to recognise that learning experiences in and outside of school need to be recognised and interconnected, drawing on the earlier discussed notion of "living in simultaneous worlds" (Kenner, 2004, p. 43). Further, also concepts like Esteban-Guitart and Moll's (2014) *funds of identity* can be drawn upon to acknowledge multilingual children's learning experiences, through which they can explore their multilingualism and potentially enrich their identity construction and their understanding of who they are and where they come from. However, in her study about learning to read Hebrew in a Jewish community school,

Walters (2017, p. 10) discusses the challenges learners face while moving between different sites of learning as "they bring expectations and orientations to learning that have been acquired in other sites or at other times". It follows that if learning sites are interconnected, learning can be regarded as one experience which can be brought to and move across various sites, however, bearing in mind that different sites may also have different expectations and purposes for learning.

In my study, I am interested to see how the teacher approaches and draws upon the prior knowledge of her pupils, how learning is in the interaction of both the teacher with her pupils and the pupils with each other and the way knowledge is constructed. Allowing for drawing on children's prior experiences, I contend that in this way the lesson content may become more contextualised and meaningful for the pupils, acknowledging that pupils have knowledge they bring to the lesson through family, community and lived experiences, in the form of cultural and social assets bridging home and school which acknowledges that learning is not tied to one context. Yet, multilingual children's learning experiences are ultimately linked to cultural differences which I will discuss in the following.

3.1.4 Learning is influenced by cultural differences

As I have argued in the beginning of this section, a sociocultural perspective on learning stresses the importance of society and culture to learning and development. In her third principle of learning, Nieto (2010) maintains that learning is affected by cultural differences on an individual level as well as through the values of that culture which need to be acknowledged by the

teacher in order to be aware of the children's realities: individual, cultural, economic, social and political. Learning and development are embedded and situated within a cultural context. That is, learning and development vary from culture to culture and are neither represent a stable condition nor are they universal.

I have argued, when drawing on *community cultural wealth* (Yosso, 2005) or *funds of identity* (Esteban-Guitart and Moll, 2014), that children are thereby enabled to bring their prior knowledge and experiences to school, thus bringing home and school together as sites of learning. However, in multilingual and multicultural communities, experiences children have acquired previously in the home or their home cultural environment may deviate from the assumed linguistic and cultural ideologies held by the dominant group. Cultures have different values, like stressing interdependence (for example the importance of a close and extended family as a supporting network) or independence (for example focusing on the self), and these values have implications for the children's development and learning (Nieto, 2010). Indeed, it is also the surrounding dominant culture which "influences how society is organized, how school curriculum is developed and how pedagogy and policy are implemented" (Yosso, 2005, p. 75). In other words, learning is influenced by both the culture cultivated at home and within the children's communities and the culture surrounding their communities.

An insight from the work of complementary schools can also underline how learning is influenced by cultural differences. Drawing on the discussion in *Chapter 2*, monolingual ideologies of the education system, like the Swann report (Department of Education and Science, 1985), paved the way for

voluntary schools. These provided language and cultural classes to the diasporic community in various settings outside of the mainstream school which are referred to as complementary, supplementary, heritage language or community schools. Referring to these schools as complementary schools highlights the "*complementary* function of these teaching and learning environments in relation to mainstream schools", as has been discussed by Blackledge and Creese (2010, p. 47, italics in original).

Martin et al. (2007) suggests that complementary schools can be examples of a learning environment in which spontaneous and flexible language use is usually the norm. In other words, due to the lack of opportunities in mainstream schools, in complementary schools multilingual language practices can be explored "for the development, maintenance or revitalisation of community languages" (Robertson, 2007, p. 60). It may be difficult to imagine alternatives to monolingual systems which is why I argue that examining how complementary schools work and how children behave within them can provide us with a window into what is possible.

In Robertson's (2006) study of five bilingual children learning to read in three different languages, she discusses that the reading practices of different languages (here English in the mainstream school, Urdu in the complementary school and classical Arabic in Qur'anic classes) allows children to carefully negotiate their reading strategies for each language. In this way, Robertson maintains, children realise what counts in one language as *proper* reading might not apply for another, and in this way understand that literacies need to be approached differently for successful reading.

Further, an insight from Walter's (2011; 2017) work on reading in different settings underlines how learning is influenced by cultural differences from a different perspective (which I have also addressed in the previous section). In her research on children learning to read, Walters (2011) discusses the different reading approaches of children in their faith setting and in mainstream school. While reading Arabic script in the mosque school involved reciting and letter-sound correspondence, reading English in the mainstream school meant to read for meaning. Although one pupil, Attar, was able to read sentences out loud and could pronounce the words clearly, he was, however not necessarily reading for meaning. This in turn made the teacher think of the pupil as an excellent reader, but, when he faced difficulties in completing reading comprehension tasks, he did not receive enough support, as the teacher thought he could complete the task. But not only did the teacher assume he was able to read for meaning due to his ability to read out loud, the teacher thought that when Attar did not complete the task he was "lazy" and "defiant" (Walters, 2011, p. 397). The teacher did not seem to be aware of the different kinds of reading across the two settings, which directly impacted the children's learning and educational achievement; this touches on what Gregory (2008, p. xiv, italics in original) refers to as an "assumed […] *monolingual mind*". In other words, neither the children's knowledge and experiences, as discussed in the previous section, nor how their learning is influenced by cultural differences has always been recognised by the teacher.

Another example of how the surrounding culture influences and impacts education is the handling of multilingualism and diversity in England's educational policies: The mainstreaming of the curriculum at the expense of

multilingual learners which homogenises a heterogenic group of learners and in fact imposes a monolingual school system, as has been argued in *Chapter 2*.

Another insight on how learning is influenced by cultural differences is a study by Kenner and Ruby (2012) on collaborations between mainstream and complementary school. They encouraged children to use their language and cultural resources in the mainstream classroom which empowered the children to become independent learners, furthering their multilingual learning. Partnerships between mainstream schools and complementary schools may help to increase the support of multilingual learners. They also expose mainstream teachers to teaching and learning using multilingualism as a resource. Their research suggest that such collaboration could challenge institutional constraints and at the same time increased the agency of learners, the community and teachers. I argue that, from this perspective, complementary schools are a valuable contribution to mainstream schooling and that this contribution should not be underestimated but, instead, enhanced and incorporated into the mainstream curriculum.

As part of my study, I am interested to see if and how the children's learning is influenced by cultural and linguistic differences and how these then affect the children's learning, especially in the foreign language classroom. I have briefly touched upon the importance of the context in which learning takes place, which will be discussed in what follows.

3.1.5 Learning is influenced by the context in which it occurs

Nieto (2010) argues that learning is affected by the context in which it occurs, which means that it cannot be separated from it.

As I have illustrated in the beginning of this section, everything surrounding us influences us as learners and shapes our identities i.e. the resources and our interactions, social and political but also economical. This thought is interconnected with the previous learning principles, acknowledging agency in their knowledge construction and acknowledging prior knowledge children bring to education but also the values of the different cultures.

If we now turn to the fourth principle, it seems important to understand the significance of the context. Yet, it is difficult to isolate this from the other principles, as they all seem interconnected and interwoven.

The social, historical, cultural and political context, such as monolingual ideologies in policies, in schools and in the classroom (also see *Chapter 2)*, influences our perception and this, in turn, impacts the learning in the children's classroom experiences and their construction of identities. A sociocultural perspective recognises these aspects as context in which learning takes place. In other words, learning is not isolated but influenced by its embedded context, and this includes the role of the teacher, his/her perception of the pupils and ideologies on language, learning and education.

In my study, I am interested to understand this particular context: teaching French in a multilingual classroom. This includes the social and political influence of the education policies and the climate for multilingualism and foreign language learning at school. Moreover, for example using home languages can be valued and encouraged or devalued and dismissed, languages can be ascribed a high or low status (Mehmedbegovic, 2017) and teaching can be constructed or instructed (Cummins et al., 2011), and these

aspects have an impact on pupils' learner identities, choices taken, attitudes displayed and motivation for learning and language use (Hilmarsson-Dunn and Mitchell, 2011). I will discuss multilingual children's classroom experiences and their construction of identity in the following, *Sections 3.2* and *3.3*.

To conclude, I view the social, historical, cultural, economic and political context as the basis for all learning. And, rather than making it one of five principles of learning, I would make it the premise for learning where learning is not an isolated concept but influenced by what surrounds it.

3.1.6 Learning is socially mediated and develops within a culture and community

Nieto (2010, p. 45, italics in original) recognises a sociocultural perspective on learning and argues in her fifth and final principle that "development and learning are *mediated by* culture and society".

I have discussed the aspects contained in this principle in the introduction to this section (*Section 3.1*) and will not elaborate further on this principle in great detail. However, I would like to point out that unlike Rogoff's (1990) concept of *guided participation* or Esteban-Guitart and Moll's (2014) concept of *funds of identity* (both drew and expanded upon Vygotsky's (1978) work, i.e. on guidance and mediation, as I have discussed before), Nieto refers only broadly to Vygotsky's work, yet emphasises the to relate all characteristics and factors of learning by acknowledging that learning is not only cognitive but is situated in social and cultural contexts of pupils, teachers and school.

I would like to add that following my discussion on the role of policy in *Chapter 2*, it is this particular principle that links in here. Looking at a national

context, we cannot separate learning from its social, historical, cultural, economic and political context but must acknowledge the power policies can hold. Ball (2017, p. 18) argues

> policies are both systems of values and symbolic systems,
> ways of accounting for and legitimating political decisions
> and defining the public good.

This underlines the notion that policies are ideologically constructed (Leung, 2001), which then leads to seeing schools not as neutral ground but rather institutions which determine "what is worth knowing, and […] what it means to be educated (Nieto, 2010, p. 46) which ultimately influences pupils' learning. This notion addresses the main research question of my study as an overarching umbrella: *How does children's multilingualism influence the learning of French as a foreign language in a Key Stage 2 primary school classroom in England when taught by a teacher whose knowledge of French is relatively limited?* This also draws on the question: In what way is multilingualism perceived as being a legitimate resource for learning within the French lesson?

3.1.7 Reflection on the principles collectively

Nieto's (2010) principles of learning consider pupil's agency in their knowledge construction, the prior knowledge children bring to their learning, the influence of cultural differences on learning and how learning cannot be separated from context. While discussing these, I have drawn on research to underpin these principles; however, it is difficult to separate these principles out nor is this necessarily desirable, but nevertheless perhaps helpful to gain a deeper understanding of the combination of factors that are at play. Such a listing of

factors provides a simple framework to emphasise and tease out the interconnected elements that influence a teacher-pupil relationship from a sociocultural perspective, and in this respect, it is helpful to bring each principle to mind.

The above is an attempt to understand what learning entails when discussed from a sociocultural perspective. Such a perspective recognises that the social and cultural contexts in which learners live influence their learning. Further, this approach acknowledges that children are able to contribute in their own way to learning and development just as much as the teacher does, where individual agency and pupils' and the teacher's identities are important factors for learning and development.

While learning following a social perspective is not specifically tied to multilingual children and foreign language learning, its underpinnings, in other words, agency of knowledge construction, acknowledging prior experiences, the influence of cultural differences, the context of learning and how learning is socially mediated and developed within culture and society, are helpful to my interpretations of my research questions.

In the following, I will discuss multilingual learners' classroom experiences and their construction of identity and how identity and power arise from the contexts and practices that learners are situated in.

3.2   Multilingual children's identities

In this section, I discuss the construction of identity as it relates to multilingual children. It is within this context that I seek to explore in my research how identities may provide a context for understanding what the children say or do,

and the bearing this might have on the classroom dynamics and to what extent this might play out in the classroom regarding the children's construction of learner identities, which I will refer to as multilingual identity.

As I have discussed in the introduction to my research questions (also see *Section 1.2.2*), adopting a sociocultural perspective on identity construction, the social environment plays an enormous role in identity construction hence in upbringing. It sets the ground for how people see themselves as individuals and how they mediate their identity within that environment. From this understanding, identity refers to a person's sense of self and their understanding of who they are and where they come from and how they might use this. In other words, identity construction moves between how individuals construct their identity and how context and ideas influence experiences of individuals which could be interpreted as a process which is fluid and negotiated (Harris, 2006; Riley, 2007; Blackledge and Creese, 2010).

An insight from Riley (2007, p. 244) is helpful to my interpretations. He stresses that even though identity is socially constructed and emerges through interaction with others, yet it is "largely constructed by others in their own image and likeness". Here, this draws on the notion of imposed identities which are not negotiable in a given moment (Blackledge and Creese, 2010). The notion of imposed identities is especially visible in policy discourses (also see Leung (2001) and Ball (2017) in *Section 3.1.6*). One example, as argued in *Chapter 2*, is the dominant monolingual views on education, which in turn impacts teaching and the learning of all pupils. Yet, Blackledge and Creese (2010, p. 37) differentiate two more identity options: negotiable and assumed identities. While the former are "contested, bargained for and haggled

over by groups and individuals", the latter "are accepted and not negotiated". This touches on how learners become identified but also how they identify themselves, which has been discussed in terms of negotiating identity positions for example in the work of Day (2002) or Toohey (2018) or Walters (2011), all of which will be or have been detailed in the course of this chapter.

From this understanding, identity is a never finished entity, changing in nature, multilayered and mediated between the individual and the social environment, which means that it is socially constructed through interacting and communicating with others. Different identity positions and choices are likewise constructed and affected by this never-ending identity formation (Blackledge and Creese, 2010; Esteban-Guitart and Moll, 2014; Meier and Conteh, 2014). In other words, the way people interact with others and the culture they live in, two factors that often change in the life of a human being, have a bearing on an individual's development, i.e. on their identity construction.

Within the context of my study, multilingual children's particular challenges with identity reside in the fact that their home and school environments are often culturally, linguistically and socially dissimilar to one another, yet children move between those distinct worlds. An insight from Harris (2006) is helpful to my interpretations. In his research on the language use of adolescents of mainly South Asian descent born or brought up in England, he considers that using the term *Brasian*, suggests that identities are fluid and negotiated in the sense that both British everyday life elements and South Asian cultural diasporic practices are present. Here, multiple language and cultures are not seen as separate and stand-alone elements that children have to choose from; rather these identities complement each other and allow for alternative identity options to be

performed, which underlies the fluid nature of identity construction. And rather than using two words to describe a hybrid identity (e.g. British Asian) Harris (2006, p. 175) suggests merging these words to *Brasian* acknowledging that "Britishness is primary" in many practices but more important, the existence of more than one language and/or culture. This, in turn, values the children's backgrounds and languages and provides children with the possibility to embrace multiple cultural and linguistic as well as ethnic and national identities.

Meier and Conteh (2014) argue how schools seem to be spaces which can both allow but also hinder multilayered identities, especially in multilingual classrooms where, as discussed in *Chapter 2*, some pupils' languages and backgrounds are valued while others are marginalised. This then may lead to multilingual children adopting a monolingual identity by "compartmentalising their use of languages" which has been discussed in the work of Kenner and Ruby (2012, p. 2). This also draws on the earlier discussed notion of assumed identities. In their research on teacher collaboration and mainstream schools, they argue that by using solely English as the medium of instruction, home languages are marginalised, stripping children of their multilingual identity and leading towards a monolingual identity construction of multilingual children.

It may well be that monolingual societies in essence use a monolingualising approach and force multilingual children to prefer the dominant culture's language and in that sense impact upon their identity to reflect the dominant culture. Arguably, the pressure to conform to monolingual ideals may strip children of their multilingual heritage, where multilingualism is regarded as a limiting factor, which can adversely influence their identity development. Here, Kenner et al. (2008) suggest that monolingual spaces such as schools can

prevent multilingual children from developing their multilingual learner identity within mainstream school. In their study about bilingual learning with second and third generation learners, they suggest that these children felt institutional constraints which barred them from using their full language repertoire. This situation can be seen as a serious drawback if neither the school nor the wider society assists in promoting multilingual identities but rather devalues other languages than English, which, as argued in the previous paragraph, may lead to children ultimately developing monolingual identities (Kenner and Ruby, 2012) or opting for a monolingual profile at school (Mehmedbegovic, 2017). As a consequence, this also affects pupils' sense of "belonging to school" (Agirdag et al., 2014, p. 24), drawing on my discussion of language choice in *Section 2.2*. In other words, if school, as an institution of the state and part of society, devalues and discourages community languages, home and school settings are separated, and children may feel rejected by not being able to use all their linguistic and cultural resources: Hence schools can silence multilingual children. This not only affects the construction of multilingual identities but also learning, as the children's learning outside mainstream school remains hidden.

Research has acknowledged that multilingual learning is not tied to one context (Martin et al., 2007; Robertson, 2007; Ruby et al., 2010; Gregory et al., 2012; Kenner and Ruby, 2012; Sierens and Ramaut, 2018) or to language practices such as translanguaging, arguing for a unitary language system which incorporates all languages (Conteh et al., 2014; García and Wei, 2014) (also see *Section 3.3.2*). However, the context in which children grow up is still framed by monolingual beliefs, i.e. English as the language for success and

academic achievement (which has also been discussed in *Chapter 2*). In other words, and maintained throughout this section, language ideologies such as the perceived hierarchy and status of a language may lead to the construction of monolingual identities where home languages are reserved for home where the children's languages are possibly not marginalised but valued. This plays back to the policies which impose a monolingual view on the entire education system. However, if the perceived low status of a language leads to the language not being spoken, the language may eventually be entirely eradicated from use by the individual and society (Mehmedbegovic, 2017) as argued in *Section 2.2.* In other words, the constructing of identity is not only individual agency but also imbued in the idea of collective solidarity among its community members (Conteh and Mor-Sommerfeld, 2008) shaped by social context for example language ideologies.

An insight on individual agency and social membership is useful to my interpretation. In the following, I will draw on three research studies about multilingual learners' experiences and the construction of identity.

In her longitudinal ethnographic study on six English language learners, from Kindergarten to Year 2 in a Canadian public school, Toohey (2018) researched six children's construction of learner identity and language learning. She discusses the way the children engaged in classroom practices and how these are linked to various identity options. Drawing on a sociocultural perspective, she argues that while for some children, like Julie, doors were opened to be accepted by the group which in turn led them to be successful language learners, others, like Surjeet, were prevented from access and participation in the classroom community as their available identities seemed to be less

desirable and powerful. This has implications for the learner and despite Surjeet's higher level of English when entering kindergarten, she was outperformed by Julie during the time of research. Over time, Julie was successfully accepted by her peers partly due to her own actions and partly due to the opportunities her classroom community provided (Norton and Toohey, 2001).

Another insight on social membership is provided by the work of Day (2002). In her ethnographic case study, she discusses the different identities displayed by Hari, a Punjabi speaking English language learner in kindergarten in Canada. Day argues that learning and identity but also social membership are inextricably linked and shaped by the discourse, interaction and relationship with the teacher and peers. Here she draws on the powerful role of the teacher, touching on not only how learners become identified but also how learners identify and position themselves within the classroom.

In other words, drawing on my earlier discussion about a sociocultural perspective on identity construction, the findings suggest a duality between how the social and cultural context of the classroom and its community places the individuals, here Surjeet, Julie or Hari, but also how they position themselves in terms of access and participation in their classroom community and opportunities for learning in the particular classroom contexts in which they find themselves, negotiating their identities. Norton (2013) explored this notion in an ethnographic study of adult English language learners in Canada. She argues that language learning is a social practice within a community and describes how Eva, one of the Polish speaking participants, gained acceptance among her work colleagues in a restaurant and through this widened her language

learning practices. In their joint review of their studies, Norton and Toohey (2001, p. 318) maintain "that understanding good language learning requires attention to social practices in the contexts in which individuals learn L2s".

As I have maintained, identity is dynamic, fluid and negotiated but also multilayered and changing over time, related to language and culture and may be a result of discourse and communication with others. Also, people can hold many identities changing with time and place, varying in different situations. Moreover, identity development is a non-linear, interwoven process continually progressing and changing over time. In Blommaert's (2006, p. 245) words

> identity is best seen not as one item, but as a repertoire of different possible identities, each of which has a particular range or scope and function.

Here I would like to refer back to Esteban-Guitart and Moll's (2014) concept of *funds of identity* (also see *Section 3.1*) which underlines the notion that identity is constructed within particular social and cultural contexts and thus becomes a resource.

Particular to multilingual children, the construction of multilingual identity is dependent on who multilingual children are allowed to be at school and whether identities can be negotiated and affirmed. This feeds ultimately into an understanding of what they say or do in the classroom and how they access and participate in classroom practices. If children understand themselves as multilingual, they then might recognise and understand bits of language and culture during the lesson. Moreover, such recognition may lead to increased confidence, linking lesson content to home and community.

Here, an insight into Sneddon's (2009) work suggests how moving between languages and cultures was beneficial to the children's learning. She argues in her research on children learning to read through dual language books, that the use of bilingual books allows children opportunities to explore and experience their multilingual background in different languages by using resources that supported not only their language development but also their identity development. In a similar way, Creese et al. (2006) argue in their research in two complementary schools, using all the children's language resources, English and Gujarati alike, allows the performance of multiple identity positions but also flexibility by moving between languages and drawing on their language repertoires.

Such studies challenge the assumption that learning is tied to one context but takes place across context. Further, I have argued that identity is fluid, changing and not fixed, as is language, a social practice constructed by people in specific contexts. Moreover, Conteh (2015) argues that everyone has its own language repertoire; we draw on these resources to determine the purposes in which we use language to communicate. In other words, multilingual children experience different sites of learning, move between home and school and make language choices according to their available identity options. All this highlights the complexity of children acting in accordance with their multilingual identities and how these might have a bearing on multilingual children's upbringing at home and at school. So, while the construction of identity is bound to the agency of the individual, it is also related to the role of language and discourse practices of the context in which multilingual children are situated. In other words, multilingual children may still need to mediate their language and learning

between themselves and their different social environments. However, this can be challenging if not met with adequate support and to this end, will be explored in the next section where I will discuss the conditions needed for such learning.

I close this section by relating the discussion about identity construction to my particular research focus. While identity construction of multilingual children has been widely discussed and addressed within this chapter and elsewhere in the literature as I have described, there is a paucity of research regarding the identity construction of multilingual children within the foreign language primary classroom. However, such research is of equal relevance as it connects two areas of language practices rather than seeing them as different and distinct. I will address this again in the discussion of my data analysis and findings, *Chapters 6* to *8*.

3.3 Multilingual children's classroom explorations

In a multilingual classroom, children are in the unique position of having multiple languages at their disposal. Yet, multilingual learning is complex and involves many factors which contribute to the construction of such a context, ranging from the teacher's understanding about multilingual learning, her own identity construction, as well as the children's understanding of their identity to the extent of home language use into the lesson, agency of pupils and teacher but also policy discourse in the school. Here I wonder: To what extent can multilingual learning happen in the mainstream schools as institutions of the state? Do they make multiple identities and multilingual learning possible, or constrain them?

As I have discussed in the preceding chapters, the reasons for not including home languages are complex, ranging from policy discourses unfavourable to languages other than English such as the brief summary of Government policy in relation to EAL learners (Department for Education, 2012a) up to the tightening control on teachers in terms of performativity and accountability (Adams, 2014) and individual reasons, including the maintenance of authority during the lesson (Conteh and Riasat, 2014; Sierens and Ramaut, 2018), or lack of understanding of the importance of including children's languages for learning (White et al., 2006). Even though Conteh (2015, p. 31) aptly argues that language "is always cross-curricular in that the language itself forms the basis of learning in all the other areas of the curriculum", multilingual practices within the classroom are still at the margin either because of unwillingness or because of missed opportunities. This has, for example, been discussed in the work by Robertson et al.'s (2014) about the lack of home language use in the classroom. Their study investigates how bilingual teaching assistants in two different early years classrooms support the children's learning. However, in spite of their awareness of the children's linguistic and cultural knowledge and backgrounds, they are unable to use home languages with the children except for communicating with parents or, for example, if children do not understand. However, even if the teacher recognises the children's language sources as a benefit, it is not automatically being used as a resource in learning.

Adopting a sociocultural perspective on learning (also see *Section 3.1*), I regard, multilingual learning is neither limited as regard to these aspects nor does it entail an outcome or approach, it can be seen as a process by which pupils engage with all their language as resources for learning (as introduced in

Section 1.2.3). In this way the teacher draws on previous experiences to construct new knowledge, valorising what children bring to their learning instead of seeing English and home languages as two contradictory forces within the lesson.

But what do teachers need to know in order to support children in their multilingual learning? The teacher might need some theoretical understanding of what multilingual learning entails but also understanding of the children's family contexts, their cultural and language backgrounds. Further, the teachers must know how to discover and acknowledge the children's resources explicitly, designing activities for multilingual learning and offering opportunities in which home language use is encouraged and fostered. An insight into studies recognising children's multilingualism in learning is helpful to my discussion. Throughout my literature review, I have discussed various studies, drawing on different aspects including, for example, drawing on children's prior knowledge and experiences (Cummins and Early, 2011a), how learning is shaped by cultural differences and contexts in which learners are situated (Robertson, 2006; Walters, 2011; 2017) or safe spaces for learning (Conteh and Brock, 2011). Therefore, I will not repeat these within this section. However, beside theoretical understanding and providing multilingual learning opportunities, it is also the relationships and interaction between teacher and pupil and between pupil and pupil which may be a significant contributor to a child's (learner) identity construction which I have discussed in the previous section. Concepts like the *funds of identity* (Esteban-Guitart and Moll, 2014) already discussed but also translanguaging as a multilingual practice (García and Wei, 2014) may be useful in the construction of such learning spaces and

may lead to *learning power* (Kenner and Ruby, 2012) which could encourage children to have a positive regard for their languages (the two latter points will be discussed in within this chapter).

In summary, I would argue that teachers who are aware of the effects of a monolingual ideology as a way to limit, discourage and devalue home language use may have the ability to counter these effects by encouraging multilingual language use, drawing on the children's cultural and linguistic awareness and devising lesson plans in accordance with the children's backgrounds. Thereby, pupils may feel empowered to act in accordance to their identities in and through their multilingual language practices. Further, as I have argued in the previous section, identity is multiple and changing, especially in diverse urban spaces. Providing a supportive and nurturing learning environment and school ethos, where multilingualism is fostered, validated and encouraged, may be key to multilingual pupils' identity development as learners. However, among other factors such as the social context, language learning and individual agency, it is also power relationships which will affect the opportunities for the construction of (learner) identities, a notion which addresses the third of my sub-questions regarding the teacher's limited expertise in the subject and her approach to teaching that foreign language to a multilingual class.

Here I would like to draw on Cummins and Early's (2011b) work on collaborative power relations and Kenner and Ruby's (2012) work on *learning power*, which I will discuss in what follows.

Drawing on my discussion in *Section 3.1*, a sociocultural perspective on children's learning acknowledges that learning occurs within a social context

influenced and shaped by all members of the group, whether experts, novices, teachers or pupils. Power relations can inform the aims a teacher might have for shaping the classroom dynamics, varying between coercive and collaborative power relations, i.e. "power over" and "power with" (Cummins and Early, 2011b, p. 12). The idea of collaborative power relations is that teachers and pupils negotiate and co-construct their learning, here drawing in Cummins and Early's (2011b, p. 13, italics in original) notion of empowerment, which is "*the collaborative creation of power*". In other words, collaborative power dynamics may function as essential support mechanisms in learning as they can help teachers and pupils negotiate and interact in the service of advancing their collective knowledge.

Another concept useful to my interpretation of multilingual learning is the notion of *learning power* (Kenner and Ruby, 2012). They argue in their research on identity, agency and empowerment of pupils, that *learning power* becomes an important learning tool for children and their multilingual language practice. They define *learning power*, more often generated by complementary schools, as "working together as a community, co-constructing knowledge that draws on multilingual and multicultural resources" (Kenner and Ruby, 2012, p. 97). This aspect of working together as a community provides a useful addition to my earlier understanding where I suggested that multilingual learning can be seen as a process of engaging in creating meaning using multiple linguistic means but also acknowledging the experience the individual has and brings in. The notion of *learning power* by working together may result in the construction of knowledge between teacher and pupils, where the teacher acts not merely as a teacher, but mediates the children's learning, out of which multilingual learning

can emerge. Here I draw on my earlier discussion in *Section 3.1*, where I argued that learning is a much more equitable process, to which both teacher and learners contribute. This notion is supported by the term *learning power*. This sort of learning may include inviting pupils to share knowledge and experiences through which pupils can learn from each other. In this way, children learn to take responsibility for their own but also for other's learning. And as Kenner and Ruby (2012, p. 119, italics in original) rightly say: "For children, *learning power* means both the power to learn, and learning to use that power". This can be achieved, so they argue, by linking home, community and school, teacher collaborations between mainstream and complementary schools and, through this, learning about the pupils' multilingual and cultural backgrounds, as argued in the beginning of this section (*Section 3.2*). Within the context of my study, the school environment might serve as a context where teachers and pupils could learn together in joint engagement in a topic. This suggests a classroom power relation that removes the teacher from being an overall authority and, instead, invites the learners to contribute with their knowledge and experience to the collective learning process of the group.

In the beginning of this section, *Section 3.2*, I discussed what a teacher might need to bring to the class to foster and cultivate multilingual learning. Here, I will briefly name possible benefits multilinguals may derive from their knowledge of two or more languages. Multilingualism may advantage children cognitively and socially. I draw on the research community (Vygotsky, 1986; Cummins, 2001; García, 2009; Bialystok, 2013; Baker, 2014; Baker and Wright, 2017), concluding that the benefits of multilingual competency may include:

- Cognitive benefits for learning: multilingual awareness like ignoring misleading information, knowledge about languages, divergent or creative thinking, communicative sensitivity, the ability to learn multiple languages, comparing language structures, thinking in more than one language, transferring knowledge between languages.

- Social and personal benefits: socio-economic, employment, local and global interactions, multiple identities, cultural awareness and construction, broader multicultural experience, appreciation of diversity, wider communication, multiliteracy, academic.

These lists are by no means complete but serves to give an idea of the possible benefits multilingual children may have in their upbringing.

I bring in the work of, for example, Kenner (2004), Robertson (2006), Kenner et al. (2008), Sneddon (2009) or Cummins and Early (2011a) (which I have already referred to in this chapter) in expecting that multiple languages in the classroom could be beneficial for children as this encourages higher cognitive functioning such as transfer of skills (like reading), multilingual creativity or language awareness (such as awareness of different reading and writing systems), which may also enhance the children's thinking power. An insight into Cummins' (2001) work about pupils' ability to transfer language concepts easily is helpful to my interpretation. He argues how knowledge about one language may lead to knowledge about another language: "Conceptual knowledge developed in one language helps to make input in the other language comprehensible" (2001, p. 184). Exploring the relationships between L1 and L2 acquisition in one central processing system, Cummins (2001) introduced the *interdependence hypothesis*, also known as the *dual iceberg model*. He argues that there is a linguistic interdependence between the first

and second language which he refers to as a *common underlying proficiency* (CUP) and that it is this CUP which might enable learners if supported appropriately to transfer cognitive and academic knowledge and abilities i.e. literacy-related concepts and skills across languages rather than keeping languages separate.

I contend that recognising and drawing upon the children's languages as a learning resource may benefit the children cognitively and academically and might enhance their language understanding, knowledge and skills. This draws on the notion of translanguaging which will be further discussed in *Section 3.3.2.*

I conclude that multilingual children bring potential benefits to the school environment, cognitively but also socially; however, these are only valuable for learning if recognised and also acknowledged within the mainstream classroom. The notion of a safe space, as discussed in the following section, could serve as a condition for learning, drawing on these benefits and enabling multilingual learning while exploring multiple identity positions.

3.3.1 Safe space

The research findings, for example, of the work of Kenner and Ruby (2013) or Conteh et al. (2014) suggest how multilingual learning may contribute to identity (identity as learners) development and indicate that it would be beneficial to integrate a multilingual space into mainstream school culture where the children's language and cultural resources are drawn upon in their learning and where they also feel that their identities are valued and respected. I introduced this idea in my research questions in *Section 1.2.4.*

The notion of a multilingual space brings together the earlier discussion about a sociocultural perspective on learning, the construction of multilingual identities and multilingual children's classroom explorations. As previously argued, environments in which multilingual children feel comfortable expressing themselves by using their multiple linguistic resources may play a crucial role in the construction of their identities (in particular their learner identities). These kinds of multilingual environments are often consciously constructed spaces where being multilingual is regarded positively. Conteh and Brock (2011) have explored the idea of such a multilingual space, which acts as a site within a site where multilingualism can be examined without adhering to the monolingual ideologies of school.

In these environments, created collaboratively between teacher and pupils, the children may have the freedom and ability to express themselves safely and to "share personal experiences, [are] proud of their language skills and explore and develop personal identities" (Sneddon, 2009, p. 82). Moreover, Conteh and Brock (2011, p. 347, emphasis in original) assert that multilingual children "are entitled to particular kinds of 'safe spaces' to succeed in their education". They assert that safe spaces are created through the relationships between teachers and pupils. In other words, learning is co-constructed and mediated, recognising and valuing children's prior knowledge and experiences, drawing on the notion of a sociocultural perspective on learning which for example acknowledges that learning is actively constructed and recognises prior learning experiences, as I have discussed in the beginning of this chapter. Also the earlier introduced concepts of *guided participation* (Rogoff, 1990), *funds of identity* (Esteban-Guitart and Moll, 2014) and the notion of power within the

classroom (Cummins and Early, 2011b; Kenner and Ruby, 2012) are important for this discussion about safe spaces. Here, the teacher, more than the school itself, can provide a safe space that nurtures children's multilingual identity development within the possibly non-safe space and monolingual environment of the school. The discussion about monolingualising policies in *Chapter 2* is also relevant in this respect.

With regard to learning sites, particular in complementary schools, teachers might be able to support the children's multilingualism further, as they are aware of the children's cultural background and can actively draw on the home languages and cultural resources that the children bring into the class with them. Here an insight from Martin et al.'s (2007) research is useful for my discussion. Their findings suggest that the pupils showed high levels of "spontaneity and normality" (2007, p. 105) but also flexibility in their multilingual language practices within the space created by the two Gujarati complementary schools. Their research also suggests that this may contribute to the children's construction of multiple identities. I argue that, while not all mainstream schools may have the same linguistic understanding as complementary schools, safe spaces may give multilingual children a place to have their multiple resources recongised and to draw on those – a step toward greater integration.

While a safe space for multilingual exploration may develop more easily in complementary schools because their teachers are acutely aware of the children's multilingual upbringing, I wonder if and how the foreign language lesson in my study could provide such a space for multilingual children to express their multilingualism interconnected with their individuality, creativity and identity.

As I have already maintained, a multilingual learning space could serve as a space to bridge out-of-school language use and curriculum-based language practices and here, the co-construction of such a space could contribute to the children's multilingual learning and identity development allowing children to hold multiple identities, languages and perspectives at the same time. Teachers emerge as the primary factor in creating environments in which children can explore and develop their identities without feeling anxious about breaking any *dominant language only* rules. I argue that these spaces may allow multilingual children to share their diverse experiences without being silenced or shamed. In such a space, children should feel safe to express themselves, drawing on their language resources to constructing meaning. However, to what extent multilingual learning spaces can actually practically be achieved is also linked to policy. In this respect, we should not fail to look at my discussion on policy and its impact on education settings in *Chapter 2*.

Providing a safe space for multilingual identity exploration can assist in maintaining home languages and allow children to form identities based on their multilingual abilities rather than on their *otherness* or their English proficiency levels. A space where language resources are encouraged and fostered can be expanded by introducing a translanguaging space. Such a space then enables pupils to co-construct and expand their multilingual practices and, at the same time, allows teachers to teach drawing on the pupils' resources as contributions to their learning. In this way pupils can actively use all their language resources to create meaning, which I will discuss in the following.

3.3.2 Translanguaging as a multilingual practice

Conteh (2018b, p. 217) argues that

> languages need to be understood as resources with which
> participants make sense of their experience, express their
> meanings and accomplish their goals,

here identifying translanguaging as a way to achieve this.

Translanguaging as a pedagogical practice was first coined by Williams in 1994
(as referenced in: Baker and Wright, 2017). In his study, bilingual children
alternated the languages of input (receptive) and output (productive) in a single
lesson. Reading and/or listening in one language (for example, English) and
writing and/or speaking about it in another language (for example, Welsh)
(Baker and Wright, 2017).

Drawing on the research community (García and Wei, 2014; Conteh, 2015;
Creese and Blackledge, 2015; Wei, 2018), the focus of translanguaging is on
navigating language practices for communication.

As of today, translanguaging is not a set term and ranges from its application to
maximise learning (Baker and Wright, 2017) to the relationship between
language use and performed identities (Creese and Blackledge, 2015) or *a
process of knowledge construction*" (Wei, 2018, p. 15, italics in original). In
other words, this discursive practice constructs knowledge for thinking,
meaning-making and communicating by drawing on all our language resources,
in which languages form a unitary language system rather than seeing them as
separate entities (Otheguy et al., 2015). In this way, translanguaging underlines

that all sorts of dynamics exist such as its societal implications, as

Otheguy et al. (2015, p. 281) include in their definition of translanguaging:

> the deployment of a speaker's full linguistic repertoire
> without regard for watchful adherence to the socially and
> politically defined boundaries of named (and usually
> national and state) languages.

However, the restriction of multilingual practices in the classroom is connected

to the monolingual ideology of the framed policy discourses which I have

discussed in *Chapter 2*. Yet, Conteh (2018b, p. 217, emphasis in original)

argues, that translanguaging can "help us to move beyond the constraints of the

'monolingualising' ideology of the English education system". In other words,

translanguaging is the opposite of a monolingual education and monolingual

teaching. And assuming that a person possesses one language system

containing all languages, translanguaging

> *transgresses and destablizes* language hierarchies, and at
> the same time *expands and extends* practices that are
> typically valued in school and in the everyday world of
> communities and homes (García and Wei, 2014, p. 68,
> italics in original).

So, what does a translanguage discourse look like? I came across this form of

using multiple languages during my time as a class teacher in London.

However, at this point in my life I was not aware of the concept of

translanguaging. Every week, the pupils received a reading assignment to be

performed at home as part of their daily reading homework. The pupils

themselves chose the books they used for these tasks, and so it happened that

some children read books in their home language. The assignment, however,

was in English and had to be performed in English. Translanguaging occurred

when they first read and comprehended their book in their home language, and then translated the content of the book from their home language into English to answer the questions in English from the assignment. The children drew on all resources and used their full linguistic repertoire and language knowledge.

In my own personal experience when teaching at a primary school prior to beginning my study, my parallel class teacher was not fond of the children practising this as he feared their multiple language use would hinder them in their English language development. Such an example underlines the still prevailing monolingualising attitudes in English literacy lessons and, rather than blaming the teacher, it highlights context, policies and climate in education settings in which multilingualism is still seen as a limiting factor, as I have discussed in *Chapter 2*.

Translanguaging as a language practice in the multilingual classroom addresses the second sub-question of my research about how children use their language repertoire in the French as a foreign language lesson, in what way languages other than English and French can be explored, which also draws on my third sub-question regarding the teacher's approach to teaching the foreign language within a multilingual class. This will be discussed in my data analysis in *Chapters 6* to *8*.

Allowing translanguaging in schools communicates that all languages, and not just the dominant language, are valuable and can be used together for enhanced communication by children choosing from their language repertoires in order "to express their meanings and perform their identities in the ways most appropriate to them" (Conteh, 2015, p. 197). In this way translanguaging may

serve as a discursive practice for multilingual children in which they draw from one unitary language system and, from that understanding, also see home and school as interconnected sites for learning.

To conclude, translanguaging as a language practice in the classroom can enable the children to draw on their language repertoires to support meaning-making, their understanding and knowledge construction and, in this way, free them of the notion that languages are separate entities.

3.4   Conclusion

In this chapter I have discussed the theoretical underpinnings of my empirical work.

Bearing in mind the discussion in *Chapter 2* about policy discourses on language learning in England, the present chapter has discussed language learning within the multilingual classroom from a sociocultural perspective. Bringing these two chapters together, two layers of language learning as well as two contexts emerge: 1. historical and political wrangles regarding the longstanding issues surrounding multilingualism and foreign language learning and 2. conditions for language learning and language practices within the classroom. While policies are ideological constructs marginalising some pupils' knowledge whilst valorising others', classrooms can be regarded as sites for reproducing inequalities in terms of language learning: I have argued how language ideologies, hierarchies and status shape learning, constraining or enabling multilingual learning and constructing monolingual or multilingual identities, individual agency and social membership in identity construction. Children not only have to understand their complex linguistic environment but,

also, they have to act in accordance with their identities in different contexts, drawing on different languages appropriately. In other words, who they are allowed to be is not only dependent on the teacher's role (encouraging or constraining language use), but also on their availability of identity positions, option and choice. Acknowledging what children bring to their learning and what languages they are encouraged to use at school can value and validate their backgrounds, linguistically and culturally. And in this way, languages become contributions to learning as well as resources for it.

The authors and studies discussed in this chapter are consistent in their views about language learning, in other words applying a sociocultural perspective on learning, acknowledging that both teacher and pupils contribute to learning, learning takes place across contexts, learning cannot be separated from its context and construction of identity is fluid and subject to negotiation or to how pupils position themselves as learners but also how they are positioned by the teacher. However, these aspects, particular to the language classroom in my study and the context I am working in, the connections between multilingualism and foreign language learning, will be discussed and analysed in *Chapters 6* to *8*.

Further, the theoretical framework above and its implications for my study in the light of the current body of knowledge will be discussed in my concluding chapter which argues for making use of *windows of opportunity* for multilingual teaching and learning for teachers, school and policy.

The next two chapters will introduce the methodological framework employed while investigating my questions. The first one, *Chapter 4,* introduces my methodological considerations for adopting an ethnographic approach.

4 Methodological considerations

In this chapter, I discuss the methodological considerations I employ in this research. As set out in *Section 1.2*, the purpose of my study is to explore how children's multilingualism influences the learning of French as a foreign language. In the following, I endeavour to address this topic using a qualitative approach to research.

This chapter introduces my chosen research methodology, setting out theoretical considerations for using an exploratory, descriptive and interpretive approach and outlining my rationale for adopting an ethnographic perspective. This includes addressing initial questions or hunches, the setting in which the research takes place, the small scale but in-depth research and the discovery-based approach to data collection. Further, I will address the significance of the self in the research and will provide a rationale for assessing quality in research. The chapter concludes with a summary of my methodology and addresses the main issues that emerged during my research.

4.1 Ethnographic principles

This section addresses theoretical considerations which resonate with my own epistemological understandings (how knowledge is gained) related to my overarching research question which I have outlined in *Section 1.2* and the literature discussed in *Chapter 3*.

I follow a broader interpretivist paradigm with the ontological view that reality is created by individuals in groups, thus understanding that there is no single truth (Bryman, 2016). On this basis, I chose a qualitative research approach to address my research questions as what I want to research cannot be examined

as effectively following an objectivist epistemological assumption that sees reality as is, objectively. Following a subjectivist epistemological position enables me to accept that data can be viewed, interpreted and explained differently, "subject to the interpretations of different value standpoints and subject to revision as a result of changing conditions and circumstances" (Daly, 2007, p. 24). Daly's position acknowledges that the researcher's beliefs, values and understandings determine the direction of the fieldwork and analysis, impact on the construction of meaning, and are integrated into the outcome of the research, also see *Section 4.1.4*. And while I have argued for adopting a sociocultural perspective on learning in *Chapter 3*, where both social and cultural context have a bearing on development and learning, in the same vein, social research cannot be understood without considering how research is situated within a context, which includes the researchers' beliefs and values, ethical considerations but also how knowledge is produced through data collection and the analysis and interpretation of the emergent data.

In this way, qualitative research differs from quantitative research in its application of inductive rather than deductive reasoning.

Lichtman (2010, pp. 187-188) argues that an inductive approach means

> to examine the whole, in a natural setting, to get the ideas
> and feelings of those being interviewed or observed. As a
> consequence, data analysis in qualitative research is also
> inductive and iterative.

In other words, theory emerges as the outcome of research, rather than testing a preformulated hypothesis. Here the researcher is minds "the data, and the data suggest particular theoretical issues" (Blommaert and Jie, 2010, p. 12). This approach allows for an in-depth understanding of my research topic in the

chosen research setting where data forms the basis from which I am able to derive patterns and conclusions (also see *Section 5.4*).

Since my research is concerned with the interaction of people, their cultural and language backgrounds and the school environment at the point of time that learning was taking place, adopting an ethnographic approach, embedded in an exploratory-interpretive design, provides a helpful systematic and theoretical approach to my work as this enables me "to get close to the people being researched" (Conteh, 2018c, p. 13). In other words, such an approach would allow me to produce descriptions and explanations of the observed interactions and discourses within the classroom.

Ethnography has its origins in the field of anthropology in the nineteenth-century and entailed a long-term study and descriptive account of a community or culture. Both anthropology and ethnography "are interested in understanding social life in 'context'" (Conteh, 2018c, p. 14, emphasis in original); however, it is the understanding of the term *context* which differs in those disciplines. While both ethnography and anthropology share common features, it is the nature of meaning-making that is different. Conteh continues her analysis by starting that, while the former studies social life in its context, the latter also includes its situatedness of practices, including the perception of the participants and the understanding of what they bring to that particular context. In my study this could include, for example, drawing on the earlier discussed concept of *funds of identity* (Esteban-Guitart and Moll, 2014), also see *Chapter 3*. So even though the anthropological roots steer ethnography in a particular direction "one that situates language deeply and inextricably in social life" (Blommaert and Jie, 2010, p. 7), arguably it is this particular perspective on language in its

particular context which differs from other fields of language study and is important for the purpose of my study. This suggests that ethnography enables the researcher to understand the participants' perspectives and surroundings by analysing their discourse and context, in other words "the meanings *they* attach to happenings, the way *they* perceive their reality" (Denscombe, 2014, p. 81, italics in original).

Adopting an ethnographic approach enables the researcher to get an in-depth understanding of the interaction and social practices of those being studied. This underlines the twofold mission of ethnography: a process and a product (Daly, 2007; Conteh, 2018c). Ethnography as a process involves intensive observation of a culture for an extended period of time; ethnography as a product refers to the detailed description which is produced for data analysis which implies both the viewpoint of the participants but also understanding the context in which the participants are situated. To visualise this, I will transfer this to my study: Specifically, in my research, I will investigate how children's multilingualism influences the learning of French as a foreign language, how children use their multilingualism for learning and the way the teacher approaches teaching but also how both the identities of the children and the teacher, in other words also their perceptions of the events within the classroom, provide a context for understanding what is said or done in the classroom. And in order to achieve this, I will also discuss the learning context i.e. the foreign language lessons, the learning group, the interactions between teacher and pupils and the result of those interactions as well as the wider societal implication like the policy discourses.

In this sense, I agree with Hammersley (2006, p. 11) who argues that

> ethnography is the tension between trying to understand people's perspectives form the inside while also viewing them and their behaviour more distantly, in ways that may be alien (and perhaps even objectionable) to them.

Within my research adopting an ethnographic approach is to understand the language practices within the foreign language lesson but also their meanings i.e. the conditions for those practices within the classroom.

Today, there is a wide discussion about what counts as ethnography within the ethnographic research community (Hammersley, 2018). He argues that, instead of defining ethnography, one could look at our understanding of the commitment that ethnography makes in terms of the research process itself (formulation of research questions, the research design, the case selection, the sources of data, the data analysis and the writing process). As a next step, these aspects could be systematically approached by looking at how other research styles – quantitative and qualitative – would approach them and what options would be left for ethnography.

Hammersley (2018, p. 11) suggests:

- Formulation of research questions: an ongoing process throughout the research process.

- Research design: remaining flexible even after first planning to accommodate occurring chances but also difficulties.

- Case selection: small scale but in-depth research in a natural environment.

- Sources of data: observations by the researcher and information from other accounts such as interviews.

- Data analysis: mainly qualitative.

- Writing: dependent on the research findings and intended audience.

The above-mentioned point about considering the commitment ethnography makes steers into Conteh's (2018c, pp. 16-17) distinction between "doing ethnography" and "adopting ethnographic perspectives" or approaches. While doing ethnography is considered the traditional model I have described above (the broad and in-depth study of a community/social group over a prolonged time), adopting an ethnographic perspective focuses on aspects of life. This is framed by theories of culture, such as a sociocultural perspective and ethnographic approaches to data collection and analysis, and, according to Conteh (2018c, p. 17), should follow two criteria:

1. to develop understanding of what is happening in a particular setting from the perspectives of all the participants, respecting their knowledge and expertise as equal in importance to the researcher's own and maintaining transparency about the researcher's own role.

2. to demonstrate a commitment to understanding the importance of what participants bring to the contexts of which they are members, and how personal experiences are mediated and influenced by their contexts – social, cultural, political and historical.

The first criterion advocates including the perspectives of all, participants and researcher. It highlights the importance of the relationship between the researcher and the participants, removing the still present hierarchical orders and often perceived power relations in research but also acknowledging seeing children as active agents participating in their research (Christensen and James, 2008). Moreover, this includes acknowledging the researcher's role as a

key instrument to the research which is inherently subjective in nature. Within this thesis I have done this, beginning with my reason/motivation for conducting the research as I have discussed in *Section 1.1*, but also my beliefs and understanding of theory, as discussed in *Chapter 3*. Further, this criterion touches on the etic (outsider, i.e. the broader societal framework) and emic (insider i.e. the participants' perspectives) perspectives of research (Fetterman, 2010), but also on my ethical considerations (also see *Section 5.2*), the nature of my chosen data collection methods (which will be discussed in *Section 5.3*) and the overall implications of research in terms of empowerment and social justice which I will address in the final chapter. I will discuss my role as the researcher in more detail in *Section 4.1.4*.

While Conteh's (2018c) first criterion addresses all participants to understand the context and situatedness of the research, the second criterion refers to the broader context in which the research is situated. This is closely related to my discussion about policy discourses in England and its implications for the multilingual classroom (also see *Chapter 2*) and to a sociocultural perspective on learning, constructions of multilingual identities and multilingual classroom explorations (also see *Chapter 3*). Both criteria shape the analysis of the emergent data which will be discussed in *Chapters 6* to *8*.

For the purpose of my research, I have adopted an ethnographic approach to data collection. Even though I was not at the school every single minute I did attend every foreign language lesson during the school year (also see the timetable in *Section 5.1.2*), i.e. considerable extended periods of times like spending the whole foreign language lesson there and talking to the teacher and pupils outside the lesson. In other words, I did not only have single

observations but also accompanied these with other sources like the interviews and language diagrams, thus moving beyond sole observations of the participants. For a full discussion about this data collection tool (observations) also see *Section 5.3.1*. Rather than using solely ethnographic data collection techniques or tools like observations, I adopted an ethnographic approach, following Conteh's (2018c) two criteria (discussed in the preceding paragraphs).

To research multilingual children's learning in a single site does not take into account their other sites of learning and in this sense may be seen as incomplete; however, the particular focus on my research is not purely to explore children's learning sites but rather to look at how learning in that particular classroom is constructed and negotiated. Therefore, adopting an ethnographic approach seems promising and, while Safford and Drury (2013) argue that research is incomplete if only conducted in one particular (monolingual) site when researching multilingual pupils, it is the particular context of the foreign language lesson which is the focus of my study.

4.1.1 Initial questions or hunches and authentic setting

A researcher's initial hunch may be at the core of qualitative research, which can then lead to an initial question. Before I started my research, I taught primary pupils in a variety of educational settings, first in Germany and later in England (also see *Section 1.1*). In both countries, I worked at schools in which a large percentage of children had a variety of ethnic backgrounds and spoke multiple languages. Over time, I began to wonder to what extent children's multilingualism had a bearing on their language practices at school especially in the foreign language classroom. While teaching German in a London-based

primary school, I wondered how multilingual children coped with learning German. I soon realised that the children drew on their knowledge of English for comparison, not on their home languages. This observation led me to question the power the school as a monolingual space could hold but also to wonder if a space that is open to multilingualism and multiculturalism could entice children to share and draw on their knowledge of their home language and culture at school. In assuming that there were possible benefits to drawing on the so far untapped language resources of those multilingual children, I wondered how the children could use them in the classroom and whether the foreign language classroom was an ideal space to bring all these language practices together. Out of this hunch, I began to develop the questions for my study (also see *Section 4.1.1*).

As I have discussed in the previous section, historically, ethnography involved prolonged observations within a natural setting of the participants being studied. However, over the years the approach to conducting an ethnographic study changed, mainly due to time constraints within the work of universities (Hammersley, 2006; Conteh, 2018c). Especially research within educational settings tends to have a particular focus or area being studied, hence adopting ethnographic approach. In other words, by adopting an ethnographic approach, the researcher may be only looking at certain aspects, like language practices within the lesson in a shorter time than traditional ethnography would expect.

Beside hunches and initial questions, the setting also plays an important part in the research design. For the purpose of my study, I would like to distinguish between a formal and a natural or authentic setting. Within a formal research setting, for example a laboratory, the research is approached more

systematically; here the researcher has more "influence over the experimental arrangements" (Bryman, 2016, p. 49). Whereas a natural or authentic setting refers to the environment, in other words the cultural and social setting, as parts of people's life. Here, Denscombe (2014, p. 84, emphasis in original) argues that "going 'into the field' to witness events at first hand" is the core of ethnography.

Today, the nature of the research site and context "may already be familiar" (Conteh, 2018c, p. 14) as it was in my case, being a teacher (also see *Section 1.1*). My research brought me back to the setting in which I encountered my hunches and formed my initial questions, in which I would carry out my research. In other words, the classroom was the authentic setting in my study, one in the sense that it is within the framework of the work normally carried out at school.

4.1.2   Small scale but in-depth studies

The use of a qualitative research approach can enable the researcher to look at a relatively small group of participants in a close-up and immersive way. This process may allow for "thick descriptions", a concept first coined by Geertz (2017, p. 30), that can bring a researcher increased knowledge about the participants' behaviour within a particular context. The detailed descriptions of the participants and the social setting enables the researcher to not only to explain their behaviour, but also the context within which the behaviour occurs and, in this way, the descriptions can serve as a foundation from which data can be analysed and interpreted.

In my research, the participants were a sample of 30 children, all multilingual, and their teacher in a single classroom. A nuanced account of the participants' languages will be discussed in more detail in *Section 5.1.6*. I observed and engaged with them over the course of an entire school year (also see *Section 5.1.2*). This enabled me to gain in-depth knowledge of their behaviour and an understanding of their social interactions within the foreign language lesson, which informed my analysis and findings as I will describe in in *Chapters 6* to *8.*

4.1.3   Discovery-based approaches

For my study, I used observations, language diagrams and interviews as data collection tools to take a discovery-based approach to data collection, also see *Section 5.3*. Arguably, all research is about discovery; however, the methodology varies, for example an inductive versus deductive approach, as I have discussed in the beginning of *Section 4.1*.

Qualitative research can enable an "unstructured" (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007, p. 3), yet not unplanned approach to data collection, arguing that this allows, first, for flexibility in the research design (I will introduce the research design of my study in the following chapter). Further, as Conteh (2005, p. 102) argues, such research acknowledges that "events [...] unfold" and may allow for "openness to contingency". In other words, it encourages collecting "whatever data are available" (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007, p. 3). In this regard, in my own research I gathered data from a variety of sources i.e. observational data, interviews with the pupils and the teacher and language diagrams drawn by the pupils but also examples of their work from the French lesson.

Second, *unstructured* also refers to forming categories (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007) for data analysis and interpretation out of the emergent data, noting possible patterns and/or phenomena throughout the data collection period, in other words, following an inductive approach, which I have discussed in *Section 4.1*. The analytical procedures I used for my data and the formation of categories, themes and codes will be discussed in *Section 5.4*.

4.1.4   The significance of the self in the research

Drawing on Conteh's (2018c) criterion for adopting an ethnographic perspective (as introduced in *Section 4.1*), the perspectives of all, but in particular the significance of the self in the research, in other words my own predispositions in the role of the researcher must be recognised in order to describe people's behaviour, (Daly, 2007; Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007; Conteh, 2018c). Conteh's (2018c) first criterion highlights that the relationship between researcher and researched is of prime importance as it impacts the research (data collection and data analysis). This includes to what extent the researcher influences results by interacting with participants within the setting as well as how the researcher's own interests and beliefs might colour her/his findings.

I, as the researcher, communicated with the participants a great deal. This, as a result, also changed my research questions which now became more focused and directed towards my participants, including them in my research. For example, had I initially phrased my question in such a way that it implied doing research for children: *In what way and how does bilingualism support modern foreign language learning?* Through the discussions, I realised I was conducting research with the children and my question was transformed to: *How do*

children use their existing languages when learning French as a foreign language in class? The way how I, as the researcher, positioned children, moving from research "*on*" to research "*with*" children (Christensen and James, 2008, p. 1, italics in original), clearly impacted my entire research process. In other words, the amount of time I spent in communication naturally also influenced the kind of knowledge I obtained in my research and had implications for my entire research process: my personal experiences (a teacher in two countries), my ethical identity (a German living in England) and values and beliefs (a sociocultural perspective on learning, acknowledging children as social agents being competent in expressing their perceptions and acknowledging the situatedness of context) influence the outcome of my research.

Had I not had this particular type of knowledge and experience, I might have noticed other things and, of course, also not been aware of others. On the other hand, the factors above played a positive role in helping me to gain acceptance from my pupil participants whose perspectives I intend to present at the end of my study. Here, I followed Christensen and James' (2008, p. 8) advice "to adopt practices that resonate with children's own concerns and routines" which also involves looking at the wider context of school. For my research, as argued in the preceding chapters, it is the policy discourses in regard to multilingualism and foreign language learning and the power relations the children are situated in, between teacher and pupils, but also the role of the researcher which all shaped the children's life at school.

Overall, I hope that the relationship between my participants and me would be empowering. This I intend to approach by, first of all, seeing the children as

social actors within their cultural context, secondly, by listening to and documenting their voices and thirdly, that their narratives may be an example to contributions to research about multilingual practices at school. The involved ethical considerations will be discussed in *Section 5.2*.

Naturally, one of the criticisms of qualitative studies is that they may be too subjective due to the researchers being too involved in the setting being studied, also see *Sections 5.4* and *9.3*. While researchers may endeavour to observe without bias, Daly (2007, p. 23) argues

> there can be no separation between the knower and the known because all knowledge is constructed through a meaning-making process in the mind of the knower.

This implies that researchers may always have a hand in shaping and analysing the data and their interpretations because researchers bring their prior knowledge, experiences and beliefs into the research setting and data collection and analysis phase. Conteh (2005, p. 96) asserts that the inherent subjectivity of the researcher can result in the interpretation of the phenomenon as a "reflection of her own identity in the project". The reflexive positioning of the researcher and the acknowledgment of a researcher-researched relationship is imperative for good research. Davies (2008, p. 4) proposes that reflexivity "refers to the ways in which the products of research are affected by the personnel and process of doing research". That is, the role of the researcher and the way the research is conducted may play an essential role in the collection, analysis and interpretation of the data. Reflection and reflexivity may continuously occur because the researcher is constantly referring to past observations and linking them with present research. Bryman (2016) asserts

that researchers' preconceptions such as values, beliefs and feelings permeate and influence the research in all aspects of the study: the area of research, the research questions, the methods of data collection, the methods of analysis and the conclusions drawn from the interpretations. Delamont (2002, p. 131) furthers this argument by highlighting that "the focus of observation will depend on the researcher's interests both personal and academic". Here Bryman (2016) argues that reflexivity is the reflectiveness about the implications for the interpretation and outcome of study interconnected with all aspects of the study: data collection, analysis and the role of the researcher and participants. It follows that it is not only an inquiry into *what do I know?* but also, and even more importantly, *how do I know it*?

Referring to my discussion in the beginning of *Section 4.1*, it seems useful to draw on two viewpoints that are important in social research: emic and etic (Fetterman, 2010). Emic can be described as the internal or insider's perspective. Researchers with an emic understanding are "those that attempt to adopt the framework and perspective of the participants studied" (Gregory, 2005, p. xxi). Etic refers to the external perspective, which allows the observations to be understood within a broader societal framework. Both perspectives are present in any research situation, yet the emic perspective, which embraces "recognition and acceptance of multiple realities" (Fetterman, 2010, p. 21), may equate more to ethnographic research as it allows understanding into why participants do what they do.

When I began researching in the classroom, I was aware from the beginning that the pupils accepted me into their classroom environment. The teacher was also an essential participant in my study and someone who had been

a colleague of mine, and later also a friend, for four years by the time I began my research. Initially, the teacher and I both taught in a south London primary school. Viola left the school and started working in a primary school in east London. As we had become friends, we still met from time to time. Also, it was she who recommended her new school as a site to conduct my research (also see *Section 5.1* where I discuss the rationale for the selection of the research setting and participants). I was acutely aware of how my relationship to the teacher might influence my results, but one benefit of my prior contact with the teacher was that, as far as I could judge, her behaviour and teaching style were not influenced due to my presence; however, she was nervous before the lessons as she saw in me the *expert* in language teaching.

In addition to the personal decisions I made with regard to how I wanted to conduct my research, I also had to think about the practical considerations involved such as the feasibility of conducting the research and possible constraints. In my case, there were time limitations due to holidays, school-wide events and the 2012 Olympics which greatly affected the school calendar in the borough, but also there was the fact that this teacher would teach the class only for one year. Using a holistic perspective, I saw the classroom not only as itself but, also, existing within a wider framework, taking into account interdependent situations within a larger societal picture. As a researcher, I developed relationships with the participants and knew the dynamics of the class because I became "*part of the world studied*" (Gregory, 2005, p. xxi, italics in original). This inevitably had an impact on the participants, as I have discussed in the proceeding paragraphs. During my research I stepped in and out of an emic

and etic viewpoint – into the world of the participants (emic) and out of their world to observe their behaviour from my intellectual research viewpoint (etic).

Going as a teacher to university involved a great change in my way of thinking and seeing things. Conteh (2018d, p. 177) speaks here of the teacher researcher who might "feel disempowered by their apparent lack of the right kinds of knowledge in the new world they are entering".

I can relate to this quote very well. I had just started my PhD and was attending a compulsory seminar on qualitative research methods. My first impulse was to leave the room right away. I could not understand a single word or technical term nor was I able to partake in discussions. Immediately, I began to question the idea of pursuing a PhD and not only that, but a PhD in English which was not my native language. I felt very unknowledgeable among my fellow students and the teachers, and it was only due to my supervisor's encouragement that I overcame this first shock. As a teacher researcher, I had to negotiate throughout my research journey always maintaining a researcher perspective despite being a teacher. The observations of the participants during the lesson in particular were a challenge for me in the beginning as the teacher in me wanted to notice, improve and suggest ways of teaching. I will use an extract of my field notes to demonstrate what happened. After observing a French lesson in the Spring term, I scribbled my initial observations in my notebook. But, instead of focusing on my research topic, I got led astray by thinking about my own time at school learning languages and also about the shortcomings of that lesson, writing at home at length about this only to realise that I had changed from a researcher's to a teacher's perspective – an occurrence which underlines this constant struggle!

Here, *Extract 1,* is what I wrote at that time with the English as I wrote it:

Today something came up, upon which I need to reflect: the memory aid:

quatorze – a cat with oars; quinze – cans; seize – Simon says; vingt – van. I have never seen something like this before. When I learnt languages, no one gave us a comparison to our home languages, we had to listen to the new word, then we said it, much later the written word was displayed which we then did not really read, but just said it and we automatically knew how to read it. When I came across unknown words, I thought about the language's sounds and sound rules and applied those to the word. I was fascinated by this today. I understood the idea behind it, because if you think of a cat and oars then you know how to pronounce the number 14 in French and might help you to memorise new words. It leads sound wise in the completely wrong direction as the memory aid is only approximate as we can see here:

Number twenty is in French vingt /vɛ̃/

This has been bridged with the English word 'van' (vehicle)

Van is English /væn/

So /vɛ̃/ and /væn/ is not the same, yet, it is used in the lesson as a memory aid. The teacher told me that she would never prepare the lessons, lesson plan and materials are provided by the modern foreign language coordinator. The children might learn to use a memory aid or how to create one, but I am personally quite concerned because the aids have not been researched well enough. It is already difficult to have a teacher teaching a lesson not being able to speak the language, but providing the teacher with inappropriate examples is getting dangerous. What might appear as a good language learning strategy, can harm linguistically a lot?

Extract 1: Field notes – French lesson, 20.01.2012

In the evening, I reread my notes and was astonished to see that I had completely detached myself from my role as the researcher and had assumed the role of a teacher again. While reflecting on this, I resumed the role of the researcher and, on the positive side, thought about this sample as a possible form of translanguaging, the notion of which I have discussed in *Section 3.3.2.*

I discussed this at length with my supervisor who was very supportive and again reassured me to proceed.

I conclude that researcher bias and subjectivity seem inherently connected within ethnographic research. These issues might be addressed by reflecting on one's position within the research, the possible power structures between researcher and researched where the researcher may sometimes be in a powerful and sometimes in a responsive position but also on the overall context of the study. In other words, the researcher impacts the entire research process, the planning of the study, the data collection and analysis process and, last but not least, the interpretation of data.

4.1.5 Validity in ethnographic research and triangulation

Due to the exploratory, descriptive and interpretive nature of qualitative researching, criteria such as reliability and generalisability may be less appropriate for assessing the quality of qualitative research. Conteh (2018d) argues for moving away from such criteria and suggests rather drawing on the notions of validation and trustworthiness, which I will now discuss.

I will use Lincoln and Guba's (1985) techniques as a framework for measuring and guiding principles to qualify my research. They suggest that measuring the quality of research be framed in terms of trustworthiness which incorporates four different criteria: *credibility*, *transferability*, *dependability* and *confirmability*.

During my research, I addressed the criterion of *credibility* which I understood the believability of the findings through "prolonged engagement, persistent observation, and triangulation" (Lincoln and Guba, 1985, p. 301). Based on these three recommendations, I set out to ensure that I spent time with my

research participants to build a trusting relationship so that I could know them better. While I observed the class during the lesson, I also spent time with the participants before and after the lesson and during break time (also see *Section 5.1.2*). I employed the practice of triangulation, which aims to increase credibility by using different methods and sources to make the dataset richer and more multilayered by getting perspectives from multiple sources on the same focus point. However, multiple forms of data triangulation can be distinguished (Delamont, 2002; Denscombe, 2014):

- Data source triangulation – using different types of data sources during the analysis process.

- Methods of data collection triangulation – using multiple methods for data collection to complement, within-methods and between-methods.

- Theory triangulation – using various theories or approach to support the data.

- Investigator triangulation – working with different researchers.

Triangulation may bring to light different dimensions and a multi-faceted understanding of the same focus point, providing insights into the study which may increase the overall credibility of the research. In my study, I employed the practice of triangulation by using different methods of collecting data and data sources (observational data, interviews and language diagrams) which strengthened the overall data by complementing and supporting methods and sources as well as getting perspectives on the same focus point, also see *Sections 4.1.5* and *5.4* for the methods of data collection and analysis.

The criterion of *transferability* (Lincoln and Guba, 1985) aims to establish if and how the research findings can be transferred to another similar context if they are applicable in other contexts. My research focuses on a narrow population (30 multilingual children and 1 teacher) in a limited context (a foreign language lesson in Year 5) (also see *Section 5.1*). It is difficult for me to predict how my research findings could be transferred to a wider context beyond my study. However, I hope that the study will provide a basis to work on multilingual learning contexts in the classroom, which I will address in more detail in *Chapter 9.* To allow for increased transferability, I provide thorough detailed description, also referred to as thick description (Geertz, 2017) (also see *Sections 4.1.2)*. While my research may have a narrow scope, by providing thick descriptions of participants and cultural interpretations of their behaviour, I have endeavoured to allow for the possibility of increased transferability to research on similar populations or contexts.

The criterion of *dependability* (Lincoln and Guba, 1985) in qualitative research relates to the repeatability of the study, however, in research of this nature, it is almost impossible to repeat the same study twice. Repeating my study would never be exact because of the importance context plays in the data. Even if a researcher would find another Year 5 class with 30 multilingual children and one teacher teaching a foreign language she or he had little expertise in, it would still not be the same as each person is individual. Therefore, the dependability in qualitative research, is achieved more by clearly describing the ever-changing context in which the research is taking place and outlining all the decisions made during the study as a result of the changes that did occur. The thorough description of the context and the decisions that led to the variable

factors in the environment provide a rationale for the choice of methodological and data analytical tools, which I have discussed here but will also address in *Chapter 5.* This criterion is closely linked to the criterion of *credibility*.

The criterion of *confirmability* (Lincoln and Guba, 1985) measures how well the data support the findings, and how others in the research community can corroborate the findings which will be presented in the data analysis and findings in *Chapters 6* to *8.* As is the nature of qualitative research, the findings are subjective as they reflect the interpretations of the researcher. As this may be the case for all qualitative studies, to enhance the confirmability of my research, I have documented my checking and rechecking of data from the various sources I used to triangulate and have described how I analysed the data in the next chapter.

In summary, checking, measuring and qualifying the quality of qualitative research is an important way to contribute to the research's trustworthiness.

4.2   Conclusion

This chapter outlined the framework I applied to my research design and setting. For the purpose of my research, I decided to use an exploratory, descriptive and interpretive approach. This approach, which can be found in qualitative research, allows for an open-ended approach to data collection where theory is regarded as an outcome of the research process, generated through the emergent data.

Adopting my research design in this sense allowed me to study my participants over the course of one school year within the foreign language lesson. I decided to adopt an ethnographic approach which allowed me to engage with the

participants directly and hear their accounts of their language-related experiences. While qualitative research is subjective and even biased, a reflexive account of the researchers' understanding, values and experiences is important to acknowledge because all these issues have a bearing on the planning of the study and the chosen methods of data collection but also on the interpretation of the analysed data. Further, as a researcher immersed in the participants' setting, the significance of myself in the research and the role this plays in the trustworthiness of my research is also an important element which I endeavoured to address in all areas of the study in order to maintain quality standards of good research.

While looking into some of the ethnographic principles in this chapter I have also addressed their limitations. However, I will revisit these points in the broader context of my work in the final chapter.

In the next chapter, *Chapter 5,* I talk about the research setting and participants as well as how I gained consent and the involved ethical considerations. Further, I describe how the qualitative and ethnographic positioning led me to choose data collection tools (observations, interviews and language diagrams) that allowed me to gain an understanding of the perspectives and behaviour of my participants. I will also discuss the approach and process I used in analysing the data to identify emerging themes and categories from the datasets I obtained.

5   Design of my study – setting, methods of collecting data and analysis

Following on from justifying my methodological considerations, I will now address the design of my study – setting, methods of collecting data and analysis. I present a detailed account of the research setting and the tools I chose and used to collect and to analyse the data. In the previous chapter, I outlined my methodological considerations and the importance of the context in which human actions take place. The research design took shape over the course of the study. While I began with a general idea of what I wanted to study and how I wanted to gather data, being in the field and watching the data reveal itself led me to make some alterations along the way. I was concerned and, being concerned with the research design throughout the research process.

This chapter is divided into four sections. Section 1 provides a rationale for the selection of the research setting and the participants. Also, I will provide an overview of my school visits and a timeline with reference to the collected data. Further, I will describe the research setting and how I was able to get access and entry to the research site and my negotiations with the gatekeepers. I also explain how I gained the consent of the participants. The section concludes with a brief introduction of each of the participants. In Section 2, I discuss the ethical considerations. This included the safeguarding of my participants, the use of pseudonyms and the participants' right to withdraw from the research. In Section 3, I describe each method of collecting data in detail. I discuss how these distinct tools I employed (observations, interviews and language diagrams) relate to one another in this study and how I have implemented them.

Further, I will address their effectiveness and shortcomings for my research. Section 4 describes the explicit and transparent analytical procedures I applied to the various datasets. I begin by introducing data analysis in qualitative research. Then I address the analytical procedures I undertook including ordering, exploring, coding and describing my data, as well as offering interpretations and drawing conclusions. The chapter concludes with a summary of the design of my study – the setting, data collection methods used and the processes I employed during the analysis phase and addresses the main issues that arise during data collection and analysis of qualitative data.

5.1 Rationale for the selection of the research setting and participants

In what follows, I will discuss my access to the research site, my visits to the school and the setting itself, including the school's approach to multilingual children. Further, I will discuss the process of gaining consent and will provide a short account about each of my participants.

5.1.1 Access to the research site

I began exploring options for settings where I would see the children's multilingualism's impact of the teacher's approach to teaching a foreign language. While searching for my setting, I remained open to possible classroom situations. In the light of my own experiences as a teacher in a multilingual school in London (also see *Section 1.1*) and my initial hunch (as discussed in *Section 4.1.1)* and in discussion with my supervisor, I decided to conduct my study in London in a mainstream school classroom where multilingual pupils were the majority and, most importantly, where they learnt a foreign language as part of their curriculum. Since learning a foreign language

was not a statutory requirement at primary school, not many schools offered a foreign language and, if they did, the teachers I approached did not feel confident enough to allow a researcher in their foreign language lesson (also see *Section 2.2* for a discussion about the staffing, quality and priority of foreign language teaching at primary school).

An opportunity arose to start my study in autumn 2011. During the summer holiday, I met a former colleague of mine (I have discussed my role as a researcher also in relation to my former colleague in *Section 4.1.4*.) She had been my partner teacher at the primary school in which I was still working at the time of my research. After she had left the school, we remained in contact. When I told her that I was looking for another school in which to begin my main study, she offered to ask her head teacher for permission to come to her class.

In contrast to accessing the research community through a "friend of a friend" (Milroy and Gordon, 2003, p. 32), I gained entry *through a friend* who was a member in that community, in my case the school. In terms of researcher distance from participants, at least from the class teacher, I might have been too close and thus, less distant during my research, which was not the case (I have addressed this in my discussion about my role as the researcher in *Section 4.1.4*). As part of the senior management at the school in which I was still working, I had learnt to observe and work with colleagues, which changed not only my role but also my relationship with the teachers within that role. In other words, different roles, such as teacher, senior manager, student-teacher supervisor, researcher and friend, had different implications for my research, which had to be considered. Drawing on my discussion on emic and etic in *Section 4.1.4*, I was both insider and outsider at various times.

Especially moving from the teacher to the researcher, I had to learn not to judge but to observe the teacher. For this, I had to consider my own role in research but also the relationships of the various roles I held. An insight from Ergun and Erdemir (2010, p. 16) is useful to my interpretation; they argue that

> the insider-outsider relationship can be conceived as a dialectical one that is continuously informed by the differentiating perceptions that researchers and informants have of themselves and others.

However, as I have described in *Section 4.1.4*, I had to learn to assume my role as a researcher as distinct from that of a teacher.

The teacher was able to put me into contact with the gatekeeper, in this case the head teacher of the school. According to Denscombe (2014), gatekeepers are key people who can approve and authorise access to the research site and participants. The process of dealing with gatekeepers is a continual one, lasting as long as the research takes place. Their overall authority became even more apparent to me when I began to gain consent from the participants (also see *Section 5.1.5*). I have provided an extract from my field notes detailing my entry in the school in the *Appendix 2.1 Extract 1 from field notes – Entering the school, 14.06.2012.* All in all, the school was very accommodating in supporting me to pursue my research. The head teacher at the school took time to share the school records from the past eighty years with me. The class teacher let me observe the foreign language lessons, and I could speak with the children during lesson time. The children were open and eager to share their thoughts and ideas. Without this welcoming and openness from the school and the participants, I would not have been able to achieve data collection in the way that I did.

5.1.2 The school visits and timeline of fieldwork

Over a period of a school year, I observed children in their French foreign language lesson and in Guided Reading (part of the English curriculum). Initially, I wanted to explore two different lessons, a foreign language lesson and another lesson taught by the same teacher. I was interested in seeing if the teacher adopted a different approach for a different subject matter and what effect, if any, this would have on the multilingual children in the class. However, the only lesson it was possible to observe was the Guided Reading lesson (also see *Appendix 1* for discussion about Guided Reading). I would like to point out that this was not my personal decision but was related to several factors. At the time of my research I was still working at school from Mondays to Wednesdays. On Thursdays and Fridays, I was able to conduct research at the other school. Most Fridays the class was involved in whole school assemblies in the morning and in the afternoon, either out of school activities related to the upcoming Olympics or *golden time*, an activity session celebrating good behaviour during the week. This left me Thursdays to observe the class. However, on a few occasions the teacher changed the lessons from Thursday to Friday. The French lesson was taught on Thursday mornings, always followed by a Guided Reading session. Before the French lesson, the children were split in ability groups where they were taught the core subjects across the year groups by different teachers. In discussion with the head teacher and the class teacher, I was able to observe French and Guided Reading as they were two consecutive lessons, which was regarded as less intrusive for the children and other teachers. Yes, I was granted permission to conduct my research in that school but only with that teacher in the assigned time.

As outlined in the beginning, it was very difficult to find a primary school teaching a foreign language, which was also willing to accept a researcher. For my pilot study, I had asked all the primary schools in the borough I was working in at the time, and only one school granted me access because the French teacher remembered me from a continuous professional training for foreign languages. In this respect, I was very thankful that I was able to conduct my main research in that school. While I was not in a position to object, I hoped that this lesson would provide me with enough insight into the classroom interactions. However, I soon realised that this lesson was a rather limited opportunity for me to observe the participants. Drawing on my discussion in the previous chapter, *Section 4.1,* about adopting an ethnographic approach, I wanted to immerse myself in the setting in order to begin to understand the participant's interactions and the meanings they ascribed these actions within the time available. Besides attending all foreign language lessons in that school year, I also conducted interviews and worked with the children on language diagrams. Overall, I would say that I could immerse myself in the actuality of the lesson, observing how the events were unfolding, rather than just relying on what was reported by the teacher and pupils during their interviews. An insight from Conteh (2018c, p. 17), is useful in this respect, which draws on the discussion started in *Section 4.1*; she distinguishes between "using ethnographic tools" and "adopting ethnographic perspectives". Using only observations as a method of collecting data would not move my research beyond using ethnographic tools. However, I developed an ethnographic perspective by, for one, seeing the importance of the perspectives of all

participants including myself as the researcher and, secondly, the context embeddedness of the research. In Conteh's (2018c, p. 17) words:

> Make the familiar strange: recognize the significance of the
> self in the research;
> Strive to understand the local in the global and the global in
> the local.

Here, the method of collecting data moved beyond sole observations of the participants but, most importantly, the data analysis and interpretation is not a mere description but a carefully constructed account, in which context is part of the collected data (also see *Section 5.4*).

Returning to the rather tightly structured Guided Reading lesson, after five months of observing that lesson I felt that I had come to a halt. And while it was not possible to observe other lessons, I used this time for other research activities such as conducting the interviews and language diagrams. Informal, non-recorded conversations with the teacher and the children took place before, during and after the lessons.

Because the research took place in an educational setting, a primary school, I had to adapt my research itinerary to the class lesson schedule and school schedule. Holidays, celebrations and school trips forced me to plan my school visits accordingly. Additionally, unforeseeable events such as the sickness of the teacher or special celebrations at school influenced my access to the class. Overall, the days and times I visited the classroom had to fall in line with the lesson plan of the class; here I was dependent on the gatekeepers i.e. the head teacher.

Table 1 provides an overview of the data gathering activities during my visits. Here I have provided the date or time span in which the visits took place, the place of the visit (school), the methods of collecting data, for example the data collection tools, the participants involved (either teacher or pupils or both) and the nature of the visits. I carried out a total of 18 observations of the French lesson, 8 observations of the Guided Reading lesson, 7 interviews (six with children and 1 with the teacher) and had 4 meetings with pupils to work on language diagrams.

Table 1: Timeline of the collected data

Date	Place	Data collection tools	Who	Nature of visit
September 2011	Primary school	Observations	Teacher and pupils	15.09.: visited the school for a liaison meeting and carried out 2 classroom observations: 1 in French and 1 in Guided Reading.
October 2011 to January 2012	Primary school	Observations	Teacher and pupils	13.10.: visited the school and carried out 2 classroom observations: 1 in French and 1 in Guided Reading. 03.11.: visited the school and carried out 2 classroom observations: 1 in French and 1 in Guided Reading. 24.11.: visited the school and carried out 2 classroom observations: 1 in French and 1 in Guided Reading. 01.12.: visited the school and carried out 2 classroom observations: 1 in French and 1 in Guided Reading. 13.01.: visited the school and carried out 2 classroom observations: 1 in French and 1 in Guided Reading. 20.01.: visited the school and carried out 2 classroom observations: 1 in French and 1 in Guided Reading.

Date	Place	Data collection tools	Who	Nature of visit
February 2012	Primary school	Observations Language diagram 1 Language diagram 2	Teacher and pupils	02.02.: visited the school and carried out 2 classroom observations: 1 in French and 1 in Guided Reading. 09.02.: visited the school and carried out 1 classroom observation in French and worked on the language diagrams. 24.02.: visited the school and carried out 1 classroom observation in French and worked on the language diagrams.
March 2012	Primary school	Observations Language diagram 3 Language diagram 4	Teacher and pupils	15.03.: visited the school and carried out 1 classroom observation in French and worked on the language diagrams. 22.03.: visited the school and carried out 1 classroom observation in French and worked on the language diagrams.
April 2012	Primary school	Observations Interview 1 Interview 2 School records from 1932 to 2012	Teacher and pupils Head teacher	19.04.: visited the school and carried out 1 classroom observation in French and conducted 1 interview and looked at school records. 27.04.: visited the school and carried out 1 classroom observation in French and conducted 1 interview.
May 2012	Primary school	Observations Interview 3	Teacher and pupils	31.05.: visited the school and carried out 1 classroom observation in French and conducted 1 interview.
June 2012	Primary school Coffee shop	Observations Interview 4 Interview 5 Mixed Group interview Teacher interview	Teacher and pupils	14.06.: visited the school and conducted 1 interview. 22.06.: visited the school and carried out 1 classroom observation in French and conducted 1 interview. 28.06.: visited the school and carried out 1 classroom observation in French and conducted 2 interviews.
July 2012	Primary school	Observations	Teacher and pupils	12.07.: visited the school and carried out 1 classroom observation in French.

5.1.3 The school setting

The research for my main study took place in a primary school located in east London. For the sake of anonymity, I refer to this school without naming it (also see *Section 5.2*). However, I find it important to set the research into a context as the participants and their interactions are influenced by their community, as I have previously argued. The school is located in an area where diverse immigrant populations have been settling for centuries.

History has shown that this area has been undergoing significant ethnic change since its beginnings. In the seventeenth century, Huguenots settled there, followed by Jewish immigrants in the 19th century and, later, Bangladeshi and Somali immigrants in the 20th century. In addition to the diverse immigrant populations, the docks also attracted workers from all over due to industrialisation in the nineteenth century (Gregory, 2005). When the docks closed around forty years ago, the landscape transformed once again, and some areas became abandoned.

In addition to the school's diverse ethnic surroundings, more than two hundred household languages and dialects are spoken in that borough (London Councils, 2012). The 2011 Census stated that the borough where the study took place had the lowest proportion overall of people with English as their main language in England and Wales (Office for National Statistics, 2011). Along with a highly diverse cultural demographic, one in four of the residents is below the age of 15 (London Councils, 2012).

The school had around 880 registered pupils. It was a four-form entry, four parallel classes per year in most year groups, with around 98% of children with

an ethnic minority background and just above around 85% of all children regarded as speaking English as an additional language. These numbers were well above the national averages according to the Statistical First Release (Department for Education, 2012c) report at the time of the study which published that around 27.6% of all primary pupils in England are of ethnic minority origin and that around 17.5% of pupils' first language are languages other than English.

Additionally, the school's records from the last eighty years showed how the school had changed demographically from a white British majority to a mainly Pakistani and Bangladeshi population. In the beginning and middle of the 20th century, white British names had dominated the school entry books. Towards the end of the century, the records showed increasing numbers of Indian, Pakistani and Bangladeshi names.

In the last Ofsted (Office for Standards in Education, Children's Services and Skills) inspection in 2010, the school was graded as satisfactory:

> Most pupils who attend this very large school come from the immediate locality. Most are from minority ethnic backgrounds, with Bangladeshi and Pakistani pupils forming the main groups. The proportion that comes from those where English is not the first language is very high. A quarter of these pupils are in the early stages of learning English. The main languages spoken are Urdu and Bengali. The number of pupils known to be eligible for free school meals is well above average.

In the rest of the report, little was mentioned about bilingual children and how their learning could be addressed. Although this Ofsted inspection is not part of my data, it provides valuable information on the pupils' backgrounds, hence providing context for the data findings.

5.1.4 The school's approach to multilingual pupils

Following on the discussion from *Chapter 2* on languages in the primary curriculum and its discourse within the education policies in England, this section will address how the school interpreted the policy documents and viewed multilingual learning.

The school's website provided little information about bilingual children or children with an ethnic minority background. The inclusion policy, which had been uploaded onto the school website, dealt mainly with children who had special educational needs. Information on the school's website gave the impression that SEN and EAL were somehow linked in terms of how the school addressed these issues:

> Identification Assessment and Review: SEN/EAL review
> meetings are held each term. Class teachers meet with the
> Inclusion Leader, the EMA co-ordinator and Teaching
> Assistants to review the progress of pupils with SEN/EAL
> and to plan future targets.

Extract 2: Inclusion policy

The head teacher and class teacher at the school explained that there were no special arrangements with regards to teaching multilingual children, but that all lessons were planned and created to be accessible to all children, also see *Appendix 2.1 Extract 5 from field notes – English as an additional language, 13.10.2011*. The head teacher explained that this was because most children came from a background where English was not their first language and, therefore, the aim was to plan lessons in such a way that they would be the same for every child regardless of his or her cultural and language backgrounds. To address matters regarding its pupils from ethnic minority

backgrounds, the school appointed the school's first Ethnic minority achievement coordinator in 2011.

The school did not have an EAL register which would have stated language and ethnicities. This may sound unfathomable, but thinking back of the time when I started my role as the Ethnic minority achievement coordinator in my previous work, I had received the pupils' records with hardly any correct information on this aspect or none at all. In my time researching at that school, the Ethnic minority achievement coordinator was involved with administrative tasks such as compiling a schoolwide EAL register rather than working with teachers on lesson planning or working directly with pupils.

With regards to home language use, a liberal approach had been embraced by the school: Home languages could be spoken in class as well as on the playground with all staff members. However, as I will discuss in my research findings in *Section 7.3*, there was a strong emphasis on English and I hardly heard languages other than English being spoken. It is worth noting that, although there was no apparent language policy, the Early Years Foundation Stage (EYFS) at the school provided an assessment of home language skills. However, apart from in the EYFS, home languages were shown to be tolerated but not integrated into the school curriculum. A full discussion on the children's language use will be provided in the analysis part of my thesis in *Chapter 6.*

In the Year 5 class, the pupils' level of English varied considerably. Pupils showed competency on a continuum from beginner with little or no English competency, to advanced bilingualism with a native-like command of English.

When I came first to the school, I hardly noticed that the school's environment hardly reflected the variety of cultural backgrounds possessed by their pupils. When I began my research at the school in September 2011, there were hardly any multilingual signs such as greetings in various languages or objects labelled in different languages in the classroom, and very little about the school showcased the multicultural and multilingual characteristics of the students, even though a vast majority of pupils came from ethnic minority backgrounds. I also noticed that most teachers at the school were white British with limited foreign language knowledge, while the support staff tended to have ethnic minority origins.

French was introduced into the curriculum in September 2011. French lessons were taught in Key Stage 2. All children in KS 2 were taught one thirty-minute lesson of French per week with follow-up activities spread out over the week. A newly appointed Foreign language coordinator at the school planned the main lessons as well as the optional follow-up activities and provided most of the resources and ideas. While the school upheld the Department for Education's recommendations to introduce foreign languages at the primary level, the school did not supply language training or pedagogical teaching strategies to the teachers charged with teaching foreign languages (for a discussion about introducing foreign languages at primary school, and issues like staffing, training or lesson priorities, also see *Section 2.2*). Some teachers knew how to speak some French, but others did not. Those teachers who were unable to speak French were learning along with their pupils every week. Similarly, curriculum maps on the school's website, which provided detailed information on the various subjects, topics, and skills taught each term, included no mention

of the French language in the curriculum (also see *Appendix 5.3 Long-term plan for* Year 5). This is not surprising thinking about the discussion in *Chapter 2* about foreign language teaching remaining at the lower end of priorities.

5.1.5 Gaining consent

After I had negotiated entry into the school and classroom – the research community – the next step involved obtaining permission from the research participants. The research participants included the class teacher as well as the pupils in the Year 5 class at the school.

In agreement with the class teacher and the head teacher, all parents and guardians were notified through a consent form about the procedures involved with this research (also see *Appendix 6.1 Consent form to parents and carers*). In my research, the head teacher wanted the letter phrased in such a way that only the parents who did not agree to the study would have to notify me, rather than requiring that each parent give written consent. This approach is often referred to as *giving passive consent* (Spence et al., 2014), in which the parents are informed about the research and rather than actively giving consent, they can opt out. Unless they do this, their children will participate. This approach is used, for example, in research to increase participation and representativeness (Testa and Coleman, 2006; Spence et al., 2014). When I asked why the school wanted to distribute an informed consent form rather than a form on which the parents had to explicitly say "yes" to their children's participation in the research, the school explained that this was due to the lack of responses from the parents of their pupils. I was ambivalent about the kind of *soft practice* that the head teacher was using, but was unable to insist that all parents should be

required to explicitly agree to their children's participation and followed the school's normal procedure. I knew this practice from the school in which I had still been working when researchers came from the university to work with children. However, I did not feel completely comfortable with the head teachers' decision and would have preferred signed consent forms.

Other ways of doing this could have included translations of the consent form for families not proficient in English or meeting with the parents' liaison of the school to engage further in the community. I was, however, dependent "on the goodwill of the school" as Alderson and Morrow (2011, p. 107) phrase it, and the *in loco parentis* practice in which the school acts with authority on behalf of the best interests of the pupils. I found a precedent for this type of consent which is described in various ethical guidelines, including those published by the British Psychological Society (BPS) (2014, pp. 17 & 32) that state:

> In relation to the gaining of consent from children and young people in school or other institutional settings, where the research procedures are judged by a senior member of staff or other appropriate professional within the institution to fall within the range of usual curriculum or other institutional activities, and where a risk assessment has identified no significant risks, consent from the participants and the granting of approval and access from a senior member of school staff legally responsible for such approval can be considered sufficient… researchers should ensure that parents or guardians are informed about the nature of the study and given the option to withdraw their child from the study if they so wish.

However, the Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC) (2015, p. 32) writes: "Passive assent, including group assent (with consent given by a gatekeeper) should be avoided wherever possible". Also, I spoke with my supervisor and looked at Goldsmiths' (2005, p. 3) code of practice on research

ethics, which states: "Research involving children under 16 will require the informed consent of parents, carers or guardians". In *Appendix 6.2*, I have attached a copy of the ethical practice in research form from Goldsmiths which was submitted and approved by Goldsmiths Departmental Ethics Committee summer 2011. The British Association for Applied Linguistics (BAAL) (2016, p. 6) writes: "For children under 16, consent also needs to be obtained from parents or other adults acting in loco parentis". And lastly, I looked at the British Educational Research Association (BERA) (2011, p. 7, emphasis in original) states, "researchers must also seek the collaboration and approval of those who act in guardianship (e.g. parents) or as 'responsible others'". This complies with Article 3 (best interests of the child) and Article 12 (respect for the views of the child) of the *United Nations convention on the rights of the child* (United Kingdom Committee for UNICEF, 2019).

For a full discussion about the ethical considerations involved, also see *Section 5.2.*

No parents approached me with further questions or objections.

It must be said that this does not mean that the children's decisions and opinions to participate were not taken into account. While children cannot opt out of lessons, they certainly could opt out of my research (also see *Section 5.2*). The viewpoint on children participating in research has changed over the years, regarding children as participants who are capable of speaking for themselves. The idea of "empowerment of children and the significance of listening to children's voices" (Bélanger and Connelly, 2007, p. 25) has become an integral part of educational research. For this, I had asked the children for

their voluntary informed consent (also see *Section 5.2* for a discussion of the ethics and a discussion of the issue of preventing harm). In other words, recognising children as people in their own rights, capable of expressing their views also requires asking them whether they wanted to participate. I spoke with the children about the purpose and nature of my research in terms of multilingualism and foreign language learning. Further, I told them that I would spend time in their classroom, participating in the foreign language lesson. Also, I detailed the data collection methods and explained the consent form. I encouraged the children to approach me with any worries and questions they had. My research guaranteed confidentiality and anonymity. To protect the participants, pseudonyms were chosen for the school, the teachers and the pupils which were used from the start during the research and data analysis process. I had told the children and the teacher that, throughout the research, they had the right to withdraw, but no one made use of this. These and other ethical considerations will be discussed in *Section 5.2*.

5.1.6   Participants

Through my chosen methods of collecting data (interviews, observations and participant-generated language diagrams), I was able to gather information on the pupils and their Year 5 class teacher. The background information I present here is extremely important to understanding the classroom situation I observed, drawing on the role of context in qualitative data which I described in the previous chapter.

The class I observed for my study consisted of 30 pupils, all multilingual. Information about languages and ethnicities is derived from observations,

interviews, language diagrams generated by the pupils, the school records on English literacy levels and conversations with the teacher.

I would like to stress that the participants of my study were categorised by the Department for Education (2012c) as either having a white British background (the teacher in my research) or having a background other than white British, grouped under the label minority ethnic (all pupils in my research). I am aware that the terms ethnic minority and minority ethnic have been contested and can be understood in many ways (Richardson, 2006). However, I have decided to stay with the term ethnic minority with the understanding that everyone has an ethnicity which, depending where one is, can be in the majority or in the minority; in this case, that the majority of the population in England is white British and a minority of the population has a background other than white British.

The children identified the following languages: Arabic, Bengali, Dominican Spanish, English, French, German, Italian, Jamaican Patois, Latvian, Malayalam, Mauritian Creole, Punjabi, Romanian, Spanish, Tagalog, Tamil and Urdu. One of the girls was French-Mauritanian and was a French native speaker, the only native speaker in the class. She became a helpful resource for the teaching process, the teacher and for other pupils during the French lessons, as will be discussed further on in *Chapters 6* to 8, where I analyse the data.

Sixteen children identified as female and fourteen, as male.

The children indicated that they had the following ethnicities: Bangladeshi (6 children), mixed heritage French-Mauritian (1 child), Indian (2 children),

Jamaican (2 children), mixed heritage Latvian-Sri Lankan Tamil (1 child), Pakistani (14 children), Filipino (1 child), Romanian (2 children), and Sri Lankan Tamil (1 child). The most dominant ethnic minority was Pakistani with 46%, followed by Bangladeshi with 20%.

At the time of my research, pupils where assessed using National Curriculum levels which detailed what each child should achieve by the end of each school year. These were divided into levels and sub-levels for tracking pupils progress. At the beginning of the school year, the English language competencies of the pupils ranged from advanced English knowledge to no English knowledge at all. One pupil had recently immigrated from Romania with no English knowledge at all. When the pupils were assessed at the end of the school year, it became evident that all the pupils had made progress in English during the school year. The pupils were only tested on reading and writing, however not listening or speaking. The data suggest that 23 of the 30 children in the class met or exceeded the 3a-level standard in the assessment criteria set by the National Curriculum in reading at that time, and 21 of the 30 reached or exceeded the 3a-level standard in writing. The English language proficiency assessments have not been used in my data analysis, but serve as background information to provide a fuller picture of the classroom. Each National Curriculum level is divided into sub-levels: *a* indicates that the pupil is strongly achieving the required expectations; *b* indicates that the pupil is soundly achieving the required expectations; *c* indicates that the pupil is only just reaching the required expectations. Each pupil is expected to progress one level every two years. At KS 2, the expected level of attainment was level 4 at the time of my

research. However, in 2014, the National Curriculum levels mentioned here were replaced by a new primary-school grading system.

5.1.6.1 Pupil participants

What follows is a brief summary of the characteristics of the individual children in alphabetical order. All names have been changed to protect the participants' privacy (also see *Sections 5.1.5* and *5.2)*. This background information illustrates the demographics of the classroom regarding gender, ethnicity, language use and academic performance in the English lesson based on the National Curriculum. I would like to stress that, in what follows, it is the children themselves describing the languages and settings in which they speak and/or use these and how, which will be discussed in further detail in the data analysis and findings, *Chapters 6* to *8* but also supplemented with information provided by the teacher, the interviews and the language diagrams.

All children speak English and French; therefore, these two languages are not listed unless if used out of the school context. There was no assessment in French, and the judgement about the children's progress is drawn from my observations.

<u>Aalia</u>
Female, born in Pakistan with Pakistani origins.
Languages: Punjabi, Spanish, Urdu.
Further information: Aalia's English is fluent, with a strong Urdu accent in English and French; she made good progress over the year. In school, Aalia speaks only English and with friends she speaks both English and Urdu. With the family, she uses only Urdu with her parents and cousins, but uses both Urdu and English with her brother and sister. Aalia states that her mother does not speak *proper* English which is why she only speaks Urdu with her. Aalia regularly attends faith school with her sister in a mosque, where she is addressed by the teacher only in Urdu. Further, Aalia states that she had learnt Spanish in her previous school and does understand Punjabi in conversations with her relatives.
End-of-year English assessment: 3a in reading and 3a in writing (speaking and listening were not assessed; the assessment levels have been explained in the beginning of this section).

Aamir
Male, born in the United Kingdom with Pakistani origins.
Languages: Arabic, Urdu.
Further information: Aamir speaks English very well and also in French has learnt all the vocabulary from the lessons. Aamir regularly attends a mosque school, where he only speaks Arabic with the teacher. At home, he speaks mainly English and Urdu, only occasionally. At school and with his friends, he speaks only English. However, during the interview he pointed to his friends who also spoke Urdu even though he would not address them in Urdu but only in English.
End-of-year English assessment: 4a in reading and 4b in writing (speaking and listening were not assessed; the assessment levels have been explained in the beginning of this section).

Ablaa:
Female, born in Pakistan.
Languages: Arabic, Urdu.
Further information: Ablaa's English is fluent with a slight accent; in French she made good progress over the year. Ablaa attends a mosque school, where she is learning to read in Arabic; however, when speaking to her teacher, she uses both Arabic and English. At home, Ablaa speaks both English and Urdu to her parents and sister; however, with her cousins, she only speaks English. At school, she speaks to some of her friends in Urdu.
End-of-year English assessment: 3a in reading and 3b in writing (speaking and listening were not assessed; the assessment levels have been explained in the beginning of this section).

Amrita:
Female, born in Bangladesh.
Languages: Arabic, Bengali, Italian.
Further information: Amrita speaks English fluently and has also made good progress in French. Amrita attends a mosque school where she speaks Arabic, Bengali and English. At home, she speaks with her parents in Bengali only; she speaks both English and Bengali to her brother and sister. At school, she speaks only English, but with her friends she speaks both Bengali and English on the playground. She states that her father teaches her Italian at home.
End-of-year English assessment: 4a in reading and 4a in writing (speaking and listening were not assessed; the assessment levels have been explained in the beginning of this section).

Arwa:
Female, born in Pakistan.
Languages: Punjabi, Urdu.
Further information: Arwa speaks English fluently with a strong accent but does phrase quite complicated sentences, often interrupting herself, jumping between different topics and she has also made some progress in French. Her voice is very loud and deep with a strong Urdu accent. Arwa speaks Urdu to her teacher at the mosque school. Also, with her family she speaks mainly Punjabi (with parents, siblings and grandparents) but also Urdu with the extended family (with cousins, aunts and uncles); however, with her brother, she also uses English. At school, she only speaks English. With her friends she speaks only English but uses a few words of Urdu here and there. Arwa wears a hijab, a headscarf worn by Muslim women, covering head and neck. She also drew herself wearing a hijab in the language diagram.
End-of-year English assessment: 3b in reading and 3b in writing (speaking and listening were not assessed; the assessment levels have been explained in the beginning of this section).

Basma:
Female, born in England, mother born in England too.
Languages: Urdu.
Further information: Basma has good command of her English and has also learnt some French during the year. She speaks both Urdu and English in the mosque school and with her entire family. At school she only uses English. She states that she speaks Urdu with her friends on the playground at school.
End-of-year English assessment: 3c in reading and 2a in writing (speaking and listening were not assessed; the assessment levels have been explained in the beginning of this section).

Claudiu:
Male, born in Romania. Arrived in England at the beginning of the school year.
Languages: Romanian.
Further information: Claudiu had arrived in England at the beginning of the school year with no English. Over the year he learnt a lot of English, and we could have a good conversation. He speaks very quietly with a slight Romanian accent. Also, he made good progress in French. He was very shy giving a false impression about his language skills. However, over the course of the school year he gained confidence and enjoyed participating in the two interviews and the creation of the language diagrams. At home, Claudiu speaks only Romanian; at school he speaks English but he would only speak Romanian to Isabella, the other Romanian girl in the class.
End-of-year English assessment: 2a in reading and 3b in writing (speaking and listening were not assessed; the assessment levels have been explained in the beginning of this section).

Dawar:
Male, born in England with Pakistani origins.
Languages: Arabic, Urdu.
Further information: Dawar's English is very good as is his progress in French. He attends a mosque school where he learns Arabic but also uses English and Urdu. While he speaks both English and Urdu with his parents, he speaks only English with his brother and sister. Also, with his cousins he speaks only English. Some of his friends attend the mosque school with him, where they then speak Arabic and Urdu together. At school he uses English and Urdu in the classroom but he does point out that while he does speak Urdu on the playground, he could speak Urdu at class even if he does not do it.
End-of-year English assessment: 4a in reading and 4c in writing (speaking and listening were not assessed; the assessment levels have been explained in the beginning of this section).

Erica:
Female, born in the Philippines.
Languages: Tagalog (basis for Filipino language, Filipino is a standardised variety of Tagalog), Kapampangan (regional language of the Philippines) and Spanish.
Further information: Erica speaks excellent English with a slight American English pronunciation and has learnt French very well; in fact, she is one of the best pupils in the French lesson. She is a very articulated pupil, eager and engaged in her overall learning. She speaks Tagalog and English with her entire family; however, she uses Kapampangan with her extended family in the Philippines. In school she only speaks English. With her friends at school she speaks English, with friends within her community, in Tagalog too. She learnt Spanish in her previous school. She does speak Tagalog on the playground to a few children from her community, but they are not in her class. Together with Marie and Isabella, Erica is at the top of the French lesson.
End-of-year English assessment: 4a in reading and 5c in writing (speaking and listening were not assessed; the assessment levels have been explained in the beginning of this section).

Haneefa:
Female, born in England with Pakistani origins.
Languages: Arabic.
Further information: Haneefa's English skills are very good, also her progress in French. She is very timid and mainly shakes her head when spoken to. At home, Haneefa speaks only English. Her father teaches her Arabic. Haneefa wears a hijab, a headscarf worn by Muslim women, covering head and neck. She also drew herself wearing a hijab in the language diagram.
End-of-year English assessment: 5c in reading and 4a in writing (speaking and listening were not assessed; the assessment levels have been explained in the beginning of this section).

Haniya:
Female, born in England, Pakistani origin.
Languages: Punjabi, Urdu.
Further information: Haniya speaks English fluently with a slight accent and has made good progress in the French lesson. While she speaks to her grandparents only in Urdu, she speaks English, Punjabi and Urdu to her parents but only English to her sister, brother, aunts, uncles and cousins. At school and to all her friends, she speaks English. She says she remembered learning English when entering school but she struggled as she had first learnt Punjabi and Urdu.
End-of-year English assessment: 4c in reading and 3a in writing (speaking and listening were not assessed; the assessment levels have been explained in the beginning of this section).

Indra:
Female, born in England, Bangladeshi origin.
Languages: Arabic, Bengali.
Further information: Indra speaks English fluently and made good progress in the French lesson. While she does not attend mosque school, she does have to go to her cousin's house to attend Arabic reading lessons and speaks to her uncle in Arabic. She speaks Bengali to her parents and English to her brother and sisters. To friends in her community she speaks Bengali and English, but only when at their house, not at school. Once, during the French lesson Indra commented on Bengali grammar in terms of gender and nouns. Indra wears a hijab, a headscarf worn by Muslim women, covering head and neck. She also drew herself wearing a hijab in the language diagram
End-of-year English assessment: 4a in reading and 4b in writing (speaking and listening were not assessed; the assessment levels have been explained in the beginning of this section).

Isabella:
Female, born in England with Romanian origins.
Languages: German, Romanian.
Further information: Isabella is the best pupil in class, both in English and French. She is very outspoken, engages in the lessons and is eager to learn. Isabella attends a Catholic church, were Romanian only is spoken. Isabella says she learnt English when starting school, mainly through observing others. With her grandparents she speaks Romanian only, with her parents, her sister and cousins, both Romanian and English. With her friends at school she only speaks English except with Claudiu, whom she supports with his English. She also helps her sister with her German homework. Isabella of all children draws the most on her home language, comparing letters and words. She has a sophisticated language knowledge in all the languages she speaks. Overall, Isabella is well ahead of the teacher's French and while she has not learnt French before, she picked it up very quickly in the beginning of the school year. Isabella outperformed the teacher early on and supported her with her French, together with Marie and Erica.
End-of-year English assessment: 5a in reading and 5b in writing (speaking and listening were not assessed; the assessment levels have been explained in the beginning of this section).

Joshita:
Female, born in England with Indian origins.
Languages: Malayalam.
Further information: Joshita speaks English fluently and made good progress in the French lesson. Similar to Indra, Joshita drew on Malayalam once when discussing gender in French. Joshita regularly attends a temple, in which only Malayalam is spoken. While she speaks only Malayalam with her grandparents, she speaks in English and Malayalam with her parents. She only speaks English with her sister and cousins, whereas she speaks Malayalam with her cousins in India. At school she speaks only English.
End-of-year English assessment: 4a in reading and 4a in writing (speaking and listening were not assessed; the assessment levels have been explained in the beginning of this section).

Kaleem:
Male, born in England with Pakistani origin.
Languages: Arabic, Punjabi and Urdu.
Further information: Kaleem speaks English fluently with a slight accent and made good progress in the French lesson. He attends a mosque school where he speaks Arabic, English and Urdu. With his parents he speaks in Urdu and Punjabi and with his sisters, only English. Similarly, while he speaks Urdu with his aunts and uncles, he speaks English with his cousins. While he speaks English at school, at home he also speaks Urdu with his friends.
End-of-year English assessment: 4a in reading and 4b in writing (speaking and listening were not assessed; the assessment levels have been explained in the beginning of this section).

Kamalish:
Male, born in England with Latvian and Sri Lankan Tamil origins.
Languages: Latvian, Tamil.
Further information: Kamalish speaks English fluently with a slight accent and made good progress in French. Similar to Erica or Isabella, he is very outspoken and expresses his thoughts well. He is very engaged in the French lesson and tells many jokes and often displays rather silly behaviour. While speaking English with his immediate family, he speaks Tamil with his father's family and Latvian with his mother's family. However, for special occasions, he also speaks with his parents in their respective home languages. During the two interviews, Kamalish explains his experiences with Tanglish (Tamil and English). At school, he speaks English and states that he speaks English *slang* with his friends, except one friend in class, with whom he also speaks Tamil.
End-of-year English assessment: 4a in reading and 4b in writing (speaking and listening were not assessed; the assessment levels have been explained in the beginning of this section).

Maha:
Female, born in England with Pakistani origin.
Languages: Arabic, Urdu, Spanish.
Further information: Maha speaks English fluently and made good progress in French. She likes to participate in the lesson and always has something to tell the teacher. At school, she speaks English and Urdu to her friends. However, she states that she thinks in Urdu when at school, especially during break time and this is also when she speaks Urdu to her friends. She states that in her previous school, she was told off for speaking her home language as this was impolite for non-Urdu speakers. At home, she speaks Urdu with her parents and both Urdu and English with her sister. Also, she states that she watches Spanish TV and reads the Qur'an in Arabic.
End-of-year English assessment: 4c in reading and 4b in writing (speaking and listening were not assessed; the assessment levels have been explained in the beginning of this section).

Marie:

Female, born in France. English, French and Mauritian origins.

Languages: French, Mauritian Creole.

Further information: Marie speaks English very well and, as a French native speaker, she is the expert in Year 5. Marie was rather shy in the beginning of the school year and, in contrast to Erica and Isabella, she was more reluctant to correct the teacher. However, during the school year and with the constant encouragement by the teacher to support her during the lesson, she gained more confidence in pointing out mistakes. With her parents and cousins, she speaks French and English, with her aunts, uncles and grandmother, French and English but also Mauritian Creole. With her brother, Marie speaks English only and with a French friend, French only. She talked about the difference between Mauritian Creole and French in detail. In fact, she was the only child addressing the conditions of her personal language use explicitly. She talked about the language ideologies and expectations by her family and how she feels trapped between her home language and culture and English. While one side of the family is Hindu and the other side is Buddhist, she attends both faith settings, a Hindu temple and a Buddhist temple where English being spoken.

End-of-year English assessment: 4b in reading and 4b in writing (speaking and listening were not assessed; the assessment levels have been explained in the beginning of this section).

Mohit:

Male, born in England with Bangladeshi origin.

Languages: Arabic, Bengali.

Further information: Mohit's English is fluent although not always well formulated; he has a Mancunian accent. In French, Mohit made some progress. He attends a mosque school where he learns Arabic. At home he speaks Bengali and English with his mother and brother and only English with his father even though the father was born and raised in Bangladesh. At school, he speaks English and Bengali, the latter with a friend, Utpal, on the playground. During my research, Mohit supplied me with a lot of information about the events taking place at the school: piano lessons, a newly introduced poetry book, Black History month or the multicultural funfair.

End-of-year English assessment: 3c in reading and 3c in writing (speaking and listening were not assessed; the assessment levels have been explained in the beginning of this section).

Najeeb:

Male, born in England with Sri Lankan Tamil origin.

Languages: Tamil.

Further information: Najeeb speaks English quite fluently with a slight accent, with errors mainly in using prepositions. He made some progress in French. Overall, Najeeb is very outspoken and talked to me about different things like the upcoming PE (Physical Education) lesson, his timetable and his friends at class. Najeeb speaks Tamil only with his grandparents. With his parents and uncles and aunts, he speaks English and Tamil and with his two sisters and cousins, English only.

End-of-year English assessment: 3a in reading and 3a in writing (speaking and listening were not assessed; the assessment levels have been explained in the beginning of this section).

Qaim:

Male, born in Germany with Pakistani origins.

Languages: Arabic, German, Punjabi and Urdu.

Further information: Qaim was born and grew up in Germany; he only moved to London two years ago when he started learning English. Until then, he spoke German, Punjabi and Urdu. Once I addressed him in German. He looked puzzled and then replied in English that he did not know how to respond. His English is fairly fluent with a slight accent, yet with some mistakes using prepositions or with verb-tense agreement. Overall, he is rather shy and does not say

much. His progress in French was small. He attends a mosque school where he speaks Arabic and English. At home he switches between German, Punjabi and English. At school he speaks English with his friends.

End-of-year English assessment: 3b in reading and 3c in writing (speaking and listening were not assessed; the assessment levels have been explained in the beginning of this section).

Rahul:

Male, born in England, Bangladeshi origin.

Languages: Arabic, Bengali.

Further information: Rahul speaks fluent English and made good progress. Overall, he is a very quiet, shy and sensitive boy. His father died when he was little. He speaks Bengali with his mother and states that she does not speak *proper* English. At school and with his friends, he speaks English only. He also mentioned that he learns Arabic.

End-of-year English assessment: 3a in reading and 3a in writing (speaking and listening were not assessed; the assessment levels have been explained in the beginning of this section).

Roshan:

Female, born in England, Pakistani origin.

Languages: Arabic, Urdu.

Further information: Roshan speaks fluent English and made some progress in French. Roshan attends the mosque where she speaks Arabic, English and Urdu. While she speaks both English and Urdu with her grandparents, parents, aunts and uncles, she speaks only English with her siblings and cousins and friends. She states that she sometimes addresses the teaching assistant during lunch time in Urdu during lunch time.

End-of-year English assessment: 3a in reading and 3a in writing (speaking and listening were not assessed; the assessment levels have been explained in the beginning of this section).

Saajid:

Male, born in England, Pakistani origin.

Languages: Arabic, Punjabi, Urdu.

Further information: Saajid speaks English fluently and made good progress in French. He attends a mosque school where he speaks Arabic, Urdu and Punjabi. With his grandmother, he speaks in Urdu, whereas with his parents he speaks Urdu and Punjabi. With his siblings, cousins and friends he speaks English only. His favourite topic was the Olympics, especially since he got a ticket to attend the games. It was not easy to engage him in any other topic.

End-of-year English assessment: 4c in reading and 3a in writing (speaking and listening were not assessed; the assessment levels have been explained in the beginning of this section).

Sanchita:

Female, born in England, Bangladeshi origin.

Languages: Bengali.

Further information: Sanchita speaks English quite fluently, however with a strong accent. Her progress in French was good. She liked to engage in the lesson and speaks a lot and very fast. Overall, she is very expressive and able to reflect on the teacher's approach to teaching the class French. With her parents, she speaks Bengali and with her brother and sisters, both English and Bengali. She states that she supports her parents, uncles and aunts with English for example translating letter to them.

End-of-year English assessment: 4c in reading and 3b in writing (speaking and listening were not assessed; the assessment levels have been explained in the beginning of this section).

Shakia:
Female, born in England, Jamaican origin.
Languages: Dominican Spanish, Jamaican Patois.
Further information: Shakia speaks English fluently. In French, she made some progress. Shakia speaks little and seems rather shy. While she speaks Jamaican Patois with her mother, father and sister, she speaks Dominican Spanish when with her stepfather and extended family.
End-of-year English assessment: 3a in reading and 3b in writing (speaking and listening were not assessed; the assessment levels have been explained in the beginning of this section).

Tawfeeq:
Male, born in Pakistan.
Languages: Arabic, Urdu.
Further information: Tawfeeq speaks English fluently and made good progress in French. He likes to speak about various topics ranging from football to timetables He only came to England in Year 3. He attends a mosque school where he learns to read in Arabic but also speaks English with the teacher. At home he speaks Urdu to his grandparents and both English and Urdu to his parents. To his brothers and sisters, he speaks English. At school, he speaks English but also some Urdu to some friends.
End-of-year English assessment: 4b in reading and 4b in writing (speaking and listening were not assessed; the assessment levels have been explained in the beginning of this section).

Travon:
Male, born in England, Jamaican origin.
Languages: Jamaican Patois.
Further information: Travon speaks English fluently and made good progress in French. He is very shy and speaks little in the lessons. He speaks Jamaican Patois to his family. At school, he speaks English.
End-of-year English assessment: 4a in reading and 4b in writing (speaking and listening were not assessed; the assessment levels have been explained in the beginning of this section).

Utpal:
Male, born in Bangladesh.
Languages: Arabic, Bengali.
Further information: Utpal speaks English fluently with a slight Bengali accent. He made good progress in French. He is very outspoken and, like, Mohit he liked to supply me with all sorts of information regarding the school: piano lessons, a newly introduced poetry book, Black History month or the multicultural funfair. He attends a mosque school where he speaks Arabic. At home, he speaks Bengali with his parents and uncles; however, with his father he also speaks English. With his brother and sisters, he speaks English only. At school, he speaks Bengali with his friend Mohit on the playground.
End-of-year English assessment: 3b in reading and 3c in writing (speaking and listening were not assessed; the assessment levels have been explained in the beginning of this section).

Yadu:
Male, born in India.
Languages: Indian [Yadu's wording].
Further information: Yadu is registered with special educational needs in the area of developmental delay which affected his cognition, learning and mental health. The teacher had no further information. Most of the time Yadu was not in class but received out of lesson support. The times he was in the French lesson, the teaching assistant mainly worked with him one-on-one. However, he liked to join in with all activities and was always included in the interview and also in the work on the language diagrams. Each time, he greeted me happily and

the few times I came on a Friday instead of Thursday, he was very concerned that I had mistaken the day of the week.

End-of-year English assessment: 1a in reading and 2c in writing (speaking and listening were not assessed; the assessment levels have been explained in the beginning of this section).

In *Appendix 2.1* I have provided some field notes with more general observations about the class (also see *Appendix 2.1 Extract 2 from field notes – Boys and girls, 07.06.2012, Appendix 2.1 Extract 3 from field notes – The pupils' relationship to the teacher, 01.12.2011, Appendix 2.1 Extract 4 from field notes – The pupils' relationship to the researcher, 01.12.2011, complemented 12.07.2012*).

5.1.6.2 Teacher participant

The Year 5 class teacher, whom I have called Viola, is of white British ethnicity and grew up in east London, where she was teaching at the time of my research. She attended local primary and secondary schools in the neighbourhood where she taught at the time of research. Her exposure to foreign language began in secondary school where she was introduced to French and German; however, she explained that she was unable to make, in her own estimation, even satisfactory progress i.e. *D* in German and French, the foreign languages in her GCSE (General Certificate of Secondary Education). During the interview, Viola mentioned that she could hardly remember French or German from her secondary school years and that she had not studied a foreign language at university level. She had also never received formal training on how to teach a foreign language. Nevertheless, Viola was asked by the head teacher to teach French to her class.

Previously, I have discussed how I got to know the teacher and that she was a former colleague of mine (also see *Section 4.1.4* and *5.1.1*). During our time

working together at the same school, Viola remained in the class while I taught

her pupils German. She did not teach German but participated with the pupils in

that lesson. This was her only experience of foreign language teaching in

a primary classroom.

5.2   Ethical considerations

When conducting research in an educational setting, there are many ethical

considerations, some of which I have already addressed like gaining consent

from all participants (also see *Section 5.1.5*).

During my research, I ensured that the participants were never put in a situation

where they might have been at risk of being exposed to situations which might

be considered to compromise any generally accepted ethical values. In this

respect, the following aspects were taken account of: choice of participation,

autonomy, non-maleficence, beneficence, justice, privacy and confidentiality

(Greig et al., 2013). This involves respecting all participants and to avoid

causing harm as a result of their participation. Listening to children's voices and

to what is being said is one way to have children participate in research. For

this to happen, I would wish the children to be exposed to far more

consideration of their rights and value as individuals and, in this sense too, I

would hope that my research "can contribute to the furtherance of social justice

and possibly to social change" (Conteh, 2018c, p. 7), in other words

empowering the participants by including the perspectives of all, drawing on the

discussion in *Section 4.1*.

The ethical implications of my research were discussed with my supervisors

and, additionally, the research was ethically endorsed by Goldsmiths, University

of London. I reassured the participants and their parents that the raw data were only available to my supervisors and would be accessed solely for the purpose of data analysis. Furthermore, I consulted the schools' safeguarding policy as well as guidelines on ethical research with respect to children's participation in research (British Educational Research Association, 2011; The British Psychological Society, 2014; Economic and Social Research Council 2015; British Association for Applied Linguistics, 2016), also see *Section 5.1.5.*

Since the children worked with me in groups, it was important that I protected their emotional safety. I informed them that our discussions were confidential and assured them that, because of this, no other children would make fun of or laugh at their responses or language diagram drawings. To try to ensure that the groups provided a safe space to share, I spoke with each group about listening quietly while others were speaking and about the importance of being respectful of the opinions and values of others.

I also considered the ethics of publishing my research study with regards to the participants. Here, the participants' information is exposed to the public without their having any power to do anything about it (Murphy and Dingwall, 2001). I therefore tried to be as transparent with the participants as possible by talking to them about the aims of my research and my intention to publish the results.

Another ethical consideration is that there might not be perceived direct benefit to the participants as their participation might do little to change or improve their current school experience. Yet, this was not quite true. During my research, the children told me that I was the first person who had ever asked them to share their thoughts on speaking numerous languages, on learning different

languages and on experiencing a monolingual school environment while growing up in a multilingual and multicultural environment. And that experience we had might enable the pupils and teacher to speak with each other more freely and openly about themselves. Also, I determined, that though the publication of my study would occur long after my time with them at the school (the children are probably now in Year 11), still their voices would be documented and hopefully added to the growing field of multilingual practices at school (also see *Chapter 9*).

5.3   Methods of collecting data

Following my methodological considerations in *Chapter 4*, I will now discuss the methods of data collection.

Table 2 presents which of my chosen data collection tools addresses which sub-question:

Table 2: The application of data collection tools to research questions

	Observations	Language diagrams	Interviews
Sub-question 1: How do identities provide a context for understanding what the children say or do?	√	√	√
Sub-question 2: How do children use their existing languages when learning French as a foreign language in class?	√		√
Sub-question 3: In what ways does a teacher with limited expertise in the subject approach teaching French as a foreign language to a classroom of multilingual pupils?	√		√

The process of using these chosen data collection tools was spread across the year. At the beginning of the school year, in September, I began with weekly

observations (see *Section 5.3.1*); these included writing field notes during and after the lessons (see *Section 5.3.1.1*). In April, I added audio and video recordings (see *Section 5.3.1.2*) to my weekly observations and, additionally, I still added thoughts and interpretations of the lesson in my journal (also see *Section 5.3.1.3*). Field notes, audio and video recording, as well as notes from my journal supplemented my observations. In February, I introduced language diagrams (see *Section 5.3.2*), which were followed by the participants' interviews (see *Section 5.3.3*).

Table 3 demonstrates how the data collection tools, the methods of collecting data (observations, language diagrams and interviews) were implemented. For this, I have provided three columns. The first column explains the various activities I engaged in while I collected data, the second column notes the data collection tools used with that activity and the third column illustrates in more detail the processing of the data I obtained in preparation for analysis I undertook during the study. The data collection tools and the processing for analysis will be detailed following *Table 3*.

Table 3: Implementing the data collection tools

Activity	Data collection tools	Processing for analysis
Conversations with the teacher before and after the lessons.	Observations (field notes written after the lesson).	Turning field notes into written accounts.
French Lesson and Guided Reading lesson which was initially used for lesson observations but later for activities for my research such as interviews and language diagrams.	Observations (field notes written during and after the lesson, audio recordings, video recordings).	Turning field notes into written accounts and transcribing audio and video recordings.
Conversations with the children before, during and after the lesson.	Observations (field notes written during and after the lesson).	Turning field notes into written accounts.
Conversations with the children and drawings about the languages spoken by the children.	Observations (field notes written during and after the lesson) and language diagrams.	Turning field notes into written accounts, sorting drawings.
Conversations with the participants using interviews.	Observations (field notes written during and after the lesson, audio recordings) and interviews.	Turning field notes into written accounts, transcribing audio recordings.

Over the course of my study, I accumulated vast datasets which I first managed and organised and then analysed as fully as possible. However, ongoing initial analyses were done throughout the school year. This means that management, organisation and analysis were interconnected activities. The datasets I analysed for this study are:

- Observations including field notes and recordings and their transcripts.

- Recordings and transcripts of the interviews.

- Language diagrams.

In the following, I will describe each method of collecting data (observations, interviews and language diagrams) in greater detail.

5.3.1 Observational data

As discussed in *Chapter 4,* when adopting an ethnographic approach to the research, observational data comprise an important portion of the data collection. Blommaert and Jie (2010) argue that observations show more than what is emerging by just posing questions. In addition, by observing rather than only interacting with the participants, the researcher is attempting to "preserve the natural state of affairs" of the community (Denscombe, 2014, p. 84) as the behaviour by the participants "is performed without reflecting on it and without an active awareness that this is actually something they *do*" (Blommaert and Jie, 2010, p. 3, italics in original). In other words, observations, in my research observations of the French lesson, offer insights into the practices, possibly providing context for my other data such as the interviews and language diagrams.

I chose to observe lessons because I wanted to be able to be immersed in the participants' environment and describe what I saw. The advantage of observing the lesson was that I would be able to absorb the atmosphere and see how participants acted in their everyday life of the French lesson. It was clear to me that observation would provide a window into participants' practices at school whereby I can only agree with Hymes (1981, p. 84) who states that it is "incredibly to assume that what there is to find out can be found out by asking". I hoped that by sitting in the classroom and observing how the children interacted in class I would get a richer picture of their setting and behaviour while they learnt a new language. And I felt that this was most effectively done by observing the lessons.

As I began my research, I had to find approaches and methods which enabled me to do my research optimally. I informed the participants that I was a researcher and did not disguise myself as anything else. I decided to be overt, telling the children about the nature of my research and the purpose of my study (also see *Section 5.1.5*) and I tried to be as minimally obtrusive as possible. However, my very presence was already obtrusive to some extent and this required careful reflections on my role and position in research (also see *Sections 4.1.4* and *5.2*).

At the beginning of my observations, I sat in the corner first of all but then realised, that I was unable to hear what the children were saying to each other. This meant that I had to move closer, but then the children suddenly became more aware of me. I decided for my study that this was still better than not hearing anything at all and, eventually, the children became less self-conscious around me. I realised that, while being in the field, even though I had carefully planned my place during the observation in the classroom, also through discussion with the teacher, this did not work as well as we had thought and therefore I had to adapt.

Figure 1 depicts how various elements contributed to the observations of the participants for cohesive data findings:
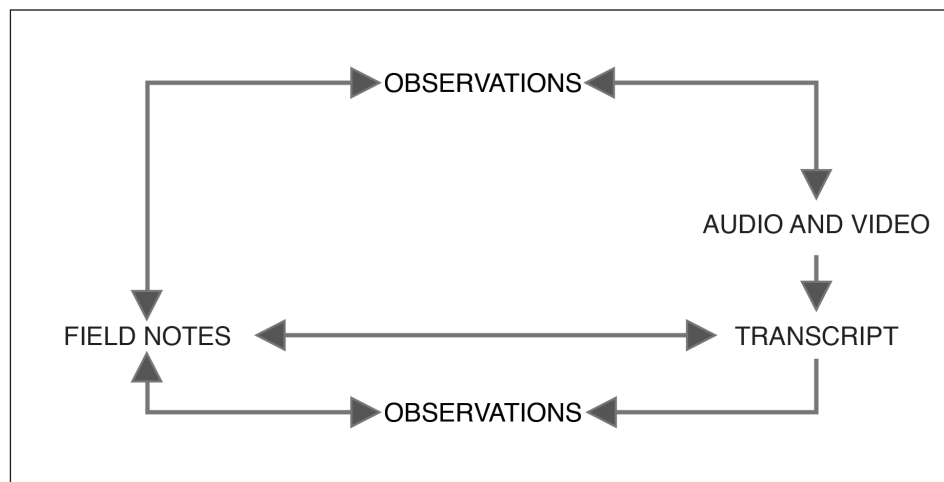
Figure 1: Components of observational data

Figure 1 will be further explained in the following sub-sections.

Observations of the participants enabled me to experience pupils and teacher in the context of the foreign language lesson. I also discovered recurring patterns of the teacher approaching the teaching of the French lesson which led me to initial assumptions of how the participants interacted and co-constructed meaning within the foreign language lesson, leading to a more focused observational approach in the course of the year (see also *Section 5.3.1.1*). In this sense, my observations were not predefined from the beginning of the school year but gained focus derived from initial explanations and interpretations of the participants' interactions and engagements within the classroom and with each other, which Alasuutari (1995, p. 16) refers to as "unriddling". This will be discussed in more detail in the analytical procedures of my research in *Section 5.4.2.3*.

5.3.1.1 Field notes: note-taking

One of the main means of gathering observational data is through note-taking, by "producing *written accounts and descriptions*" (Emerson et al., 2001, p. 352, italics in original), also referred to as field notes. This means that field notes are part of my observations. These can be very personal and individual (for an example, also see *Section 4.1.4*) but can also provide summaries of the observed interactions between the teacher and pupils within the classroom and reflections on these events (for various forms of field notes, also see *Appendix 2*).

An insight into how I did this is useful for the further discussion of the process of data analysis in my research (which will be detailed in *Section 5.4*). While being in the field, the researcher should stay alert while observing and recording field notes systematically. This may start with "jottings" (Emerson et al., 2011, p. 29) only recognisable to myself as they were handwritten which, due to my writing fast, often resulted in scribbles incomprehensible to anyone but myself, containing various abbreviations but also incomplete sentences. Further, I was alternating between German and English, using whichever language was quicker to hand. I noted things I wanted to remember, which were symptomatic and important for that moment. Here, I did not have the time to write and detail interactions in the classroom that were more prevalent or the way certain behaviour preceded because I would have lost what happened in that instant. In other words, the field notes written in the field were more concerned with things that were more transitory and changing, fleeting as it were. However, within a couple of days I revisited my notes and added some more context to them. For example, I noted when the teacher and children said what and the context for

this; I elaborated my observations which turned into full and usable field notes. Also, I added details about the children so that at the end of my research I had some background information on each child (also see *Section 5.1.6).* Further, I documented the informal conversations I had with pupils and the teacher. Also, I developed a template which supported my observations in the classroom. Over time, I had to adapt it several times as my research developed. As part of my field notes, I noted where the children were sitting (also see *Appendices 5.4* and *5.5* for seating arrangements); this not only helped me to learn their names but also to see how and with whom they interacted. In other words, by producing these written accounts I made sense of my own shorthand: I captured what was going on and filled in context later (also see *Appendix 2.2* for an example of field notes written in the field and *Appendix 2.3* for a tidied copy of field notes). However, taking field notes was always related to my role as a researcher which touches on the notion of subjectivity, researcher bias and the various roles the research can occupy, which I have discussed in *Section 4.1.4*.

The advantage of collecting observational data was that I was able to absorb the atmosphere and see how the participants acted in their *everyday life* in the classroom. In the beginning, my observations were very general because I wanted to get a broader picture of the class, the interactions within it and the participants and school in general. After a few lessons, I began "zooming in on particular aspects" (Blommaert and Jie, 2010, p. 30) and, instead of looking for general interactions between the teacher and children, I began to set a focus for each lesson (e.g. home language use within the French lesson, multilingual practices and the teacher's reaction when children corrected her). At the end of

each term (there were three terms: Autumn, Spring and Summer), I summarised my observations and thoughts and wrote additional comments about my past observations and formulated future steps that I would undertake (also see an example in *Appendix 2.1 Extract 6 from field notes – Reflections on the autumn term, 02.12.2011*). This supported me to stay focused and to reflect upon my research as an ongoing process. Over the course of the year, I accumulated a substantial amount of field notes and contextual information.

To conclude, Hammersley and Atkinson (2007) suggest writing while in the field. Observing the participants while at the same time taking notes was a very tiring and intensive process, yet I wanted to make sure to absorb as many details as possible. Over time, as the children got used to my presence, I became part of their learning experience in the class. I sat at different group tables and used a journal to write down my observations. At home, I rewrote my notes and added additional diary-like entries. I had to do this on the same day, so that I would not forget any further thoughts I had had during the lesson. During my observations, I preferred handwriting to a laptop as this was less obtrusive for the teacher. As I have detailed in the beginning of this section, at home, I copied and edited my notes on the computer. Again, this was a very demanding task, which took much longer than the actual lesson observed. As I reviewed lessons during the input process, I was able to reflect and plan future steps areas of focus and/or questions to be investigated. Now I am grateful for all the details I noted as, otherwise, it would have been difficult to reconstruct the lesson several years after completing the field work phase of my research.

5.3.1.2 Field notes: audio and video recording

To capture a more accurate record of the lesson, I began to audio and video record the lessons which I used to supplement my field notes during their transcription (also see *Appendix 2* for examples of field notes).

I used the recorders in the spring and summer. I introduced them only after I felt the class had gotten used to me as the researcher in their classroom during the autumn term and once the teacher approved this, which took much longer than I had hoped it would. Permission for the recording was also part of my consent form (also see *Appendix 6.1* for the consent form to the parents and carers). Once I had introduced the recorder, the teacher became far more aware of my presence.

I used the audio recorder in two ways. First, I placed it on the teacher's desk, but this was too far away, which made it impossible to capture some of the children's voices when they spoke. I also tried placing the recorder in the middle of the table where I was sitting. This way, I was able to hear everything said by the children at that table. However, it was not always easy to understand my recordings later; therefore, I was glad that I had simultaneously taken field notes. I had also considered using microphones with the children but after I had discussed this with the teacher, the feeling was that this would have disturbed the lesson and was regarded as too obtrusive and not allowed. While the audio recordings from the lessons were not always effective at capturing everything and were also introduced at a relatively late stage of the research, they were a useful tool for the process of interviewing the participants (also see *Section 5.3.3*).

I began to use the video device in the summer term so that the children were already used to my presence, my note-taking and the audio recorder. This was all decided with the teacher. When I used the video recording device, I placed it in the back of the classroom or on the teacher's desk so as not to distract the class by walking around. Only in a few instances did I walk around to better capture what I wanted to film. The teacher seemed to be the most distracted by this and kept looking at the device; the children quickly adapted to it. I used video recordings in order to trying to capture detail in terms of what the children were saying and how they were communicating. Further, I thought that the movement of the teacher would provide me with insights about her teaching and how she regarded the children, their co-construction of meaning, the power relations existing between them and any insecurity she might have had in teaching French, while not being proficient in the language. However, in the end I decided not to use the video recording in my final summary of data but only the audio recordings.

To summarise, I mainly used handwritten observations supplemented with audio and video recordings. Ideally, I would have used audio and video recordings earlier and also microphones generally but this was restricted because of ethical considerations. After the lessons, I transcribed the recordings and added them to the field notes, thereby integrating them into the written record of observations. An advantage of the recordings over in-class note-taking (handwritten observations) was that they were two things in one: raw data but also a record of my own research (Blommaert and Jie, 2010).

5.3.1.3 The journal

Throughout the duration of my study, I kept journals in which I took field notes, general notes, jotted down my own comments and collected everything useful about my research journey. These journals were a central part of my PhD, containing everything from meetings, successes and failures, notes, thoughts, websites, calendars, information, computer programmes and more. The journals became my companions. Over time, I had seven of these little journals. Looking through these books, you would be able to see how the research unfolded and how my own learning and understanding of my research topic evolved.

5.3.1.4 Reflection on observational data

Adopting an ethnographic perspective, framed by a sociocultural perspective of learning (also see *Chapters 3* and *4*) allows to use ethnographic research tools for collecting data such as observations. Following this approach in my research, observational data and its subsequent interpretations then include the social and cultural context of the participants and the impact of their behaviour on their development and learning in the French lesson. In other words, observations of the French lesson allowed me to be immersed in the participants' learning for a longer time (a school year) and to get an in-depth understanding of their behaviour in that lesson, to gain insights into the children's and teacher's interactions and the co-construction of their interaction and practices in the French lesson. In other words, I was able to immerse myself in the setting of the classroom and avail myself of opportunities to observe the participants' behaviours within the lesson. Here, I would like to point out that the behaviour I observed in the French lesson may have been

typical in that situation; however, it might change across different contexts (other lessons) and times (Hammersley, 2006). To summarise, I may be able to conclude that observations as one data collection tool allow for later interpretations by seeing through the eyes of the participants (Bryman, 2016) (what I mean is to include the social and cultural context of the participants as addressed in *Chapters 3* and *4* in order to approach the research in an inductive, descriptive and interpretive way).

As I discussed in the previous section, analysing the data became an integral part of my research while writing up my observations (also see *Section 5.4*). Though I did not spend too much time on analysing the data during the transcription process, I began to add analytical comments, reflections, as well as photos and board drawings the teacher had included in the lesson, as well as copies of the children's work if possible. I tried to include as much context as possible since we researcher "never know exactly in advance what we will need to include in our observations and what not" (Blommaert and Jie, 2010, p. 26), working towards thick descriptions (Geertz, 2017) (drawing on my discussion in *Section 4.1.2*).

The process I underwent from observing and scribbling down to rewriting and reflecting on my notes demonstrated to me that field notes (also see *Appendix 2.1* for examples of field notes) are by no means a finished product but tools researchers use to do their work (Delamont, 2002). Further, through my observations, I encountered what Agar (1996, p. 31) calls rich points: "problems in understanding" what is happening. The rich point came to me during my observations of the participants when I noted the specific way the

teacher approached the French lesson, as I will discuss in my findings in *Section 8.3*.

Overall, taking field notes was a time-intensive process which required perseverance. I sat down for numerous hours again to tidy all my notes, adding analytical comments, photos and documents, all within the context of planning my next steps of the study which would possibly be supportive when analysing my data but also as part of adopting an ethnographic approach. I am very grateful as I now have a folder full of references through which my extensive field notes became a thick description (Geertz, 2017) of the context of my study.

All in all, observations of the participants including field notes, audio and video recordings and my notebooks seemed an appropriate way to collect answers to some of my research questions. However, the observations only allowed me to describe the behaviour of the participants in the classroom, but did not allow me to see why such behaviour happened nor did it provide any contextual information (Denscombe, 2014). Therefore, I wanted to find a way to complement the observations, allowing for a visual representation of language use but also drawing on the children's multilingualism. The tool I decided on was language diagrams, which I discuss in the following section.

5.3.2   Language diagrams

Following on from the observations, I will now explore language diagrams as a tool for data collection. The use of language diagrams was central to my data collection since this multimodal approach offered another insight into the children's language use. Here, the children expressed themselves by exploring

their language use using a visual medium, which provided data I had not been able to gather through observations nor through the interviews.

During my research, I was looking for a data-gathering method that would allow participants to express themselves visually exploring their language use through participating in their research, drawing on my discussion about the role of children in my research, also see *Sections 5.1.5* and *5.2*. I talked with my supervisor about the rigidness of questionnaires and that, while a questionnaire would provide me with background information (such as ethnicities, languages and language use), it left little room for contextual details.

I explored multimodal tools such as the language diagram used by Sneddon (2009). She explored children's language use in her study about learning to read through dual language books, children were encouraged to visually explore their language use since as "bilinguals know, they are often not aware of what language they are speaking at any given time" (Sneddon, 2009, p. 31). Because I was working with a similar population, I decided to implement the use of language diagrams as a means by which the children would visually depict their language use and express something about their understanding of their identity. Equipped with a visual medium for expression, I hoped that the children would be able to freely express their experiences with language, identity and possibly learning.

Language diagrams draw upon the three modes of communication (Kress, 2010): image representation, written word and speech, the latter arising from discussion with the children in regard to what they noted on paper, thus creating a variety of datasets. The children had to draw a language diagram,

they had to note down people and languages and once finished with their diagrams, the children described the diagrams, providing valuable insights into the interconnectivity of meaning-making image representation, writing and speech. The use of the language diagrams points to the inter-disciplinary approach of representation and communication and acknowledges that language can be expressed in more than one mode.

Figure 2 is an example of a language diagram using visual means to show language use and context.
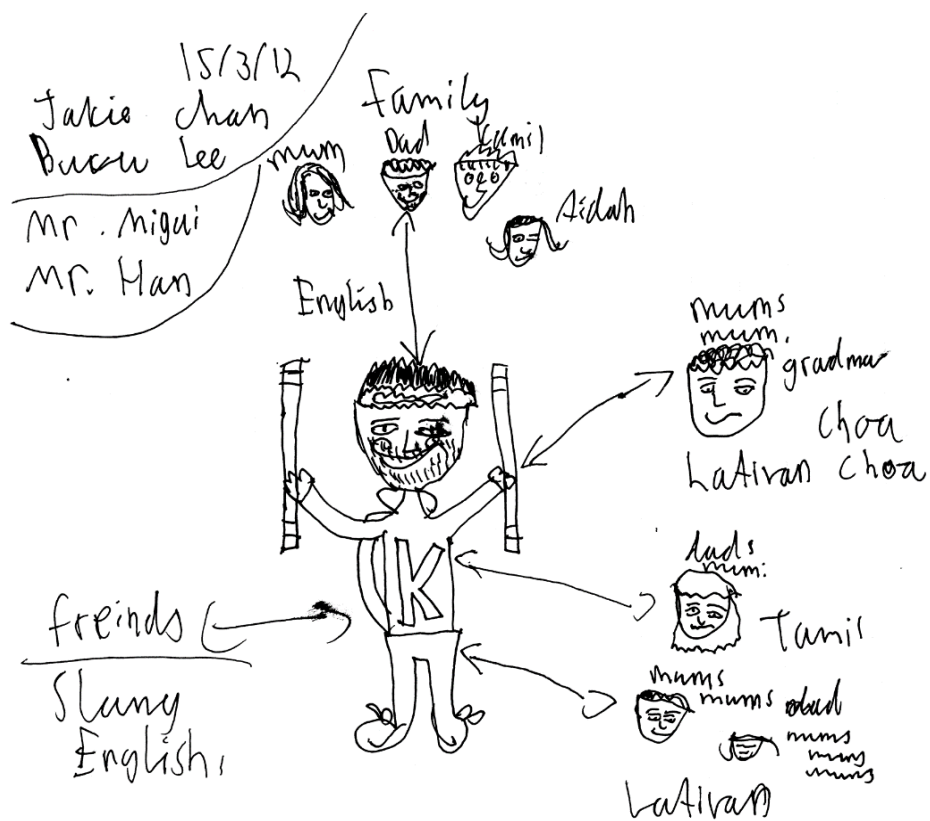
Figure 2: Language diagram – Kamalish, 15.03.2012

I ended the language diagram session with an interview part where I asked the children to describe what they had drawn. This proved to be a very valuable source of data gathering because it added to context of the language diagrams.

While I wanted them to depict their use of language, I was open to seeing where their visual representations of their lives would lead them in terms of describing these in words.

This data gathering tool gave the children an opportunity to be active agents in their story telling through both word and image, and the *listening* I did with both my ears and eyes offered me another layer of insight into their multilingual practices (for a further discussion about the language diagrams and the emergent data, also see *Appendix 4*). To elaborate my brief conversations with the children, I chose to conduct interviews as a complementing data collection tool hoping to gain a fuller picture of the conditions for language learning and language practices within the French lesson.

5.3.3 Interview data

The interviews were able to provide more understanding of the participants' perspective on the language conditions and practices within the French lesson (also see *Section 4.1.4* about emic and etic perspectives). For this, I conducted interviews with all the participants. In other words, besides following what the teacher and pupils did in the lesson, I could now also listen to what my participants had to say.

An insight into Hammersley's (2006, p. 9) interpretation of interviews is useful to my discussion:

1. as a source of witness accounts about settings and events in the social world, that the ethnographer may or may not have been able to observe her or himself; and

2. as supplying evidence about informants' general perspectives or attitudes: inferences being made about

these from what people say and do in the interview situation.

Interviews may offer insight and clarity into situations which the researcher might not be able to perceive through pure observations. Further, the additional information provided through interviews may enable the researcher to see patterns of certain behaviour in a new light. Bryman (2016) adds that the interviewee's view is in the foreground and, as such, it allows people to answer more on their own terms. Specific to child participants, Eder and Fingerson (2002, p. 181) describe interviewing not only as a possible way to clarify observations, but also as a tool that can empower "to give voice to their own interpretations and thoughts". Also, Conteh's (2018c) two criteria of adopting an ethnographic perspective (also see *Section 4.1*), which include recognising and valuing all perspectives in the context being studied as well as understanding what the participant bring to the context comes to the fore in the interviewing process; this includes its embeddedness in the social, cultural, political or historical context. At the same time, an interview process touches on the notion of power. Hierarchies between the interviewer and interviewee need to be eliminated. This needs special consideration in regard to children because they see an adult, a teacher in the researcher hence, a possibly unquestioned authority. In order to bridge the gap between adult, teacher, researcher and pupil and allow a more personal relationship to evolve, in which the children would feel safe to express themselves, I built rapport over a few months. But I carefully planned my interviews also in discussion with the teacher and considered the ethics involved (as discussed in *Section 5.2*).

Blommaert and Jie (2010, p. 44) argue that interviews are conversations between people, where "both parties contribute". So, the interview process is a very personal process. This is in line with what I have discussed in *Chapter 3*, about a sociocultural perspective on learning, where both teacher and pupils contribute, which has been for example discussed in the work of Rogoff (1990). In other words, while all contribute to the interview process, they also influence the answers and, in fact, also the results of the emerging data. I have discussed the validity of qualitative research and the role of the researcher within the research in the previous chapter.

I had begun the process of collecting data using observations and from the information I gleaned, I started to consider topics I would ask, creating the format I would use in the interviews. I had decided to conduct semi-structured interviews because they would enable the children and myself to have greater freedom in exploring a topic flexibly and to use arising opportunities to probe further. Bryman (2016) suggests that semi-structured interviews could guide the researcher and, in that sense, the order of questions might change but also allow further questions to be asked – hence the term semi-structured.

For each interview, I prepared some prompts and questions that had occurred to me while I was observing the class, but I aimed to remain open to hearing what the participants wanted to say. The formulated questions provided the basis of my semi-structured interviews. However, their wording varied slightly or was elaborated as appropriate in accordance to the interviewee's responses (also see *Appendix 3* with my interview prompts and questions). This allowed for flexibility within the interview but also provided a framework for conducting the interview. I also adopted Blommaert and Jie's (2010) view that an interview

is a conversation, which allowed me to be flexible and provided me with the possibility of probing into the responses to achieve the depths of information I needed. I modified the order and wording if necessary to allow the conversation to flow naturally and to increase understanding as I aimed at following the participants and what was important to them. I viewed the questions I had formulated as the means for introducing topics and for guiding the conversations toward certain themes. This framework provided the necessary structure to get the conversation going, but allowed the participants to divert to topics that they personally found pertinent and about which I would not have known to ask. In addition to the information I was seeking, I was also interested in how the participants related to their answers. Denscombe (2014, p. 186, italics in original) discusses exploring the participants' "*opinions, feelings, emotions and experiences*", which I found useful in perceiving underlying forces at play in the participants' relationship to language use. I also kept this approach for the follow-up interview and the teacher interview.

I planned to interview five different groups of children in a group setting. After I had interviewed all five groups, I decided to conduct a follow-up interview with a focus group of pupils whose initial interview responses gave me reason to want to investigate further into their experience. I also conducted a one-on-one interview with the class teacher.

Table 4 provides an overview of the interview process, including the date and length of each interview, the type of interview and the participants involved.

Table 4: Overview of the interviews

Date and length	Type of interview	Participants
19.04.2012 – 33 min	Semi-structured	Pupil Group 1
27.04.2012 – 26 min	Semi-structured	Pupil Group 2
31.05.2012 – 20 min	Semi-structured	Pupil Group 3
14.06.2012 – 27 min	Semi-structured	Pupil Group 4
22.06.2012 – 27 min	Semi-structured	Pupil Group 5
28.06.2012 – 25 min	Focus group	Mixed Pupil Group
12.07.2012 – 32 min	Semi-structured	Teacher

5.3.3.1 Pupil interviews

This section addresses the interview process with the pupil participants; however, many features overlap and were adopted during the teacher interview as well (also see *Section 5.3.3.3*). The data and findings of the interviews will be analysed and discussed in *Chapters 6* to *8.*

Because of the time I spent observing the class beforehand, I was aware of the participants' varying levels of English proficiency (also see the brief discussion about each participant *Section 5.1.6*). Yet, I had observed and discussed with the teacher that, except for Claudiu (who had arrived from Romania at the beginning of the school year), all the children could understand and express themselves in English well enough for to participate without language support from outside such as an interpreter. Most children learnt English when entering nursery or reception class. And in the course of the year, Claudiu's English improved and, during the interview, he tried as hard as he could; he even participated in the follow-up interview. Based on this, I decided that an interpreter was not necessary.

I began the interview process by conversing with groups of six to nine children (also see *Appendix 3.1* for the interview questions and topics covered during that interview). The class teacher had selected the groups for me based on their groupings for Guided Reading lessons. As I have discussed in *Appendix 1*, during Guided Reading lessons the teacher also engaged the children in non-related reading activities like practicing handwriting or tidying the class. It was one of these groups which the teacher released for working with me (also see *Sections 5.1.2* and *5.2*). However, I choose the children for the focus group interview.

The groups met with me outside the classroom in various locations depending on the availability of space at the school. There were challenges with some of the different settings/locations of the interviews in terms of the noise, technical problems and the children being exposed to a non-familiar activity within a non-familiar environment.

I used an audio recorder to record the interviews. In one instance, I had to use the video recorder during an interview because the audio recorder did not work. Though this was better than no device at all, the children were quite distracted.

In order to make the children familiar with the interviewing process, I began the interviews with questions which they could readily answer such as their name and age. As I discussed in the beginning of *Section 5.3.3*, I wanted the children to feel comfortable contributing to the group interview and was aware that power dynamics might play a role in their comfort levels. Both teacher and children called me by my first name. I hoped that the children would see me as being less authoritative than a teacher. Despite my explanations of my role as a

researcher, many children thought that I was there to support the teacher in French lessons. Overall, they were right since in the bigger picture my research shall support teachers teaching multilingual children which I will further discuss in the final chapter, *Section 9.2*. The pupils saw me as a teacher and a friend of their teacher, so I was always aware of how their perceptions of me might impact their level of trust with me (also see *Section 4.1.4*).

After I got the interviews started, I allowed the children to say as much as they wanted as I was never sure where their narratives would take us and I knew that their stories "contain all the stuff we are after" (Blommaert and Jie, 2010, p. 52). In addition to the stories and anecdotes they shared, I also paid attention to all non-verbal communication such as utterances, sounds and silences that were communicated. Listening to the children seemed to take on new meaning as I listened for both verbal and non-verbal communication. It became apparent that a few questions were more difficult for the children to answer. For example, when I asked whether the children were allowed to speak their home language at school, that question was often followed by a long silence which I then tried to overcome by probing. At the time of the interview, I was unaware of the length of time it took for the children to answer. It was not until I listened back to the recordings that I realised how important that particular silence was in communicating a possible area of uncertainty or discomfort or even to avoid an answer (as I will discuss in my findings in *Section 8.2*).

Because I did not want to distract the children from their narratives, I refrained from taking too many notes during the interviews and, instead, listened to the recordings after each interview and transcribed them with annotations for

follow-up questions and future analysis. Once I had listened to the interviews at home, further questions emerged from the initial interviews, which I planned to ask a focus group of pupils.

Following on from the pupil participant interview, I will now describe the process of the focus-group interview.

My first round of interviews identified broader issues of the children's multilingual practices and co-construction of learning within the French lesson. By conducting a more focused interview, I wanted to dig deeper into some of the children's answers (for example their multilingual practices they had stated in the previous interviews: "mixing languages", "getting mixed up", "mixing up languages", "getting confused", "using different languages", "going back to my languages") (also see *Appendix 3.2* for the interview questions and topics covered during that interview).

I selected the children for the focus group myself according to the questions I had about previous data I had gathered during the group phase. A typical feature of a focus group is that the participants "have certain characteristics in common that relate to the topic" (Krueger and Casey, 2015, p. 2). It could be argued that the term focus group has been applied erroneously, as I am not referring to a marketing research method; however, marketing is just one instance where the concept of a focus group can be applied. My focus group shared certain perceptions that I wanted to investigate one more time in a follow-up interview. It was more than a mere follow-up as we focused on a set of topics.

5.3.3.2 Teacher interview

The teacher granted me a one-on-one interview at a coffee shop during the school lunch break. Although it was quite noisy and not ideal as a location, the teacher wanted to eat her lunch while we conducted the interview, and I felt that I should accommodate her busy schedule (also see *Appendix 3.3* for the interview questions and topics covered during that interview).

Once I had transcribed the data, I offered to let the teacher read the entire transcript of our interview and also to read the field notes from my observations, what is referred to as respondent validation (Denscombe, 2014; Bryman, 2016) (also see *Section 5.4.2.2*). In that way, I hoped that she would see the authenticity of my transcription. However, she declined to review the transcript and said that it was not necessary and that everything was sure to be correct. I was not able to convince her and, up to today, I hope that I have not misunderstood her. The only time she would comment on my thoughts or observations was in the little conversation we had before and after the lesson.

5.3.3.3 Brief reflection on the interviews

Overall, the interviews were a useful tool for generating data by interacting with people through guiding prompts and questions that led to narratives and important non-verbal communication like silence.

The role of the researcher plays an important role as his or her identity might affect the interviewees' accounts (Denscombe, 2014). Further, I was aware of power dynamics at play and my role in creating a space where the participants felt they might be on neutral territory, a topic which I have tried to address before (also see *Section 4.1.4*).

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However, interviews also had their limitations as they mainly allowed data on people's accounts rather than their behaviour (also see *Section 5.3.1* and *9.3*). They are also context sensitive, being affected by both the situation and individuals involved. In other words, my role as the researcher and the way I phrased the questions but also the answers of the participants, their possible repetitions or copying of answers due to the group setting need careful attention when interpreting the emergent data. Following this understanding allows seeing interviews as "socio-discursively constructed" (Hammersley, 2006, p. 9) where the participants' perspectives are situated within a sociocultural context (also see *Sections 3.1* and *4.1)*.

Even though I was granted limited time for interviewing, I tried to make the most of it by setting up small group interviews where all the participants were invited to share some of their experiences.

5.4   Methods of analysis

In the previous chapter, *Chapter 4*, I discussed features of qualitative research and the reasons I chose to conduct my study using qualitative methods. As I already mentioned, this included adopting an ethnographic approach, which involve the researcher's focus on certain aspects of the participants' everyday life. In such studies, researchers become immersed in the setting and context without fully detaching themselves from their personal values, attitudes acknowledging their role and beliefs in that entire process. Researchers *experience* data differently. This has implications on the ways qualitative data is collected, the tools used and the descriptions generated from the data. Furthermore, it also has implications on how data is looked at, explained and

described with the aim to seek understanding of those being studied, their behaviour and the reasons for that behaviour. Within this context, analysis not only emerges from data but constructs, "a process of creating what is there by constantly thinking about the import of previously recorded events and meanings" (Emerson et al., 2011, p. 199).

Even though the methods of data analysis in qualitative research vary depending on research question, research design and the data being collected, they have features in common (Emerson et al., 2011; Silverman, 2013; Denscombe, 2014; Miles et al., 2014; Bryman, 2016; Marshall and Rossman, 2016). These may include:

- Starting analysis while in the field.

- Assigning codes, categories and themes to the collected data.

- Sorting the data and identifying relationships and patterns.

- Noting reflections through jottings and memos.

- Elaborating ideas and linkages.

5.4.1 Data analysis in qualitative research

In choosing my data analysis methods, my aim was to find a way to coherently show what I recorded throughout my data collection phase and to approach it in such a way that the analysis would be as well "comprehensible to readers who are not directly acquainted with the social world at issue" (Emerson et al., 2011, p. 171).

I chose to use an inductive approach (also see *Section 4.1*), whereby interpretations are formed through the emergent data (also see *Appendix 2.4* for an initial sample of my coding from my base source material which was an absolutely essential part of how I later interpreted my data). This approach calls for repeated close readings of all datasets. Being familiar with the data and organising it leads to coding the data, wherein patterns may begin to be visible. When patterns have been identified, the researcher can begin to formulate analytical notes and generate possible themes (also see *Section 5.4.2.3*). The themes that emerge from the data can be used to formulate the findings, relating them to the social world studied. In other words, they can construct an account of the children's and teacher's understanding of their world, the foreign language lesson and the reason for their behaviour within that lesson.

Analysis using the inductive approach is iterative in nature. However, going over the data repeated times allowed me to see the data in terms of categories and themes, which, by way of iteration, were continuously elaborated and altered before reaching their final form in this thesis. I chose this approach because of the inherent flexibility it allowed for reformulating and redefining my research outcome, analysis and finding and drawing conclusions based on new readings of the data. This process can be depicted as an upward spiral – a circling back through the same data but climbing a little further toward clarity each time.

An insight into Miles et al. (2014) cyclical process in *Figure 3* below is useful to my discussion:
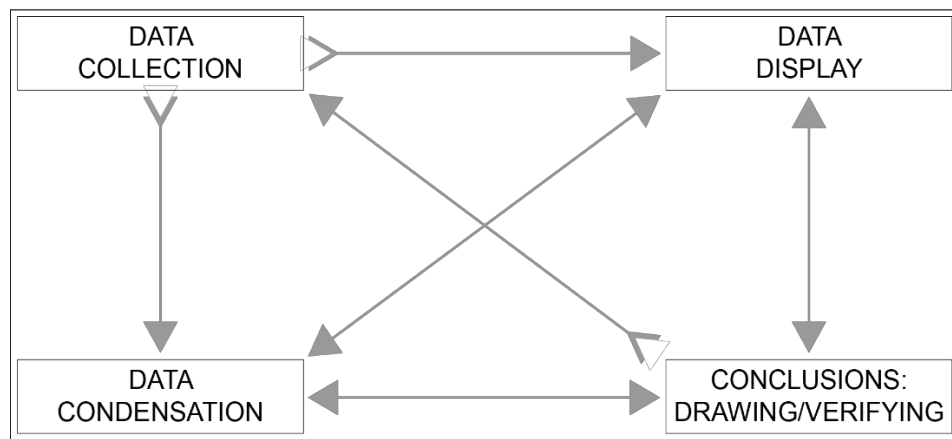
Figure 3: Components of data analysis: interactive model (Miles et al., 2014, p. 14)

Figure 3 divides the analytical process into four phases: data collection, data condensation, data display and conclusion drawing/verification. It conveys the complexity of the process and the iterative interplay between data collection and components of data analysis in qualitative research.

The components of data analysis consist of exploring and describing the empirical data. Here, the researcher adopts an open and flexible approach to enable exploring the datasets in a way that leads to a variety of descriptions, interpretations and linkages. The coding applied to the datasets is intended to reduce large bodies of data into key categories (also see *Section 5.4.2.3* for a sample of coding in my research). The propensity to decontextualise data is one of the primary criticisms of analytical methods used for qualitative research (Bryman, 2016) however, data that have been decontextualised during the coding process may lose their integrity and thus weaken the trustworthiness of the findings.

Bazeley (2013, p. 191) notes that the process by which themes emerge or are identified in qualitative studies can be very descriptive, "supported by limited evidence". In this way, themes, codes and categories can been seen as a point of departure which needs to be integrated into the development of theory rather than remaining on a descriptive level, in this way strengthening the research study. She underlines the importance of justifying the significance of the themes, their relations to each other, their implications and relations to the literature – theory and data are in constant interaction moving "from descriptive to interpretive analysis" (Bazeley, 2013, p. 195). Within my data analysis, *Chapters 6* to *8*, I will justify the importance and significance of particular themes pertinent to the focus of my research that emerged from my data collection.

Starting analysis while in the field guided me in deciding on the next steps to be taken in the fieldwork so the analysis was not "a separate, self-contained phase" (Delamont, 2002, p. 171). As such, it allowed for modifications and adaptations during the data collection phase, here following my earlier discussion of adopting an ethnographic approach which advocates "building on ideas throughout the study" (Fetterman, 2010, p. 93). Early stage analysis consisted of identifying frequently occurring topics.

However, the themes I was looking for were not just any themes but themes related to my research questions:

Main research question: How does children's multilingualism influence the learning of French as a foreign language in a Key Stage 2 primary school classroom in England when taught by a teacher whose knowledge of French is relatively limited?

Sub-question 1: How do identities provide a context for understanding what the children say or do?

Sub-question 2: How do children use their existing languages when learning French as a foreign language in class?

Sub-question 3: In what ways does a teacher with limited expertise in the subject approach teaching French as a foreign language to a classroom of multilingual pupils?

With data analysis beginning in the early stages of data collection and contributing to modifications in data collection, the question arises: when exactly do you stop gathering data? Marshall and Rossman (2016) suggest that the end of the data collection is reached when one does not find new ideas emerging from the data, but sees the same ideas again and again; this is a sign that no further data collection is perhaps required. This, of course, depends on the nature and feasibility of the research as well. The end of the data collection can also be determined by more practical reasons, such as the end of a school year, as in my case.

Analytical approaches for qualitative research are often criticised for the subjective nature of the analysis, for the irreproducibility of qualitative research studies in general, as I have discussed in *Section 4.1.5*, or the notion of decontextualisation. I have addressed these concerns by describing my research journey and my participants' accounts in detail to ensure the validity and trustworthiness of the study (also see *Section 4.1.5*). I have also made an effort to be self-aware and forthcoming in the whole process and to acknowledge my part and what influence I may have had at each stage of the study (also see *Section 4.1.4*).

5.4.2 Analytical procedures of my research

During my data collection phase, I had begun some analysing to guide the next steps of my research; however, the bulk of the analysis began after the end of the school year when I no longer had access to my participants and had finished collecting data. I draw on the research community (Emerson et al., 2011; Miles et al., 2014; Bryman, 2016; Marshall and Rossman, 2016) (also see *Section 5.4*) in that there are various ways to use analytical procedures and often they have similar approaches or overlap.

As I discussed before, the cyclical iterative process inherent to inductive research required that I circled back through certain steps before arriving at a viable interpretation. The steps described in what follows became a kind of frame through which I managed the data analysis. Though most steps were naturally occurring in my analytical phase, I found it useful to have a reminder about where I was in the process and how to get back on track when I got lost in the data.

5.4.2.1 Organisation of data – field notes, transcripts and language diagrams

The organisation of data was a continuous process and started right at the beginning of my research. It took an extensive amount of time because I had to produce transcripts of the recorded interviews, field notes on my observations and sort and order the language diagrams to make my data retrievable. True to the accounts of other researchers, I found out that there "are no short cuts, and one must allow plenty of time and energy" (Delamont, 2002, p. 171).

5.4.2.2 Transcribing the data

Turning recordings intro transcripts was a complex process and is part of the analytical process itself. Similar to field notes, transcribing the interviews and lessons was a time-consuming, but necessary step.

However, a transcript is always dependent on being seen in relation to the researcher. "There are always things that you will not show" (Blommaert and Jie, 2010, p. 68) which influences the possible interpretations. In other words, the transcript is a product of the researcher's predispositions, judgements and interpretations and, in this way, a never-finished process.

Following Copland and Creese (2015), I was not only interested in analysing the content but also in the process of the interview itself – "socially constructed discourses between the interviewer and the interviewee" (Conteh, 2018c, p. 34).

The initial transcripts contained every utterance and word repetition. Later, I composed a second file and took the non-lexical conversation sounds such as um-hm out because it made it easier to read. I used standard orthography and punctuation but have left contractions used by the speaker (also see *Transcription conventions*).

When I listened to my recording of the teacher interview, I realised how complex the transcribing process was because the teacher jumped from topic to topic, left sentences unfinished, interrupted herself and paused to eat and drink during the interview. I knew I had to listen numerous times at specific points to understand the full answer. Even after doing my due diligence, there were still

words at times which I could not hear due to surrounding noises or her mouth being full.

This example shows how transcribing can be problematic when it comes to accuracy. One way to address the issues with mishearing participants is to share the transcripts with them afterwards, also referred to as respondent validation (Denscombe, 2014; Bryman, 2016) (also see *Section 5.3.3.3*).

Overall, I agree with Marshall and Rossman (2016) that transcribing data is a tedious yet rewarding part of the process of data analysis. Information was unravelled to me both during the process of transcription and afterwards. For example, only at the end of the data analysis process, when I had read the transcript of the teacher interview numerous times, did I realise that she referred to me in the third person.

5.4.2.3   Immersion in the data – codes, categories and themes

While I was already quite familiar with my data after I had taken field notes and transcribed the interviews, the process of reading through the complete dataset led me to start seeing the data in a new light. As I read, I took notes (also see *Section 5.4.2.4*). This enabled me to draw connections between the participant's practices in the classroom I had observed and the perceptions they expressed in the interviews and language diagrams. And already while reading through the complete set, I began to see connections and possible themes and categories.

The first read through my work gave me a sense of how I might begin coding. I draw on the work by Marshall and Rosman (2016) and Emerson et al. (2011) in that these first attempts are referred to as open coding. This process enabled

me to closely look at what was happening in the data and generate possible categories for labelling events that had occurred. I went through the field notes and transcriptions line by line, going from naming events to distinguishing between events and identifying possible themes – taking notes the whole time. However, I continued to look for a more detailed approach for coding. Here, the approach of Emerson et al. (2011) to analytical coding (open coding and focused coding) provided a good way for me to try out different methods for categorisation.

I went through the dataset from each method of collecting data (observations, interviews and language diagrams) separately and compared the data. I repeated this several times and eventually began to find overlapping themes which were supported by various types of data (also see the notion of triangulation in *Section 4.1.5*). However, I had to be careful not to decontextualise any references made by the participants. Therefore, I read and reread my notes and transcripts, listened to the recordings, highlighted relevant passages and inserted analytical comments all in the service of supporting my emerging interpretations. As I worked, I would find that a theme could be broken up into several categories, and the resulting categories could then be bundled to form new themes. This process of assigning themes, which were then split into categories, was sometimes reversed as some themes, when broken down, would create new categories. It took a while before a full picture of themes and categories emerged. I systematically went through the field notes, the transcription of the interviews and developed ideas for categories and looked for emerging patterns that might provide suggested interpretations. Alasuutari (1995, p. 16) argues that "on the basis of the clues produced and

hints available, we give an interpretive explanation", a process he refers to as "unriddling" (also see *Section 5.3.1*).

In the literature, the terms theme and category are often used in the same breath (Miles et al., 2014; Bryman, 2016), which can be confusing. For the purpose of my analysis I used the term theme to refer to an overarching main topic and category as a group of topics which are similar but distinct and can be grouped under one theme. *Figure 4* provides an example from my data analysis showing how categories may inform a theme.
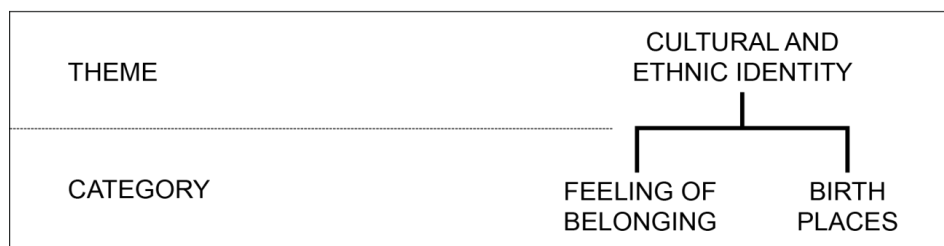
Figure 4: Example of themes and categories

In that phase of my study, I was cognisant of Emerson et al.'s (2011, p. 198) advice to bear in mind the many "possibilities, processes, and issues that become apparent as one immerses oneself in the written data".

While exploring my dataset, I also noted all ideas and hunches I intended to explore further in preparation for the process of focused coding. To go from open to focused coding, I first looked for patterns in my open codes and possible linkages so that I could focus on themes for the next stage of coding.

In thinking about how I would make my data easily accessible and retrievable, I decided to use technical as well as manual strategies for the coding process. To prepare for the next step, I first laid my notes on the floor, cut them in

pieces, and reorganised, regrouped and restructured them all according to the categories I had first built, also see Copland and Creese (2015). The reorganised format for the notes gave me a chance to view the data in a new light from which I began focused coding. For focused coding, I used manual colour coding in notebooks as well as computer processed files using the coding software NVivo, a software for qualitative data analysis. I inputted all my extended and annotated field notes into my computer as well as the transcripts of all recordings. The computer enabled me to manipulate all my data and to retrieve them on demand but, in the end, I preferred to work with the data manually. In order to manipulate them manually again as I had done with my notes previously, I printed out all of the datasets stored in my computer and colour coded them, then I cut them in pieces and sorted them into different themes, categories and codes. I found it very useful to do this process manually, by colour coding, cutting and pasting and then scattering and sorting again, as it provided me with a good overview of my data from which I was able to proceed.

My themes, categories and codes emerged from my own data but were supported by the relevant literature (also see *Chapter 3*). *Figure 5* is an example of how I used codes, categories and themes. The labels I used for my codes in this example were "feeling English", "feeling heritage", "feeling both", "providing no answer", "birthplaces of participants" and "birthplaces of parents". I continued with focused coding by using the code "feeling heritage" which was then divided to "feeling both but more English", "feeling both but more heritage", "feeling both equally, English and heritage" and "feeling different for different reasons". From these codes, I began to form categories: "feelings of belonging"

and "birthplaces", which all fell under the theme I called "cultural and ethnic identity". As mentioned previously, this process does not always go from codes through categories and over to themes but can be reversed:
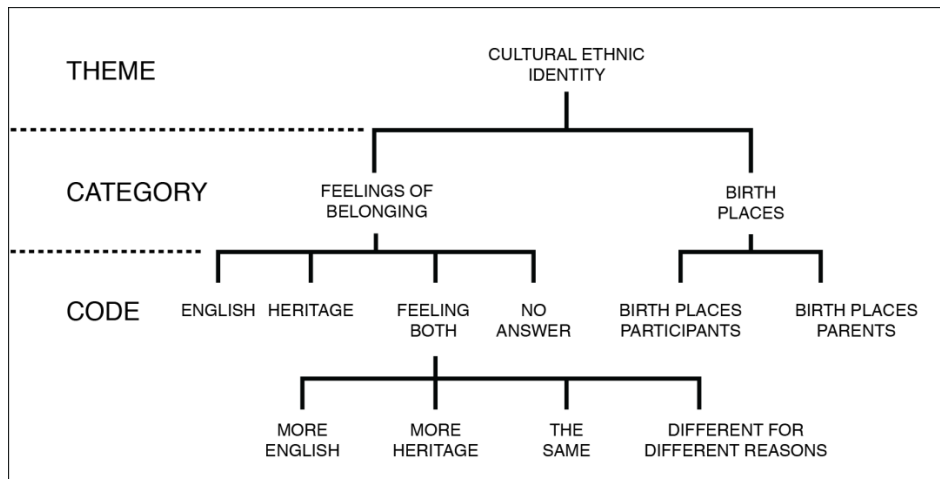
Figure 5: Theme, categories and codes on heritage background and individual upbringing

Returning to my theme of "cultural and ethnic identity" and its related categories, "feelings of belonging and birthplaces" and related codes, "feeling English", "feeling heritage", or "feeling both", I was able to tie it to the notions of assuming different identity positions, as discussed in the literature review in *Chapter 3*. In *Chapters 6* to *8*, I will use the literature as a theoretical framework to discuss the analysis and interpretation of my data.

In order to commit myself to a theme, I read through my data numerous times in order to be sure that I had attached the right data to the theme. In the beginning, I discovered countless codes and I had to stay focused on the purpose of my research in order not to be overwhelmed by the multitude. This process was circular – again and again I worked my way through my data until I was convinced that I had labelled all codes, categories and themes relevant to my research.

5.4.2.4 Offering interpretations

As I worked my way through the data, I took notes on possible relationships between findings and possible literature I wanted to explore further (also see *Section 5.4.2.3*). These notes supported me when I began to offer interpretations for patterns I saw emerging in relation to my conceptual understanding of the literature discussed and the research questions explored. The aim with my notes was to investigate possible linkages and patterns and "to develop theoretical connections between fieldnote extracts and the conceptual categories they imply" (Emerson et al., 2011, pp. 195-196). At this point, Delamont's (2002) notion of triangulation within the method was useful (also see *Sections 4.1.5*). Here I used the process of triangulation between my datasets – moving between observations, interviews and language diagrams. I looked thoroughly through the datasets from the different tools I used to find multiple samples that supported interpretations of events. Employing triangulation between data collection methods may strengthened my finding and allow for enhanced trustworthiness of my interpretation.

Throughout this process, I was cautious to frame my thoughts, findings and interpretations and tried to be engaged in searching for alternative understandings of my explanations. This helped me to see if my interpretations were indeed the most likely reasons for events I documented since data can be seen as preconceptions of the people in that environment. As I have mentioned already (also see *Section 4.1.4*), the researcher has a tremendous amount of influence on the interpretation of data. I wanted to ensure that even though my own experiences and values led me to see data in certain ways, that there were

other equally valid ways. Here, discussions with my supervisors were very helpful in getting me to look at my data from other angles.

5.5   Conclusion

This chapter discussed the design of my study. I have provided a rationale for the selection of the research setting, the access and entry to that primary school and the process of gaining consent. Further, in order to give a fuller understanding of the participants in my research, I provided a short profile on each pupil and the teacher. This was followed by a discussion about ethical considerations in my research especially as in relation to conducting research with children.

Research in the classroom environment has traditionally used data-gathering methods such as observations and interviews which I complemented with language diagrams. Each method reinforced the other and helped to compensate for each of the tool's individual shortcomings. I regarded the observations including the field notes and interviews and their transcripts as well as the language diagrams as equally important datasets. Overall, my chosen methods of collecting data seemed effective and appropriate tools to answer my research question; here, the archiving of my research evolved into a learning process rather than just pure data collection.

Finally, I enumerated the procedures I undertook when starting to analyse my data. I described the iterative nature of qualitative research and data analysis whereby themes, categories and codes are identified from the emerging patterns from the participants' accounts rather than imposing labels on them

from the onset. In this way, interpretation of the data can be seen as an ongoing process and one that is significantly influenced by me, the researcher herself.

Here I follow Bogdan and Biklen (2016) and concede that using qualitative data to tell people's stories in their social world is a powerful way *to give voice* to those who would have otherwise remained unheard. And on this notion, I will continue with the data analysis and findings in *Chapters 6* to *8*, where I will offer possible explanations and interpretations of the participants' accounts and place the data in the context of theory and my research questions. I conclude that, broadly speaking, my chosen methodology and data collection methods were appropriate to my research; however, I will revisit these points in the broader context of my work in the final chapter.

In *Chapter 6*, I will describe the participant's sense of their identities: cultural, ethnic, linguistic and learner. I also address the challenges of a monolingualising ideology and the multilingual exploration I observed happening in the classroom.

6 Data analysis and findings I: multilingual children's identities

In this chapter, I discuss my analysis and findings. I will tie them to the theoretical frameworks and literature I discussed previously (*Chapter 3*). Further, I will address how the findings informed my research questions (also see *Section 1.2*) which I will fully discuss in *Chapter 9*.

Within the context of my study, I wanted to explore how the pupils understood themselves as multilinguals and how their distinct environments influenced their understanding of their identity, hereby using my first sub-research question: *How do identities provide a context for understanding what the children say or do?*

Through the observations of the participants in the Year 5 classroom, I had gained initial insights into the pupils' language and cultural backgrounds, their affiliations with these languages and the level of expertise. Further, using language diagrams and interviews provided me with information about the children's language repertoires, the various identities they called on when talking about themselves and the context in which the languages where spoken.

For the following discussion, I will use my data from the interviews and language diagrams.

This chapter is divided into three sections. Section 1 will present the complexities of the pupils' backgrounds: their cultural, ethnic and linguistic identities. In Section 2, I will discuss the pupil's feelings of belonging.

Section 3 will address the pupils' perceived benefits for speaking multiple languages. The chapter concludes with a summary of the research findings.

To make the transcripts comprehensible and readable, I transcribed using standard orthography and punctuation but have left contractions used by the speaker (also see *Section 5.4.2.2* and *Transcription conventions*). As I have explained in *Section 1.2.4,* I use the term *home language* to refer to the children's language/s spoken with their families which may also reflect the language/s spoken by the community. The full itinerary of questions in the interviews is detailed in *Appendix 3.* Also, I have used representational samples of what the children said or did during the interview and language diagrams. For fuller details and further diagrams, also see *Appendix 4.*

6.1   How did pupils perceive their various identities?

All children grew up in linguistically diverse social contexts where multiple languages and cultures coexisted and interconnected. Out of the 30 pupils, 11 were born outside England. Out of the 60 parents, 58 were born outside England. This means that even though 2/3 of the pupils were second generation, all children in that class were classified as English as additional language learners because they had been exposed to a language other than English in their upbringing. But does the term *English as an additional language* suggest that they were equally homogeneous or not? Naturally, the English language competences were ranging from little to no English language competency (for example Claudiu who had immigrated from Romania to England at the beginning of the school year) to advanced multilingual competency with native-like command (for example Erica, Haneefa or Isabella).

My questions were as follows: *Can you tell me a little but about yourself? Which languages to you speak? Where are you from?* The children responded to these seemingly simple questions with somewhat complex answers. During the interview, Sanchita clearly differentiated between her family background and her own by using the word, "but" (*Extract 3, Line 1*):

1	Sanchita	My Mum and Dad are from Bangladesh, but I
2		am from this country (elapsed time: 00:01:15).
3		…
4		My mum and dad don't really understand my
5		language, but that's why I talk to them in Bengali
6		(elapsed time: 00:09:25).

Extract 3: Group 3 Interview – Sanchita, 31.05.2012

Throughout the interview, Sanchita maintained the divide between herself and her parents and also seemed to differentiate between her home language (which her parents use) and English, which she claimed as "…my language" (*Extract 3, Lines 4–5*) and "Bengali" (*Extract 3, Line 5*) as her parents' language.

Sanchita had answered my question without hesitation and put herself within the context of her family. However, Erica's answer hints that she felt less sure of how to respond to my question; yet she also differentiated between herself and her family. Before she responded to my question, she asked me:

1	Researcher	First, can you tell me your name, your age and
2		where you are from?
3	Erica	Oh, Miss, I have a question first. Is it gonna be
4		where you are originally born, … or your family
5		is from (elapsed time: 00:00:15)?

Extract 4: Group 1 Interview – Erica, 19.04.2012

While Sanchita was born in England, she solely used Bengali when speaking with her family, whereas Erica was born in the Philippines and spoke both English and Tagalog with her family. These two quotes suggest that the children's backgrounds were far more complex and multilayered. The children's answers were not single answers but involved the background of their parents or extended family besides their own and, often, the languages spoken.

The following extracts are samples of the children stating the contexts that would determine their language use as well as with whom and where the languages were spoken. Claudiu said:

1	Claudiu	At home, I speak Romanian and sometimes
2		English. When I have French lessons, I speak in
3		French, and English in English lessons (elapsed
4		time: 00:03:17).

Extract 5: Group 2 Interview – Claudiu, 27.04.2012

Dawar said:

1	Dawar	I speak English at school, Urdu at home and I
2		know a little bit of French 'cause I learn it at
3		school (elapsed time: 00:02:35).

Extract 6: Group 4 Interview – Dawar, 14.06.2012

Kamalish stated:

1	Kamalish	I speak English with my whole family, but I
2		speak Tamil with my Dad on special occasions
3		and Latvian to my Mum on special occasions
4		(elapsed time: 00:02:03).

Extract 7: Group 1 Interview – Kamalish, 19.04.2012

In regard to home language use with his parents, Tawfeeq explained:

1	Tawfeeq	My granddad and my grandma, I have to speak
2		Urdu to them, 'cause they don't know that much
3		English and my Mum and my Dad and my
4		sisters and my brothers I speak to them in
5		English. And my auntie, I speak English with her
6		as well (elapsed time: 00:01:40).

Extract 8: Group 5 Interview – Tawfeeq, 22.06.2012

Tawfeeq speaks Urdu to his grandparents because they do not speak English. Although he could use his home language to speak to other family members, he does not. I wonder what will happen to Tawfeeq's Urdu knowledge after his grandparents pass away. Although Tawfeeq currently has opportunities to use his Urdu, these might decline without an Urdu-speaking environment in which Tawfeeq can interact with other Urdu speakers. Will he simply stop speaking Urdu and employ solely English in his daily life?

Arwa was well aware of her multilingual resources when she explained without hesitation where and with whom she used each language, including in the foreign language lesson:

1	Arwa	With my grandparents, I speak Punjabi, and with
2		my brother, I speak sometimes English and
3		Urdu. At school, I speak with my friends English,
4		and in class, I speak French (elapsed time:
5		00:03:55).

Extract 9: Group 2 Interview – Arwa, 27.04.2012

The majority of the children spoke English with each other, however, a couple of children also used their home languages with each other. Mohit explained this in the interview:

1	Mohit	I talk to my friend. His name is Utpal. He talks
2		with me in Bengali as well. In the playground [...]
3		he talks Bengali a lot to me (elapsed time:
4		00:18:51).

Extract 10: Group 2 Interview – Mohit, 27.04.2012

Marie explained during the interview:

1	Marie	When my Mum wants me to speak French or
2		other languages, she immediately speaks it, just
3		anytime, because she wants me to actually
4		respond and I try my hardest to actually do it
5		(elapsed time: 00:01:23).

Extract 11: Group 5 Interview – Marie, 22.06.2012

In *Extract 11*, the mother held the authority to expect her daughter to speak French to which Marie was responding. From the above quote, it can be seen how children are highly susceptible to being dominated by the environment, the social group and social attitudes. In given situations, such as those where power and authority are at play, they may choose an acceptable identity and language for the situation.

Also, the language diagrams provide context which helps me to interpret what children were saying in regard to language repertoires, interlocutors and contexts. In the following, I provide some representative language diagrams the children drew, for fuller details and further diagrams, also see *Appendix 4*. The language diagrams display the wealth of the children's language repertoires and indicate the people with whom they spoke their languages. Through discussions, the children also explained where (context) they used their languages.

The following figure, *Figure 6* provides information about Joshita's personal life.
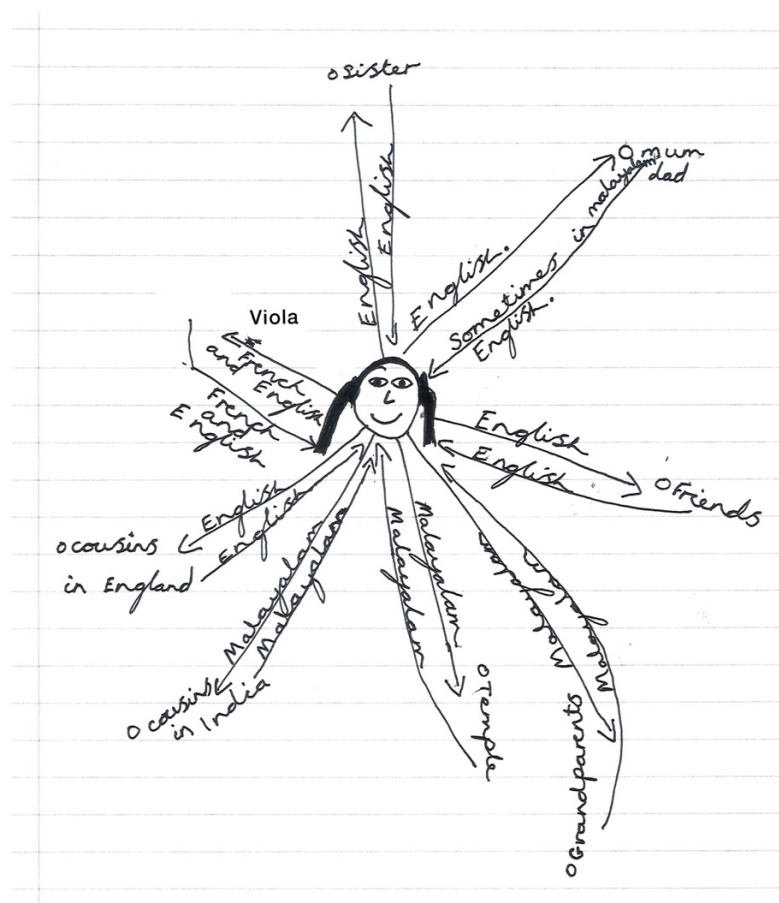
Figure 6: Language diagram – Joshita, 24.02.2012

In this case, it is about her family (mother, father, sister, cousins, grandparents, her friends and her teacher), her faith setting (temple) and the languages spoken across the different settings and countries. The figure illustrates that while she speaks English to her mother and father, her parents respond in her home language Malayalam and sometimes in English. Joshita and her grandparents only communicate in Malayalam. With her sister, she speaks English. Joshita differentiates between her cousins in England (with whom she only speaks English) and her cousins in India (with whom she speaks only Malayalam). At school, she speaks English and French, which she learns in the

foreign language lesson. Joshita also includes her faith setting, a temple, where she speaks Malayalam. While the figure informs about the different people Joshita interacts with (family, friends and teacher); it also informs about her interactions across settings (home, school and faith setting) and the locations of those interactions (temple, India and England).

The following figure, *Figure 7* provides information about Saajid's personal life.
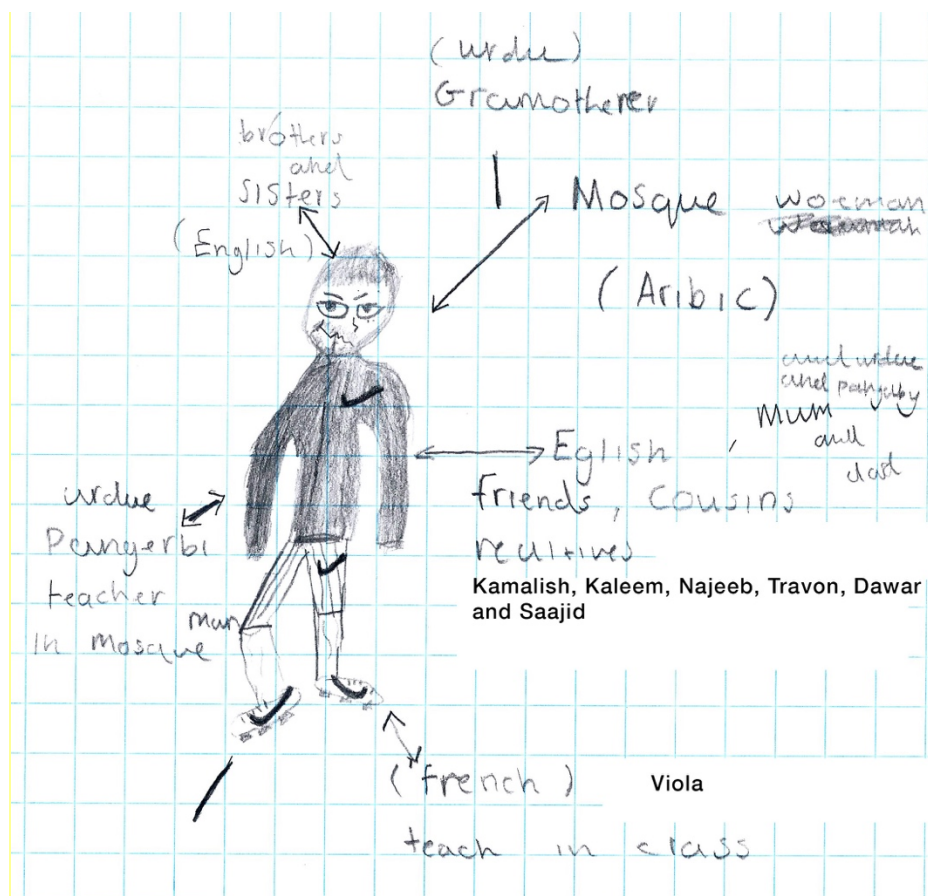
Figure 7: Language diagram – Saajid, 15.03.2012

In this case, about his family and other significant people (mother, father, brothers and sisters, cousins, grandmother, friends, his teacher at school and his teachers in the mosque), his faith setting (mosque) and the languages spoken across the different settings. The figure illustrates that he speaks Urdu

and Punjabi to his mother and father. His grandmother and Saajid communicate only in Urdu. With his sisters and brothers, he speaks English. With cousins and friends and other relatives, he speaks English. At school he also speaks French, which he learns in the foreign language lesson. Saajid also includes his faith setting, a mosque, where he speaks Urdu and Punjabi with a male teacher and Arabic with a female teacher. While the language diagram informs us about the different people Saajid interacts with (family, friends and teachers), it also informs us about his interactions across settings (home, school and faith setting) and the locations of this interaction (mosque). Further, the Nike logo on his drawing suggest that clothing but also brands carry value and seem to be important to him.

Figure 8 provides information about Tawfeeq's personal life.
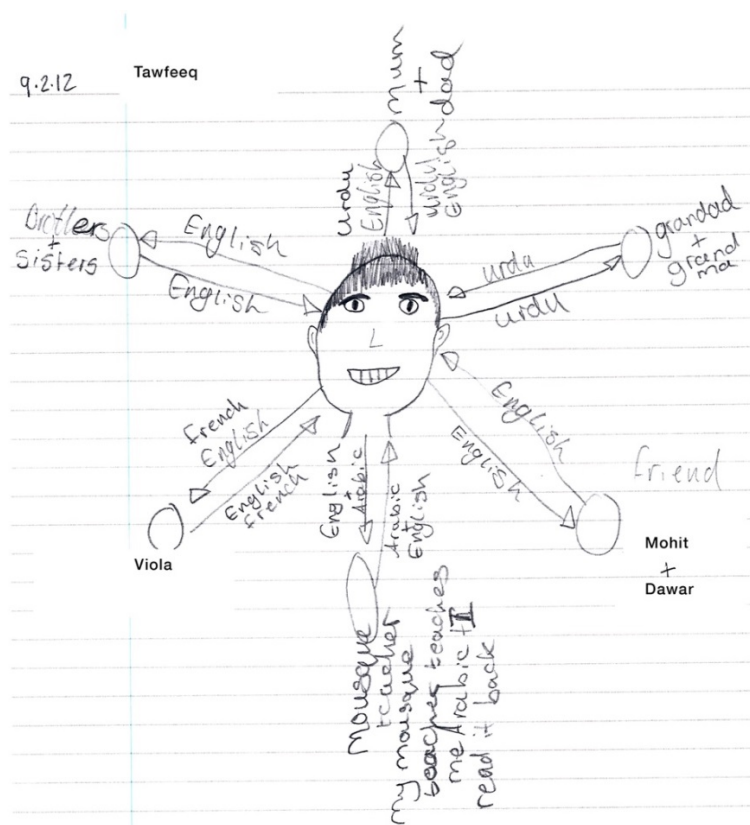
Figure 8: Language diagram – Tawfeeq, 09.02.2012

In this case, about his family and other significant people (mother, father, sisters and brothers, grandparents, his friends, his teachers at school and in the mosque), his faith setting (mosque) and the languages spoken across the different settings and countries. The figure illustrates that he speaks English and Urdu to his mother and father. His grandparents and Tawfeeq communicate only in Urdu. With his sisters and brothers and friends, he speaks English. At school, he speaks English and French, which he learns in the foreign language lesson. Tawfeeq also includes his faith setting, a mosque, where he speaks English and Arabic. Also, he indicates that he reads Arabic to his teacher. While the language diagram informs about the different people Tawfeeq interacts with (family, friends and teachers), it also informs us about his interactions across settings (home, school and faith setting) and the locations of these interactions (mosque).

Through the language diagrams, I came to a deeper understanding of the children's language repertoires and their interactions with these across social settings and contexts. What I have described from the language diagram is supported in the work of Esteban-Guitart and Moll (2014) in their concept *funds of identity*. *Funds of identity* are the personal life experiences and interactions across social contexts, in other words, the resources children use to understand themselves and their complex affiliations and connections to their languages. The above language diagrams provide information about the children's *funds of identity* which they have further divided into five different types. The language diagrams provided information about *geographical funds of identity* (Joshita referring to Indian and England), *practical funds of identity* (Tawfeeq reading Arabic in the mosque), *social funds of identity* (family, friends, teacher and the

teachers in the faiths settings), *cultural funds of identity* (languages spoken, clothing) and *institutional funds of identity* (school, temple and mosque). These examples suggest that identity is influenced by social context and discourse, mediated between the individual and the environment and, as such, not fixed but rather dynamic and negotiated (Creese et al., 2006; Harris, 2006; Riley, 2007; Blackledge and Creese, 2010; Esteban-Guitart and Moll, 2014). In other words, these resources become *funds of identity* "when participants appropriate them and use them to define themselves" (Esteban-Guitart and Moll, 2014, p. 39). What is described here is also supported in the work of Vygotsky (1978) within the concept of *mediation*. I have discussed these theoretical underpinnings in the literature review, also see *Chapter 3.*

When I compared the interviews with the language diagrams, the findings were consistent. The participants used their languages in a variety of contexts such as school, home and community, faith setting and with friends – some languages were used in a very minimal way while other languages were used in a much more elaborated way as part of an exchange which involved multiple languages.

The data suggest that while the children spoke multiple languages in various settings, the context often required specific languages to be spoken. This compartmentalising use of languages in various settings means that the language seemed to be reserved for certain contexts, for example Arabic in the mosque school, home languages at home and English and French at school. While the children spoke with their grandparents solely in their home language, they often used both the home language and English with their parents, siblings and friends or they used only English with their siblings and friends. The

children explained that the reason for speaking their home language with older generations was due to the lack of English language proficiency among the older generations. Although their home language/s generally played an important role in their family lives, English was important for talking to friends. It seems that the younger generation has sufficient language command to communicate with each other in their second language, in this case, English. This then suggests that children perceive languages not as separate entities, but rather as fluid language practices in interconnected aspects of a child's life which is in line with what Kenner (2004, p. 43) termed "living in simultaneous worlds".

From the above data, I arrived at an understanding of how social context and discourse influence a person's sense of self. This maintains that languages may be spoken with different people in different contexts; however, the choices attached to language use may be influenced by and embedded within power relations within the family, community or environment (dominant culture as well as institutions like school and faith settings).

To conclude, home, community and faith settings seem to be contexts where the use of more than one language is predominant. Generational differences often predict to what degree home languages are used, with grandparents sometimes requiring only home language use, parents needing less home language exclusivity and peers, cousins and siblings demanding little to no home language use. The pupils expressed that the reason for speaking a particular language is not solely because they have no other choice for communicating, such as speaking with grandparents only knowing the home language, but rather, that different contexts require different behaviours.

This relates to children not choosing their identities but, instead, points to how identities are negotiated, fluid, and context-dependent.

6.2   Feelings of belonging

The complexities of multilingual identities can be challenging and may have a bearing on the children's upbringing and school.

In the interviews, the following questions were asked: *Can you tell me about growing up using various languages? Where do you feel that you belong?* The responses suggest that the participants were able to express a clear sense of belonging. The children articulated an identity label that conveyed a sense of "being both", opening up the possibilities to further forms of identity such as hybrid identities. Out of 30 children, 18 children felt "both". This was often further explained by differentiating between feeling more English or feeling heritage. I am using "heritage" as a label to replace the particular countries, languages or ethnicities the children refer to – as there are so many. Feeling more versus feeling less is very subjective and cannot be measured and might be differently perceived by each child. This is why their explanations, the reasons the children provided, were interesting and provided an insight in the children's understanding of their identity positions. Here, the children described their identity in terms of degree: using words like "more", "quite" or "a lot of". Out of the 18 children feeling both, 12 children felt more English than heritage stating reasons like too little home language familiarity, being born in England or speaking English at home and with friends. However, of the 18 children feeling both, 5 felt more heritage stating reasons like learning the home

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language before English, higher home language knowledge or speaking the home language with family, also indicated in the following extracts.

1	Joshita	I think I'm more English because I'm, I was born
2		here and I lived here longer, and so I
3		understand the language well.
4	Researcher	If you go back to India, how would you feel
5		there?
6	Joshita	I still feel English, more English.
7	Amrita	I feel Bengali because when I go home
8		everyone, my relatives, and everyone talks
9		Bengali.
10	Dawar	I would feel more English at school 'cause I talk
11		to my friends in English.
12	Researcher	And at home?
13	Dawar	Uh?
14	Researcher	And at home?
15	Dawar	Uh at home uhm both (elapsed time: 00:19:35).

Extract 12: Group 4 Interview – Amrita, Dawar and Joshita, 14.06.2012

The data suggest that 3 children felt clear belonging: towards their heritage as Amrita said in *Extract 12, Line 7,* towards English as Joshita said in *Extract 12, Line 6* and toward "both" as Dawar said in *Line 15*. Here Dawar explained that he had a stronger sense of belonging towards English at school; however, at home this seemed to be fused, as *Extract 12, Line 15* suggests.

The following extract, *Extract 13* provides another example from the interviews about the children's feelings of belonging:

1	Indra	I feel both because I'm quite Bengali, but I was
2		born here.
3		...
4	Isabella	I feel more Romanian than English because
5		Romanian was my first language and a lot, all of
6		my family, I speak to all of them in Romanian.
7	Erica	I feel more Filipino than English, yeah because I
8		speak more Tagalog more than English in my
9		country and here.
10	Haneefa	I feel more English because that's the only
11		language that I know properly and it's the only
12		language I speak.
13	Kamalish	I feel a lot of English because I speak a lot of it
14		at school and at home, but I don't use my other
15		language most of the time.
16		...
17	Kaleem	I feel more Pakistani because, like even though I
18		was born here, I feel more there because that's
19		my religion, not religion, my country, yeah… and
20		yeah, but I speak a lot of English … more than
21		Urdu (elapsed time: 00:22:47).

Extract 13: Group 1 Interview – Indra, Isabella, Erica, Haneefa, Kamalish and Kaleem, 19.04.2012

The data from this extract, *Extract 13*, suggest the children's explanations for feeling more English included having little familiarity of their home languages and higher knowledge of English (Haneefa in *Extract 13, Lines 10−12*) and speaking more English at home and school (Kamalish in *Extract 13, Lines 13−15*). The reasons for feeling more heritage included, having first learnt

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another language than English (Isabella in *Extract 13, Lines 4–6*), and using more home language to speak with their family (Erica in *Extract 13, Lines 7–9*) or feeling a belonging to the home culture, despite speaking more English (Kaleem in *Extract 13, Lines 17–21*).

Mohit stated:

1	Mohit	More English because at home I don't
2		understand Bengali that much. It's hard to speak
3		Bengali at home (elapsed time: 00:22:12).

Extract 14: Group 2 Interview – Mohit, 27.04.2012

Similarly, Basma stated in the interview:

1	Basma	I [feel] more English because I haven't spoken
2		Urdu that much because I wasn't born in
3		Pakistan and I basically was born in England, so
4		I had to speak (elapsed time: 00:20:56).

Extract 15: Group 2 Interview – Basma, 27.04.2012

Also, these two samples, *Extracts 14* and *15*, suggest feeling more English included having little familiarity of their home languages and, hence, difficulty in accessing the language/s (Mohit in *Extract 14, Lines 1–3*) and being born in England (Basma in *Extract 15, Lines 1–4*).

While in the above extracts, children clearly stated their feelings of belonging, Marie provided a more nuanced account of her belonging. She seemed to regret that she felt more English than heritage stating that she wanted to be proud of her home language, but found this to be difficult:

1	Marie	Unfortunately, I feel more English even though
2		my parents and most of my family expect me to
3		speak more than that language and feel more
4		comfortable with them, but I have to be honest
5		that, I think that English would be the one and
6		also French because uh well they do try over
7		there a lot. They real, really, really are nice all
8		the time and in Mauritius actually over there I
9		heard that the main, the main language they
10		must speak there and they usually do is actually
11		English.
12	Researcher	Ahhh. Ok. So, you feel French as well as
13		English?
14	Marie	… Kind of and uh well one English is a bit like I
15		think, one well 80 or actually 90% …
16	Researcher	So, 90% English, 10% French?
17	Marie	I'm not sure really. Uhm it's hard to say.
18		*(Six minutes later, the topic had changed, and*
19		*now we spoke about being the expert in the*
20		*lesson, but Marie wanted to add something*
21		*before we finished the interview.)*
22	Marie	I would like to say that uh like that I'm actually
23		proud to be French and that I think languages
24		are very good, especially because I believe in
25		God, who actually I think made the languages
26		for everyone so that they can be in separate
27		countries and have their own decisions and I
28		think that it's good to learn different languages. I
29		think it shows that I respect a lot … (elapsed
30		time: 00:26:11).

Extract 16: Group 5 Interview – Marie, 22.06.2012

I found Marie's response particularly interesting because of her apparent uncertainty when she said that "…English would be the one" in *Extract 16, Line 5*. Marie wanted to be proud of her home language but found it difficult to separate it from her English-speaking identity. This suggests that Marie felt divided between two groups instead of, for example, seeing herself as a blend of two cultural and/or ethnic groups (as findings in *Extracts 12* and *13* suggest). Moreover, Marie's answer highlights how she was influenced by the power of the social context and interaction with her mother. The final sentences from that extract, *Extract 16, Lines 25−28*, suggest how Marie saw languages as separate entities and, rather than embracing them all, had to negotiate her identity according to the required context.

The analysis suggests that the children's judgement of their language ability in either English or in their home languages seemed to be a primary factor influencing their feelings of belonging. Further, the children generally chose to identify with primarily one culture (either heritage or dominant) and then qualified their response with statements such as "though I feel more..." or "but I was born in...", describing their experience of belonging to both heritage and English culture in a matter of proportions. From the above, it can be seen how language is an important mediating tool for the children's feelings of belonging within their socially, linguistically and culturally dissimilar contexts.

6.3 Children's perceived benefits of speaking multiple languages

The children seemed to be aware of a wealth of potential benefits in speaking multiple languages. The following extracts are samples from the children's answers to my question: *Do you think it is beneficial to know other languages?* Kaleem argued that multilingualism allowed for communication with other people while travelling:

1	Kaleem	It's better because, if I go to another country,
2		and I don't know their language, I could learn it
3		before I go there (elapsed time: 00:09:25).

Extract 17: Group 1 Interview – Kaleem, 19.04.2012

Sanchita discussed how languages could be used to support members in her community who did not know English:

1	Sanchita	We had a survey that we had to do on transport,
2		and it was good to know different languages if
3		you want to ask other people you can talk to
4		them in your ... in the language, if you know
5		what language they are. Then you can talk to
6		them in that language and you can understand
7		and you can note it down. That's why ... it is, if
8		you like go to a different country, like new
9		persons in your class, you can talk to them in
10		that language if you learn different kinds, if you
11		know different languages (elapsed time:
12		00:19:03).

Extract 18: Mixed Group Interview – Sanchita, 28.06.2012

Erica explained that being multilingual benefitted her in communicating with her extended family:

1	Erica	If I didn't know like Tagalog, I wouldn't be able to
2		speak to some of my relatives 'cause that's the
3		only language they speak (elapsed time:
4		00:10:22).

Extract 19: Group 1 Interview – Erica, 19.04.2012

In Rahul's case, the home language is the sole language of the mother, similar to Sanchita's comment in *Extract 3, Lines 4–5* "My mum and dad don't really understand my language":

1	Rahul	My mum can't speak proper English, so I can
2		speak Bengali to her, and she'll understand
3		(elapsed time: 00:09:13).

Extract 20: Group 3 Interview – Rahul, 31.05.2012

Aalia's case was similar:

1	Aalia	My mum, she doesn't really know how to speak
2		proper English so I can speak Urdu with her at
3		home (elapsed time: 00:09:46).

Extract 21: Group 3 Interview – Aalia, 31.05.2012

The data suggest that the children saw benefits of being multilingual such as travelling abroad (*Extracts 17*), communicating within their community or with new pupils in the class (*Extract 18*) or communicating with their immediate family (*Extracts 19–21*). In other words, drawing on languages seemed to be a

possibility to enhance their understanding, knowledge and skills locally within the family or community but also globally when travelling abroad.

6.4 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have described how children understand themselves in multiple linguistic and social environments and the benefits they perceive in speaking multiple languages. Further, I have explored how the children described themselves in terms of their feelings of belonging. This discussion has been brought up in relation to my first sub-research question: *How do identities provide a context for understanding what the children say or do?*

The data helps to emphasise that the children in my study saw themselves as multilinguals. They were able to express what languages were used for, such as to speak with other people, in their learning at school, or in their faith setting, for example for reading Arabic. Further, while home, community and faith settings were contexts where the use of more than one language was predominant, school seemed to be a place in which children were submerged and immersed in the English language (which I will further analyse in the next chapter). Also, generational differences (grandparents, parents and siblings), which has also been discussed in the work of Gregory et al. (2004a), seemed to determine the degree home languages were used: with grandparents, often only home language use, with parents, mainly both English and home language use and with siblings, cousins and friends, almost always only English use. Here, the data suggest how the children used their languages fluidly to express what they wanted to say, thereby moving in and out of multilingual practices. In terms of belonging, most children stated that they felt "both" and that their

language use was a reason for their choice of feelings of belonging. In other words, the data suggest that language mediated their linguistically diverse context, which could have led to their forming new identities such as such as hybrid identities (Harris, 2006). This also provides an insight into their identity positioning.

To conclude, the findings in this section help to answer my first research sub-question: *How do identities provide a context for understanding what the children say or do?* in describing the children's complex accounts of where they are from and how they define themselves but also their affiliations and connections to their languages. I will provide reflections on this in *Section 9.1.1.* The context determines language use, influenced by ideologies, social attitudes and institutions. In other words, identity is distributed among and mediated between people and contexts, in other words fluid, multilayered and subject to negotiation (Harris, 2006; Riley, 2007; Blackledge and Creese, 2010). While the findings are supported by what other researchers have already documented and are consistent with previous studies for example, the work of Day (2002), Martin et al. (2007), Robertson (2007), Ruby et al. (2010), Gregory et al. (2012), Kenner and Ruby (2012), Walters (2011, 2017), or Toohey (2018), they nevertheless provide an important underpinning of my further analysis of the conditions for language learning and language practices within the French lesson.

In the next chapter, *Chapter 7*, I present the findings related to multilingual learning experiences in the classroom: the teacher's view on multilingual learning and the children's multilingual practices and whether or not a monolingual ideology was challenged or upheld within the French lesson.

7 Data analysis and findings II: multilingual learning

In this chapter, I present my analysis and findings. I will tie my analysis to the theoretical frameworks and literature I discussed previously in *Chapter 3.* Further, I will address how the findings informed my research questions (also see *Section 1.2*), which I will discuss more fully in *Chapter 9.*

Within the context of my study, I wanted to explore the children's and the teacher's views and perceptions on multilingual learning and the conditions for language learning and language practices within the French lesson, hereby using my second sub-research question: *How do children use their existing languages when learning French as a foreign language in class?*

Through observations of the French lesson and interviews with teacher and pupils, I had gained insights: the children's awareness of themselves as multilingual learners and, at the same time, how they became identified as learners by the teacher.

For the following discussion, I will use my data from the interviews and observations of the participants.

This chapter is divided into three sections. Section 1 will discuss the teacher's view on multilingual education and learning. In Section 2, I will describe the children's view on multilingual learning, how they identified as learners and their multilingual practices as a learning resource. In Section 3, I will explore whether a monolingual ideology was upheld or challenged in the classroom. The chapter concludes with a summary on the discussed data.

7.1   The teacher's view on multilingual learning

In the interview but also during the brief conversations the teacher and I had before and after lessons, Viola told me about her experiences with foreign languages and shared her views on multilingual learning and alluded to the potential cognitive and social benefits of multilingual learning in the following extracts.

In *Extract 22*, the teacher draws on the academic knowledge on language acquisition she had gained at university:

1	Teacher	When I was studying for my degree, they talked
2		about the development of the child's mind,
3		especially the acquisition of language, and how
4		when you hit a certain age you do, they call it,
5		the wires stop connecting, and it becomes
6		harder. And I certainly believe in that. The way
7		children are picking up the language, making
8		connections is so much quicker than they would
9		be in secondary school, that I know for sure, I
10		just see it (elapsed time: 00:26:55).

Extract 22: Teacher Interview, 28.06.2012

The data suggest that Viola thought learning languages at an early age was easier, drawing on the notion of the critical period hypothesis which links language learning to age and once a certain age was passed "…the wires stop connecting" see *Extract 22, Line 5*. Further, she advocates early foreign language learning at primary school, which she justified from her teaching experience in *Extract 22, Lines 9–10* where she said "…that I know for sure, I just see it".

Apparently, at some point, Viola had told the pupils about the benefits of learning a language which I found out during the interview with Group 1 when Isabella mentioned early language learning. This is what she said to me during the interview:

1	Isabella	Miss said that it's good to learn from a young
2		age 'cause, so you get used to it and then you
3		use it when you get older (elapsed time:
4		00:29:21).

Extract 23: Group 1 Interview – Isabella, 19.04.2012

The data suggest that Viola's had told the class about the critical period for language learning. Perhaps Viola had also related it to her own language learning experience and her current struggles teaching French as a foreign language, also see *Extract 72*, where she stated that teaching French was "…very nerve-racking" (*Extract 72, Line 1*) and said "…I admit I have no idea" (*Extract 72, Line 10*). Whereas, as *Extract 22* postulates starting language learning early and possibly less consciously might lead to higher language speaking levels, like the children using multiple languages from an early age.

A benefit Viola mentioned regarding multilingual practices was that of developing a communicative sensitivity:

1	Teacher	I know you acquire it in bits, you can understand
2		just the conception just from the bits I think it
3		helps me better in that respect.
4		…
5		I really, really wish that I had learnt another
6		language at their age.
7		Just makes it easier for you to acquire any other
8		language, once you acquire a second language,
9		it's easier to get the rest. The more languages
10		you know, it's just easier to communicate with
11		different people (elapsed time: 00:06:08).

Extract 24: Teacher Interview, 28.06.2012

What Viola is referring to with "bits" in *Extract 24, Line 1* is the lesson pace and the topics. Over the school year, the children studied several topics, each containing around ten to fifteen new words, which Viola said was very helpful for her since she was learning French along with the children. The data suggest that she was able to use her newly learnt language knowledge for the next part of the lesson, hence planning her lesson using prior knowledge she had acquired about the language. This corresponds with what Sanchita in *Extract 66, Lines 4–8* said: "…she doesn't move on, she gives us one lesson one day and the next lesson she usually, even if she's doing something different, she still includes that thing in it." Also, in *Extract 24, Lines 10–11*, Viola seemed to see that languages are useful in communication and that knowing more languages also makes communication with others easier. This she also acknowledged for her multilingual pupils. Here, Viola was of the

opinion that multilingual children found it easier to learn languages because they were used to transferring their knowledge between languages. She reported in *Extract 25, Lines 3−5* that her multilingual pupils would look for patterns and make connections between words using visual cues:

1	Teacher	I suspect perhaps because they are bilingual
2		they find it easier, that they look for patterns,
3		they're used to looking for those patterns,
4		they're used to looking for, looking at the image,
5		referring back to the words, whereas when you
6		have a white British child, who came in at the
7		age of seven or eight studying a language, they
8		might have forgotten how they had acquired
9		English when they were four and forgot that they
10		looked at the picture to help them, you have to
11		look more, look for the picture, look for this, look
12		for that, a lot more spelling out for them I
13		suspect, whereas this lot do all that already.
14		Occasionally, I have to highlight it, they look at
15		what you're doing (elapsed time: 00:27:28).

Extract 25: Teacher Interview, 28.06.2012

Viola had begun the sentence "I suspect" (*Extract 25, Line 1),* which might point to her intuition of how children used their languages. The data suggest that Viola drew on the notion of language awareness and knowledge transfer in which linguistic interdependence is shared by a common underlying proficiency. Also, in this extract, Viola compares "bilingual" children (*Extract 25, Lines 1–5* and *13)* and "white British" children (*Extract 25, Lines 5–13)*. The data suggest that Viola regarded multilinguals to be more aware of their language acquisition in contrast to a monolingual child.

Overall, the data from the above extracts suggest that Viola saw multiple possible advantages that multilingual speakers have. These included early language learning in *Extract 22, Lines 7–8*, "…making connections is so much quicker", communication skills and drawing on the first language in second language learning, which in *Extract 24, Lines 7–8*, "Just makes it easier for you to acquire any other language", ease of communication in *Extract 24, Lines 9–10,* "The more languages you know, it's just easier to communicate" transferring skills from other languages *in Extract 25, Line 3,* "…they're used to looking for those patterns".

Viola commented that, in her current class, the children used pictures for understanding and making connections between words like *rose* and *pink* and *violet* and *purple* and said that it took little effort for her to bring this to the pupils' attention. The colours were introduced quite late in the school year, at the end of May. On that day the school was celebrating the Queen's Jubilee, and so all children were allowed to come to school dressed in the colours of the Union Jack some children even painted little flags on their cheeks. During the lesson, Viola explained to the children that many of the English colours were "borrowed" from French and in that respect easy to learn (also see *Extract 62, Line 1*). This was supported by my observations in the lesson. I cannot say whether all children found the connection between the colours easy but in that lesson, however, the task to sort rows of letters in order to write the correct colours was completed by the majority of the class. However, I would like to point out that there is violet in English too – a variation of purple so to an English speaker anyway the connection should be fairly obvious. However, maybe not for multilingual children if their command of English was not so high.

Although the data suggest that, while Viola identified possible cognitive and social benefits of multilingualism and of developing multilingual skills early in life, she did not specifically address personal benefits resulting from a sense of belonging to communities in which the languages are spoken as a home language or maintaining strong family ties due to speaking the home language/s. Also, the data does not suggest that the lesson had been negotiated in accordance with the diverse backgrounds of the class. The data suggest that she generally speaking saw potential benefits for her multilingual pupils but not in relation to accessing the lesson or using the children's languages as resources for learning. This is in so far relevant to my overall research question (*How does children's multilingualism influence the learning of French as a foreign language in a Key Stage 2 primary school classroom in England when taught by a teacher whose knowledge of French is relatively limited?*), as the data suggest that multilingual learning in the classroom was not something the teacher seemed to have thought about which then would mean that the influence of the children's multilingualism was constrained and hardly present in the lesson. This is also the reason for the little use of data from the observations in this section. This finding also corresponds with the fact that Viola did not know the children's language and cultural backgrounds, as will be discussed in more detail in *Sections 8.1* and *8.2.*

Turning now from the potential benefits Viola ascribed to language learning in general to how Viola experienced learning French as a foreign language and her approaches to accessing it, during the interview, Viola said that she could hardly remember French or German from her secondary school years.

However, since she had sat in the German lesson while her pupils learnt German in her previous post, she stated:

1 2	Teacher	German will pop in my head, and then I can't remember the French (elapsed time: 00:04:53).

Extract 26: Teacher Interview, 28.06.2012

The data suggest that the German was more present and easier for her to retrieve (also see the same perceptions by Maha in *Extract 41*).

The data suggest that Viola already knew some basics in foreign languages that helped her access French. When I asked her *While teaching French as a foreign language, can you think of examples drawing on other languages*? she explained what would go through her head:

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10	Teacher	I would be going through my memory of some of the words and see how the words are spelt. Going through my memory, and I might then refer to German; sometimes I would try and access what I know in German and say 'can I relate to that in any way [to French]?' Things like that really. I would also refer back to Shakespearean English and possible medieval because of the roots of languages but I know that from my studies (elapsed time: 00:19:35).

Extract 27: Teacher Interview, 28.06.2012

The data suggest that Viola seemed to draw on her entire range of language experiences and of language knowledge: from German and Shakespearean English up to language roots. While Viola recognised the links between the languages for herself, the findings do not suggest that she saw this for the

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multilingual children in her class. In other words, Viola actively used her language repertoire. And even though the data suggest that Viola displayed some understanding of how multilingual children accessed languages "...that they look for patterns, they're used to looking for those patterns, they're used to looking for, looking at the image, referring back to the words", *Extract 25, Lines 2–5*, it appears that she felt less sure in regard to her own pupils.

When I asked her if she thought her pupils did the same thing with their home languages, she replied:

1	Teacher	[With] the children, I don't know. I don't think
2		with the Indian languages there is a lot of
3		similarity as in the European languages. I would
4		have to ask them. I don't know (elapsed time:
5		00:20:06).

Extract 28: Teacher Interview, 28.06.2012

The findings suggest that Viola distinguished between languages (Indian and European languages), however, it seemed without value judgement. Here the data suggest that Viola did not think the children would draw on their home languages when their home language was not a "European" (*Extract 28, Line 3*) language. For Viola herself, the language similarities of the German *braun,* English *brown* and *maroon* and French *brune* and *marron* seemed to confuse her as the data of the observations suggest (also see *Extract 63)*.

However, while talking about learning and teaching French, she only mentioned the benefits of language awareness as they related to English (the children's language of instruction) and not to the children's home languages:

1	Teacher	The grammar and sentence structure side of
2		things makes the children think about how does
3		grammar work in English once more.
4	Researcher	Yeah.
5	Teacher	So that probably would start coming out, [inc.]
6		just their basic understanding of language and
7		how it is used (elapsed time: 00:07:07).

Extract 29: Teacher Interview, 28.06.2012

Overall, the data suggest that the teacher's language awareness was not recognised in terms of validation and/or utilisation of the pupils' multilingual practices at school and did not play into the French lesson, which is an important finding in this section.

Similar to the beginning of this section, where the data suggest that Viola saw the potential benefits of multilingual pupil's multilingualism in general, the data of the second part of this section suggest that Viola seemed to have strategies to access her French language knowledge and displayed some language awareness but not in relation to her actual multilingual children. The data suggest that Viola even dismissed the idea that the children in her class would do the same as she did for accessing French, due to the different language roots of the languages they knew. Perhaps the teacher had only compared French to English since she seemed unaware of her pupils' home languages. This seems to be related to the broader dominating discourse patterns of

English as the only legitimate language of instruction in the mainstream classroom. This I have also discussed in *Chapter 2.*

7.2 The pupils' multilingual practices

The previously explored data suggest that the teacher's perception and attitude of her multilingual pupils had a bearing on the children's use of their home languages in the French lesson. I have drawn from the interviews to present the children's views on multilingual learning and practices in order to gain insight for exploring my second research question: *How do children use their existing languages when learning French as a foreign language in class*?

The position of learner identity seems closely linked to the co-construction of the French language lesson and the role of power between the teacher and the pupils in the classroom. The questions arise: How are children's learner identities constructed in the class and at school as institutions of the state? Does the French lesson allow for the development of multilingual learner identities or does it constrain them? Consequently, how much agency do teachers have in supporting multilingual learner identity development.

I would like to point out that it was the pupils who presented their identity to me in response to my questions, so not directly expressing their identity as in identifying themselves. Therefore, this section deals with my interpretation of their responses and how I *identified* this (this will be further elaborated on and reflected on in the final chapter.

The data suggest that there seemed to be only one example given in which a supply teacher had encouraged the children to use their home language.

When talking to the children, none of them could think of such an explicit encouragement.

During the interview, Tawfeeq recalled a day in Year 4 when the supply teacher actively drew upon his home language:

1	Tawfeeq	Once in Year 4 [the supply teacher] was our
2		teacher for the afternoon and I was speaking
3		English to him, and just suddenly, he starts
4		speaking Urdu. I was like "ok" and he was
5		waiting for the reply and I gave it back. So
6		sometimes teachers do encourage us (elapsed
7		time: 00:15:34).

Extract 30: Group 5 Interview – Tawfeeq, 22.06.2012

The data suggest that Tawfeeq's "ok", *Extract 30, Line 4*, – he stretched the word in the interviews – was an opportunity for him to evaluate the situation, to wait in order to see what to do. However, it was the teacher waited and seemed to have expected a response in Urdu. A teacher with *overall authority* addressed him in his home language. The reason for this could be that he had expected the teacher to continue in the monolingual classroom environment and, to interpret further, Tawfeeq might not have identified home language use with a teacher or seen the classroom as a space to engage in home language use.

The data suggest that there was widespread multilingual awareness among all children in one form or another. Isabella stated:

1	Isabella	I was thinking about what words are similar in
2		French that are similar to Romanian, but I
3		thought of the letter [Y] […] in English you say
4		/ˈwaɪ/, but in French it's /igʁɛk/ and in Romanian
5		it's /igʁɛk/ so respectively the same thing
6		(elapsed time: 00:10:58).

Extract 31: Group 1 Interview – Isabella, 19.04.2012

The data suggest that Isabella was aware of similarities between some languages, here French, English and Romanian. This was confirmed during the follow-up interview where again, though more general, Isabella spoke about language similarities:

1	Isabella	Some languages are similar to each other, and
2		that's why you can use the other languages
3		you've learnt from before, if you want, to help
4		you in the other languages (elapsed time:
5		00:17:54).

Extract 32: Mixed Group Interview – Isabella, 28.06.2012

The data suggest that Erica also had some language awareness and related it to her own experience. She explained in the interview how she made use of her home language Tagalog when learning Spanish at her previous school:

1	Erica	I think it's easier because when I started
2		learning Spanish, I found it easier because the
3		Filipino and Spanish languages are kind of
4		similar.
5	Researcher	(*Acknowledging sound*)
6	Erica	And if you learn even more languages it might
7		have a connection to another language that you
8		know (elapsed time: 00:18:04).

Extract 33: Mixed Group Interview – Erica, 28.06.2012

Erica (*Extract 33*) drew on her previous school context where they learnt Spanish in the foreign language lesson. The above examples suggest that children related experiences of learning words in a foreign language with an intermediary language to help.

The interview data suggest that Isabella was the only child from that class who consciously drew on her home language during the French lesson while all other examples were from outside school. In regard to my research focus on multilingualism and foreign language learning, I wondered whether children used their home language as a learning resource and when and where would they draw upon it, since 9 out of 30 children mentioned during the interviews that they used their home languages during class time.

In the following, I will present data about what the children actually do when they use multilingual practices. I would like to point out that the verbs used to describe the children shuttling or alternating between their languages are not attached to the technical terms but used in their commonly understood form (changing languages does not refer to language change, switching languages does not refer to code-switching and so on) unless explicitly written. The findings suggest that some children used multiple languages for meaning-making. Maha states in *Extract 34, Lines 7–8* in the, that, when she was uncertain of the vocabulary in one of the languages, she would change languages during the conversation and use her other language for support:

1	Maha	Sometimes, when I don't know the words in my
2		own language because like I can't count up to
3		100 in my own language ...
4	Researcher	Yeah.
5	Maha	Like sometimes I learn that 100 is *sau*
6		(*transliteration of 100 in Urdu*), but sometimes
7		when I don't know the other numbers between
8		100 and 1, so sometimes I say it in English
9		(elapsed time: 00:13:30).

Extract 34: Group 4 Interview – Maha, 14.06.2012

This example shows Maha closing the knowledge gap in her home language by proceeding with her second language to communicate effectively.

In the following two extracts, *Extracts 35* and *36*, the findings suggest how drawing on their home language knowledge may assist the children in understanding new material. Claudiu stated:

1	Claudiu	When I learn something new, sometimes I think
2		in English and sometimes in Romanian. I
3		translate it and I'm trying to (pause) to know it,
4		English what it is (elapsed time: 00:04:58).

Extract 35: Group 2 Interview – Claudiu, 27.04.2012

However, the data from the follow-up interview, *Extract 46*, suggest that Claudiu did not draw on his home language any more which I will further discuss in the following section, *7.2.1*.

In the following extract, the data suggest that Roshan switched back into her home language when the lesson content appeared to be too demanding:

| 1 | Roshan | In the lesson sometimes, when it's too difficult to |
| 2 | | me (elapsed time: 00:08:03). |

Extract 36: Group 3 Interview – Roshan, 31.05.2012

While Roshan had stated earlier that she used her home language at lunchtime, a non-teaching context, this extract here suggests that switching back seemed to be some sort of relief for her returning to her home language. However, she was rather average as regards to her proficiency in English, meeting 3a-level standard in the assessment criteria set by the National Curriculum in reading and writing, and therefore could have been expected to be fine with the lesson content. Yet, her levels might not have reflected her real reading and writing proficiency. This finding touches on that of Walters (2011, 2017). And from that

interpretation, it seems understandable that Roshan switched to her home language.

These two extracts (*Extracts 35 and 36*) suggest that children translanguage as a multilingual practice for their understanding of an issue: using all language resources for either switching between languages or for some sort of relief once the language demands are too high.

The following extracts (*Extracts 37−39*) suggest reasons for drawing upon the home languages during French lessons. Reasons for using home languages as a learning resource included language transfer across languages and drawing on other language knowledge to support learning.

The data suggest that Isabella saw similarities between her home language and French:

1	Isabella	When like someone tells me a word but doesn't
2		tell me the meaning in French, I think about it,
3		what it could mean because Romanian is very
4		similar to French. I can sort of work it out
5		(elapsed time: 00:08:07).

Extract 37: Group 1 Interview – Isabella, 19.04.2012

This is similar to *Extract 31* where she had provided a concrete example from Romanian and French.

The extract below, *Extract 38*, suggests how Isabella used Romanian to access the new language, French. The children were learning body parts during the lesson; it was the same day of the interview. At one point the word *teeth* was introduced:

1	Teacher	(*Reading the story book Va-t'en Grand Monstre*
2		*Vert. She stops at each new page on the*
3		*interactive whiteboard, clarifying the words with*
4		*the children)*
5		*Des dents blanches et pointues.*
6	Indra	With pointy teeth?
7	Teacher	Pointy teeth. What word is teeth in there?
8	Indra	Uhm.
9	Teacher	Do you know?
10	Indra	*Des dents?*
11	Teacher	Yes. *Des dents. Dents*. Think about it. *Teeth*,
12		*dents*. What can you link that to?
13	Class	Dentist.
14	Teacher	Exactly, that's how I remember that means
15		*teeth*. I think, oh yes, dentist. *Des dents*.
16		Interesting. Maybe a dentist was initially a
17		French profession or maybe they have their
18		roots in the same languages.

Extract 38: Lesson Observation – French, 28.06.2012

The data suggest that the teacher seemed to draw connections between the word *teeth* and the word *dents* and explained her approach to remembering that word by drawing a connection between *teeth*, *dents* and *dentist*. Later that day, Isabella stated in the interview:

1	Isabella	In French [it] is *dents* and in Romanian *dinţs* and
2		that's how I realised it was teeth (elapsed time:
3		00:11:46).

Extract 39: Mixed Group Interview – Isabella, 28.06.2012

In the above extract, the data suggest how Isabella drew on her home language to support her French learning, but she did not actually say anything during the French lesson. Here Isabella compared French to Romanian, she said that both languages were similar and showed that she was able to transfer concepts and awareness across both language systems.

The data from my observations suggest that the children did not use their home languages explicitly, in other words, no translanguaging practices were apparent in the classroom. Yet, it is difficult for children to express themselves, when exactly which language is drawn upon, especially if it is done subconsciously while speaking with others. However, the children did tell me about drawing on their entire linguistic repertoire always out of the school context but within their families, with the exception of Isabella. The data suggest that Amrita used Bengali as some sort of memory aid, moving between English and Bengali:

1	Amrita	I learnt *rouge* (*French for red*).
2	Researcher	(*Acknowledging sound*)
3	Amrita	I would say it in my language like I can
4		remember it.
5	Researcher	Yeah. What is it in your language?
6	Amrita	*Lāla* (*transliteration Bengali for red*) (elapsed
7		time: 00:06:16).

Extract 40: Group 4 Interview – Amrita, 14.06.2012

In the follow-up interview, she also mentioned that "…sometimes English words come out" (*Extract 41, Lines 3–4*), implying that she might use both languages while talking to her sister:

1	Maha	Sometimes I do get mixed up in Urdu and
2		English because sometimes when I meant to
3		talk to my sister in Urdu, sometimes English
4		words come out. No, sometimes the whole
5		sentence in English (elapsed time: 00:03:01).

Extract 41: Mixed Group Interview – Maha, 28.06.2012

The data from the language diagrams suggest the same, that Maha spoke both English and Urdu with her sister, a finding I have also discussed in the previous chapter. I argue that Maha uses her full linguistic repertoire to communicate with her sister. And rather than to "…get mixed up" as she refers to it in *Extract 41, Line 1*, Maha is drawing on all her language resources to maximise understanding. Maha constructs deeper understanding drawing on all linguistic resources.

Kaleem also used multiple languages to communicate. He hesitated between the two languages:

1	Kaleem	Sometimes when I speak to my mum [...], I get
2		mixed up with Urdu and English (elapsed time:
3		00:13:58).

Extract 42: Group 1 Interview – Kaleem, 19.04.2012

Like Maha in *Extract 41*, Kaleem says "… I get mixed up" in *Extract 42, Lines 1–2*. I argue that this has a rather negative connotation which might imply that the children believed that it was not good to switch between languages,

rather than staying with one language and checking their proficiency level. Also, this could suggest that Kaleem might not have been in the Urdu language mode as he might have been still in the English language mode and therefore "mixed up" both languages. Although Kaleem used his full linguistic repertoire, he might have needed some time to *retrieve* it, depending on the context. I argue that drawing on the full linguistic repertoire, as Kaleem did for communication, is helpful to support meaning-making.

The following extract suggests how Kamalish made sense when there were two language codes: here Tamil and English were mixed or fused:

1	Kamalish	In Tamil, it is this Tanglish that when the Tamil
2		people mix Tamil and English, yeah and
3		sometimes, my dad's talking to his friend and he
4		tells me to come and then he starts… my dad's
5		friends speaks to me in Tanglish and then I don't
6		know a loads of words in Tamil and then he
7		says the English word and then I'm thinking is it
8		like a word in English or does it mean something
9		else in Tamil (elapsed time: 00:07:08).

Extract 43: Mixed Group Interview – Kamalish, 28.06.2012

The data suggest that Kamalish draws on his language knowledge by trying to make meaning of Tamil but especially of English. The previous three extracts, *Extracts 41–43*, present three different examples of using the children's languages repertoire: closing the knowledge gap, conversing in both languages and the mixture of language codes.

The previous examples suggest that the children seemed to have an awareness about their languages and are able to transfer their language

knowledge across languages. The findings suggest that the extent to which they drew on their home languages varied, was context-embedded and for different purposes: within the family with different family members, or at school thinking in both languages. While thinking in both languages, they drew on language similarities and used transfer across languages to either eschew the demands of the other language/s or as a memory aid, always moving between languages. However, the use of home languages remained fragmented. Possible reasons might be linked, firstly, to the level of home language proficiency of each child: using all language resources and language transfer requires an individual to be highly knowledgeable in both languages to understand what is being said and to use two languages interchangeably. Secondly, this might be linked to whether or not the teacher encouraged the children to draw on their home language. While in my study there were limitations to utilising the children's home languages in the French lesson, the teacher did draw connections to English during the lesson. Arguably, such comparison and the awareness of how one language could relate to another was generally helpful. The teacher's approach to teaching French will be further discussed in the next chapter.

All in all, the data suggest that the children seem to move in and out of multilingual practices depending on the context. The discursive practice of translanguaging is one finding here. The children seem to use multiple languages for communication, drawing on their languages resources and experiences, which underlines the assumption that translanguaging is not a deficit but rather a complex discursive enterprise of one language system.

7.2.1 Home language use encouraged by class teacher

The data suggest only two examples where the children used their knowledge of other languages. In the following I will explore the other one, a discussion of gender in French. Viola introduced the concept of gender in French with the example of family members. The lesson starter consisted of a video where key phrases about the family such as *voici mon père* (*here is my father* in English) were introduced, the pronouns *mon* and *ma* were colour coded:

1	Teacher	(*Points to board to the colour coded words.*)
2		*Voici mon père.*
3		*Voici ma mère.*
4		*Voici mon frère.*
5		Why did I use different colours? Have a quick
6		discussion.
7		(*Pupils have a quick discussion*).
8		Why have I chosen different colours?
9		(Pupils answer that it is about boys and girls).
10		(*Teacher explains that this is feminine and
11		masculine − like girl and boy*).

Extract 44: Lesson Observation – French, 13.10.2011

Grammatical gender distinction in French is something the English language does not include and might, therefore, be a new concept for monolingual English speakers. Though grammatical gender may not be an aspect of the English language, French is not the only language that distinguishes nouns by gender. The data suggest that the topic did spark discussion among the children regarding the use of grammatical gender in their home languages. Maybe the children drew on their home languages because of the open wording of the sentence in *Extract 44, Lines 5–6,* "Have a quick discussion", or, perhaps

it was also in part due to it being so early in the school year where the pupils were still new to this particular class and had an initial fresh attitude towards language in general – it was only the second French lesson – and, possibly too, because the English language does not distinguish grammatical gender. I sat with some children at a table. The children discussed the use of grammatical gender in their languages. Tawfeeq explained that in Urdu there was gender distinction used to distinguish between male and female. Joshita added that in Malayalam only a few nouns had masculine and feminine gender distinction and that the majority of nouns were neutral. Marie explained that there are masculine and feminine words in Mauritian Creole. Indra referred to Bengali, which does not differentiate in terms of grammatical gender (Thompson, 2012) and only has lexical distinction between male and female and commented, however, on the cultural distinctions between males and females. The children at the table I was sitting at continued to speak about their home languages although they did not share their knowledge with the whole learning group.

The second example of home language use was when Viola directly asked a pupil about her home language during a French lesson on the months of the year:

1	Teacher	Close your eyes. I will click on one, and you will
2		tell me the months in English.
3		(*The teacher taps on the interactive whiteboard*
4		*and an automatic voice says one of the months*
5		*in French. Viola taps the board, and the voice*
6		*says "mars". Now the children have to translate*
7		*from French to English. The teacher checks if*
8		*the children understood what to do*.)
9	Teacher	(*taps on interactive whiteboard*)
10	Computer	*Mars*.
11	Arwa	March.
12	Teacher	(*taps on interactive whiteboard*)
13	Computer	*Juillet*.
14	Haneefa	July.
15	Teacher	(*taps on interactive whiteboard*)
16	Computer	*Octobre.*
17	Hanya	October.
18	Teacher	(*taps on interactive whiteboard*)
19	Computer	*Février.*
20	Claudiu	February.
21	Teacher	(*taps on interactive whiteboard*)
22	Computer	Avril.
23	Mohit	Not September.
24	Teacher	(*taps on interactive whiteboard*)
25	Computer	Août.
26	Kamalish	August.
27	Teacher	Sanchita, do you have months in Bengali?
28	Sanchita	I don't know, I only know numbers, but I know
29		that the word *month* in Bengali is *māsa*
30		(*transliteration: Bengali for month*), isn't it,
31		Mohit?
32	Mohit	(*Mohit does not reply, and the teacher*
33		*continues with the lesson*.)

Extract 45: Lesson Observation – French, 22.03.2012

Here the data suggest an attempt by the teacher to engage with Sanchita in a learning activity that allowed for home language involvement. While this did not last long, only under a minute, it does show the various dynamics at play: Sanchita claims to know the word for month, but not the names of the individual months and did not seem to know what to do (*Extract 45, Lines 28−31*). She may have had trouble answering because of differing cultural concepts of seasons and months. There are twelve months in the Bengali calendar, but six seasons which cannot directly be translated to the four seasons of England; perhaps this played a role. But, data from the language diagram and the interview, *Extract 3*, suggest that Sanchita spoke Bengali at home with her parents and relatives and that she supported her family by translating letters from the school. So, similar to Tawfeeq's experience with the supply teacher, *Extract 30*, she might not have expected the teacher to suddenly ask her about her home language and might not have associated home language use with the French lesson. Also, the data suggest that Mohit did not offer support here (*Extract 45, Lines 32−33*). The teacher hardly seemed to break with the monolingual tradition of the class and, from my observations, it happened so rarely – actually only twice during the school year – that it may also have surprised the children. One interpretation could be that the teacher herself may have also felt inadequately equipped to engage further with the multilingual exploration she began, as she did not follow up with Mohit.

7.2.2 Eschewing home language to learn dominant language

Claudiu was the newest member in the class and had recently immigrated to England from Romania at the beginning of the school year. He began with little to no proficiency in English, and the two interviews with him, regarding his language use, evolved as he had gained proficiency. Two months after my initial interview with him, I interviewed Claudiu again. In contrast to the first interview, *Extract 35*, he now stated that he did not go back to Romanian any more but tried to understand new words in the context:

1	Researcher	What do you do then, you said you go back
2		into Romanian, can you explain this a little bit?
3	Claudiu	I'm not going back to Romanian.
4	Researcher	Uh?
5	Claudiu	I'm not going back to Romanian.
6	Researcher	You don't go back any more? This was more in
7		the beginning of this school year when you
9		came new to…
10	Claudiu	Yeah.
11	Researcher	Ah. So, what do you do now?
12	Claudiu	I just know the words.
13	Researcher	You just know them. And do you still ask
14		Isabella for help?
15	Claudiu	… (elapsed time: 00:09:42).

Extract 46: Mixed Group Interview – Claudiu, 28.06.2012

I was surprised to hear that he said he had shifted from thinking exclusively in Romanian. As he stated in *Extract 46, Line 12*, "I just know the words now" – in English. Even though Claudiu did not say it directly, it seemed that he might have regarded his home language as a defect rather than a benefit since he was new and had not yet mastered the English language. Also, the pause in

Extract 46, Line 15 suggest a level of uncertainty about how he should answer. Isabella then answered for him saying that she still supported him during the lesson which was also consistent with my observations.

Here the data suggest the presence of perceived language status and hierarchy within the classroom. Also, other data suggest that children were well aware of this, as Haneefa had stated in *Extract 13, Lines 10-11,* "I feel more English because that's the only language that I know properly" or Rahul in *Extract 20, Lines 1-2,* "My mum can't speak proper English, so I can speak Bengali to her", similar to Aalia in *Extract 21, Lines 1-3*, "My mum, she doesn't really know how to speak proper English so I can speak Urdu with her at home." Also, the teacher in *Extract 57, Lines 12–15,* seemed to be aware that the education system favoured European languages; however, she stated "…on a personal level, every language has its place; every language should be valued. And in education, it's definitely a hierarchy."

The data suggest that the dominance of English as the primary linguistic resource in the rather monolingual institution, as well as the perceived language status and hierarchy, seemed to have a bearing on Claudiu's multilingual learner identity. I have discussed this in *Chapter 2* and the literature, in *Chapter 3*.

During my interview with the teacher, I followed up with Viola regarding

Claudiu's language development:

1	Teacher	When he initially came over (*eating*) Isabella,
2		she used to talk to him, but as soon as he
3		started acquiring English, he was very reluctant
4		to use his home language.
5	Researcher	And do you know why? Is it allowed in your
6		school to speak the home language?
7	Teacher	Oh, yeah. I think that, in Claudiu's case, it was
9		because he wanted to master English as fast as
10		possible. And to be able to communicate as
11		quickly as possible 'cause he was very
12		frustrated in his inability to communicate his
13		ideas and what he thinks (elapsed time:
14		00:07:59).

Extract 47: Teacher Interview, 28.06.2012

Based on these accounts and my observations, Claudiu seemed to resist using

his home language as he gained English proficiency. The data suggest that the

school seemed to be a space in which monolingualism was possibly quite

influential and the norm and, therefore, multilingual practices perhaps less

desirable.

7.3 Was monolinguistic ideology upheld or challenged in the classroom?

As outlined in *Chapter 2,* the rising number of multilingual children in schools in England in recent decades could give rise to more studies of how these particular children perform in the school setting, thus creating awareness about how these pupils navigate through a primarily monolingual curriculum. Here, pupils are inherently exposed to the power of the institution in terms of the present constraints toward home language use. In regard to my research question about how children used their home language during the French lesson, I explored data regarding the presence or non-presence of a possible monolinguistic ideology in the classroom. Children may be exposed to power relations with the school as an institution and with the teacher. Could these power relations within the French lesson be challenged and negotiated? As has been argued in the literature review, one possibility may be to draw on the children's multilingual resources to foster multilingual identity development in the classroom, which in turn could validate their narratives and acknowledge them as valuable members of society. However, the data suggest that the teacher was not at all aware of her multilingual pupils:

1 2 3	Viola	It took me a long time to realise that I had no white British children in my class at all (elapsed time: 00:15:47).

Extract 48: Teacher Interview, 28.06.2012

I was surprised by this comment. The data suggest *Extract 55, Lines 16–17* that the teacher wanted to see the children in terms of their academic knowledge and, in this sense, be egalitarian.

Later on, in the extract below, the data suggest that the teacher did not consider the children's home languages as a resource for learning, especially in the English literacy lesson:

1	Viola	Obviously, in English lessons, English should be
2		spoken – formal English as much as possible –
3		in order to help them (*the pupils*) develop their
4		language skills, especially in a formal capacity.
5		In other subjects, I personally don't have a
6		problem with it (elapsed time: 00:09:12).

Extract 49: Teacher Interview, 28.06.2012

Viola stated in the interview that she had no "problem" (*Extract 49*, *Lines 5–6*) with home language use, yet she also said that she preferred an English-only approach in the English lesson so that the children learn formal English. This finding is in line with the discussion about the homogenised curriculum for both monolingual and multilingual children and the performativity and assessment in the core subjects English, maths and science, which I have discussed in *Chapter 2*. The data suggest that Viola seemed supportive of multilingual practices in certain ways, and home languages were not suppressed but potentially allowed to be used; yet my findings suggest that there were a couple of occasions in the lesson (the observations in *Extract 44* and in *Extract 45*) which allowed for multilingual practices to take place.

The above extract is in line with Viola's perception of the parents of pupils in her class. The data suggest that Viola suspected that parents saw *school* and *home* as separate learning environments:

1	Viola	With the Indian families, from the Pakistani and
2		Bangladeshi families, there is almost the sense
3		of "you go to school to learn English, and you
4		study English"; say home, and school is very
5		separate in their minds (elapsed time: 00:20:09).

Extract 50: Teacher Interview, 28.06.2012

Viola stated that she thought that the parents saw home and school as separate sites, hence the explanation for making English the "obviously", in *Extract 49, Line 1*, language choice. Arguably, this view makes it more difficult to draw on home languages in the lesson, encouraging multilingual practices for all pupils by using the children's prior knowledge as contributions they bring to their learning. Here, my findings are similar to those in Kenner and Ruby's (2012) discussion about teachers' attitudes towards languages and language development, seeing home and school as separate sites.

My findings suggest that the bilingual teaching assistants often spoke to the children in their home language. These conversations took place during break times, on the playground and, at lunch, in the dining hall. Why did the teaching assistants only address children in their home languages outside of the classroom? From my own experience as a class teacher, I had observed that teaching assistants were regarded as lower in the school hierarchy, for example being paid less, and that the overall authority of the class teacher would not be questioned. Coming from that perspective, the teaching assistants might not

have wanted to undermine the teacher by speaking a language the teacher was neither able to speak nor understand. While home languages were spoken in open settings like playground, corridor or lunch hall, the data suggest that there was no regulation which stated that children could *not* use their home language during lesson time (also see *Section 5.1.4*). However, as the data suggest, home language use was also not encouraged.

The data suggest that, while children sometimes used their home languages in open settings, they would not use them during lesson time. Erica provided an example of this possibility. During the interview, she said:

1	Erica	Sometimes I think of my language, but
2		sometimes I don't, only when I'm going
3		somewhere at school (elapsed time: 00:05:20).

Extract 51: Group 1 Interview – Erica, 19.04.2012

This suggests that Erica might not have seen the lesson as a space to use her home language.

Kaleem answered very directly:

| 1 | Kaleem | I don't speak … I don't think about my home |
| 2 | | language in school (elapsed time: 00:04:42). |

Extract 52: Group 1 Interview – Kaleem, 19.04.2012

In response to my question *Are you allowed to speak home languages at school?* except for one child, all the children answered in the affirmative; yet it took a few seconds for them to answer. The children all had humorous

answers: one child laughed out loud while another child said, "it's not illegal", and Dawar stated:

1 2	Dawar	We're learning a different language though (elapsed time: 00:16:05).

Extract 53: Group 4 Interview – Dawar, 14.06.2012

The data suggest that the children did not see the lesson as a time when multiple languages could be spoken, yet they made a clear distinction between multilingual practices like translanguaging and second language learning – here French as a foreign language. It seemed that they compartmentalised language practices. I interpreted this to mean, despite the children's positive answers, that they saw learning English as one of the primary aims of their school experience, recognising, however, that French as a foreign language was being taught as Dawar stated when he said "…different language" (*Extract 53, Line 1*). Marie stated:

1 2 3 4	Marie	I'm sure other languages are allowed, it's just that most of [the schools] want everyone to speak English because more teachers speak English (elapsed time: 00:13:04).

Extract 54: Group 5 Interview – Marie, 22.06.2012

These quotes show that thinking about the home language was not naturally embedded in the classroom practices and might point to a monolingualising effect in the school environment. The data suggest that children who said they were speaking their home languages at school also seemed to be aware of the issues involved. It was allowable to use home languages for translation purposes but not, for example, for being rude to classmates. Already children

perceived an institutional, monolingualising ideology and, even if there was no ban in place, they could feel the atmosphere: French was not mentioned on the school's website, home language use was not encouraged by the teacher, only teaching assistants and other support staff used home languages and there was little communication by the school with parents and carers, also in regard to gaining consent for the present study as an example. I wonder how this would be different with regard to the children's use of their multilingual resources if multilingualism was more expressly encouraged at the school.

7.4   Conclusion

In this chapter I have described the teacher's view on multilingual learning and the children's multilingual practices, especially within the classroom. Further, I have explored the notion of a monolingual ideology in the classroom, challenging or constraining multilingual practices in the foreign language lesson. This discussion has been made in relation to my second sub-research question: *How do children use their existing languages when learning French as a foreign language in class?*

The data helps to emphasise that the teacher was generally aware that multilingualism was an advantage for learning, as she had argued from the point of view of her own foreign language learning experience like drawing on language similarities or language roots. However, in regard to her pupils, the data suggest that the teacher did not seem to *utilise* their multilingual resources and experiences and did not seem to see it as her role to lead this. The explored data suggest that the children used different languages in different contexts but also several languages within one situation for meaning making

and for different purposes, such as for learning, to assist their understanding of new materials or for communicative purposes within the family. Yet, they did not see the classroom as a space to translanguage. As much as I had hoped to explore data about translanguaging practices, the data suggest that the teacher did not draw on the children's languages; in this respect there were reduced possibilities for using languages at school compared to home and community.

To conclude, the findings in this section help to answer my research question by describing how children did not use their language resources and experiences when learning French. The lesson observations provided limited data on home language use during the lesson but, instead, appeared to point towards a monolingualising environment of the classroom in which multilingual practices were not being advanced. Such an approach to teaching can be related to the monolingual ideology of the English education system framed by broader discourse patterns linked to language status and hierarchy but also to assessment and performativity. I will provide reflections on this in *Section 9.1.2.* These findings are supported by other researchers, for example in the work of Agirdag et al. (2014), Gregory (2008), Hilmarsson-Dunn and Mitchell (2011), Kenner and Ruby (2012), Leung (2001), Mehmedbegovic (2017), Pearce, (2012) or Sierens and Ramaut (2018), which I have discussed in *Chapters 2* and *3*. These findings provide an important underpinning of my further analysis of the teacher's approach to building a learner community in the French class.

In *Chapter 8*, I discuss my findings regarding the teacher's ideology and teaching approach in the foreign language lesson. Further, this chapter addresses the pupil-teacher relationship with its expert-novice dynamic and the *windows of opportunity* arising for that particular learner community.

8 Data analysis and findings III: the learner community

In this chapter, I present my data and my analysis and findings. I will tie them to the theoretical frameworks and literature I discussed previously (*Chapter 3*). Further, I will address how the findings informed my research questions (also see *Section 1.2*) which will be fully discussed in *Chapter 9.*

Within the context of my study, I wanted to explore how a learner community is formed by teacher and pupils and how their relationship within that learner community shifts in the French foreign language lesson, hereby using my third sub-research question: *In what ways does a teacher with limited expertise in the subject approach teaching French as a foreign language to a classroom of multilingual pupils?*

Through observations of the French lesson and interviews with teacher and pupils, I had gained insights: the teacher's approach to teaching French as a foreign language, its development over time and the occupation of expert/novice roles by teacher and pupils.

The chapter is divided into two sections. In Section 1, I explore how the teacher approached teaching a foreign language to a class of multilingual children and her expressed ideology. In Section 2, I describe the reversed expert-novice relationship exhibited by the teacher and pupils and the *windows of opportunity* arising from my data. The chapter concludes with a summary on the discussed data.

8.1 The teacher's approach to teaching and her expressed teacher ideology

During the school year, I was able to have little conversations with the teacher before and after the lesson. These conversations and the interview with her provided me with some understanding of the teacher's perspectives and perception of teaching, her ideology and teaching approaches.

The data suggest that Viola had given little thought to the fact that her class was composed entirely of pupils for whom English was not their first language:

1	Researcher	They all speak a different language at home.
2	Teacher	Pretty much.
3	Researcher	In school, they speak a different language, how
4		do you think? Do they clash at one point, do
5		they go next to each other? Do they… How do
6		you feel it is, as a class teacher with 30 children
7		having another language than English first?
8	Teacher	… *(pause for 4 seconds)* I'm struggling with that
9		one … *(pause for 3 seconds)*.
10	Researcher	Do you know what I mean?
11	Teacher	(*Acknowledging sound*) Trying to think how …
12		(*pause for 10 seconds*).
13		I think the biggest problem with me is that I don't
14		think of children in terms of where they're from
15		or what languages they speak at home, I think in
16		terms of where are they at in their learning of the
17		various subjects and what do I need to do next?
18		So, I'm trying not. If you asked me, "How many
19		children in your class are Pakistani?" I'm like "I
20		don't know. I have to look at my records." I
21		would not know. (*clears her throat*) Some staff
22		do have those statistics in their brain, and they

23		are more aware of that. … I don't know if it's a
24		good thing or a bad thing but ...
25	Researcher	So, do you see more subjects individual, like
26		compartmentalised?
27	Teacher	In my head.
28	Researcher	Yeah?
29	Teacher	(*Acknowledging sound*)
30	Researcher	And you see the child like this as well;
31		you look in terms of progression with the child
32		or? Rather than …?
33	Teacher	Rather than where they're from.
34	Researcher	The non-academic …
35	Teacher	Yeah, I don't. Well, I think about their friendship
36		groups and how they interact with adults. I don't
37		think about their faith or where they come from
38		unless it's RE (*Religious Education*), then I have
39		to think about it 'cause I'm teaching Islam, I
40		don't want to do it wrong (*laughs*).
41	Researcher	Do you think this is because... how do I say
42		this?
43	Teacher	It's fine.
44	Researcher	You see these children in the subjects with
45		academic progression.
46	Teacher	(*Acknowledging sound*)
47	Researcher	Is this, do you think, this is you personally, or do
48		you think this is the system that you learn,
49		through the system to see the children like this?
50		I don't know how to say it.
51	Teacher	I think that's me. I am not sure. I [inc.] but
52		obviously some class teachers will say 'oh I
53		have so many children from Bangladesh and so
54		many from there' and I haven't got a clue.
55	Researcher	(*Acknowledging sound*)

56	Teacher	It took me a long time to realise that I had no
57		white British children in my class at all (*laughs*)
58		(elapsed time: 00:13:20).

Extract 55: Teacher Interview, 28.06.2012

Why did Viola not think of the children in terms of their ethnic and linguistic backgrounds (*Extract 55, Lines 13–15*)? The data suggest that Viola's perspective stemmed from her desire to provide an academic environment in which everyone would be regarded as equal in the eyes of the dominant language and culture (*Extract 55, Lines 15–17*). While she may have seen this as her personal choice (*Extract 55, Lines 51–57*), I would argue that the school might demand that teachers oversee the pupils' *academic progress*, thereby implicitly regarding multilingual development as a *non-academic* issue and therefore not the school's concern (*Extract 55, Lines 13–40, 51–54*). This is linked to the increasing pressure on teachers regarding assessment and performativity as discussed in *Chapter 2*. The data suggest that Viola thought about her pupils' friendship groups and how they interacted with adults (*Extract 55, Lines 35–36*), which suggest that she might think about the children only within the context of the school setting. At the end of this extract, *Extract 55, Line 57*, the data suggest that Viola differentiated between the two categories *white British* and *all other backgrounds*. This is similar to the categories of English first and English as an additional language. This rather simplistic view is framed by the discussion on educational policies for multilingualism and diversity; while English as an additional language has no own curriculum subject status but is rather embedded within the curriculum, it allows homogenising a diverse group as I have addressed in *Chapter 2*.

The more I listened to the recording of the interview with Viola, the more I was aware of the importance of the silences between my questions and her answers. This was particularly noteworthy as Viola tends to speak very fast and without interruptions or pauses. Through transcribing my recordings, I became aware that Viola had paused in *Extract 55, Lines 5–7* after the question: "*How do you feel it is, as a class teacher with 30 children having another language than English first?*" She said that she struggled with the idea and then paused again even longer before answering *(Extract 55, Lines 8–9)*. She began her response: "I think the biggest problem with me is that I don't think of children in terms of where they're from or what languages they speak at home" (*Extract 55, Lines 13–15*). Viola acknowledged that she thought it was her "problem" not knowing about the children's linguistic and cultural backgrounds, information others including myself would regard as particularly important as I have discussed and stressed in my literature review.

One possible underlying reason why Viola did not look into the children's backgrounds or what linguistic potential they brought to the class was perhaps because she only knew how to teach in a monocultural way and might have not had personal multilingual experiences. She may have preferred to see her pupils as just learners because to view them as belonging to other cultural and linguistic contexts would demand a multicultural awareness that she might not possess or have received training on by the school. Even Viola was unsure whether or not this was the correct approach and admitted: "I don't know if it's a good thing or a bad thing" (*Extract 55, Lines 23–24*).

While Viola preferred an "…formal English" (*Extract 49, Line 2*) in the literacy lesson, overall, the data suggest that she advocated knowing multiple languages:

1	Teacher	And it just enriches their lives because then the
2		next stage next year is to work on the cultural
3		side of things as well and not just culture in
4		France but culture across the world, so this
5		makes them much more aware of what goes on
6		around the world and I think that's really, really
7		important for them to become proper citizens
8		(elapsed time: 00:06:35).

Extract 56: Teacher Interview, 28.06.2012

To "…become proper citizens" (*Extract 56, Line 7*), could suggest a belief that she needed to teach the children the ways and language of the dominant culture and, equally, it could suggest that knowing multiple languages made you more aware of the world and in that sense being a "proper citizen" would be important – however how she defined "proper citizen" remained unexplained.

To summarise, this finding suggests the situated practice at this school; the broader dominating policy discourses regarding English language use at school, as well as assessment and performativity may be influential with regard to a teacher's approach to teaching towards multilingual teaching and learning in the classroom.

Regarding the focus of my study (multilingualism and foreign language learning), I wanted to explore Viola's view regarding the status languages could

hold. The data suggest that Viola was aware that the English education system structured languages hierarchically:

1	Researcher	Do you find that all languages are the same or
2		are there languages which are different? Are
3		they more important, less important? In what
4		way? How do you see languages in general?
5	Teacher	That's a very good point. Because in the
6		education system, in England, languages are
7		viewed on a structural hierarchy (*pause*), so in
8		that term you would view that it was English,
9		French, German and Spanish, (*pause*) Chinese
10		is taught, and Indian (*pause*) and the Indian
11		languages and African languages are … seem
12		to be lower than that in the structure. But on a
13		personal level, every language has its place;
14		every language should be valued. And in
15		education, it's definitely a hierarchy (elapsed
16		time: 00:11:53).

Extract 57: Teacher Interview, 28.06.2012

Viola asserted that "…every language has its place" (*Extract 57, Line 13*). Taken at face value, this suggests that language could be compartmentalised (perhaps by nation, home or school) when, actually, multilinguals may draw on all their language resources within one conversation, showing that sometimes one context holds many languages. Although Viola stated that "…every language should be valued" (*Extract 57, Line 14*), a vital element when approaching multilingual learning, I wondered about the implication of this sentence if the language and cultural backgrounds of the pupils remained unknown or whether it was alright for the teacher just to guess the children's

language and cultural backgrounds, which draws on the importance of the teacher's role. The teacher can accourage, validate and empower but also disvalue and constrain multilingual practices in the lesson, as also discussed in *Chapter 3*.

My field notes suggest that Viola was aware that Marie was a French native speaker and that Erica and Isabella had quickly accelerated in French, as she encouraged the girls to use the tools they brought to school, their language knowledge:

1	Teacher	Tell your partner what you can do *bien*, *très bien*
2		or *mal*. Marie, feel free to include other words,
3		same for Isabella.

Extract 58: Lesson Observation – French, 24.02.2012

This finding suggests that Viola was able to draw on the children's language knowledge but only in direct relation to the language being taught, French.

The data suggest that Viola seemed to have overcome a huge hurdle as a person with limited French knowledge expected to teach French as a foreign language – a subject in which she was a novice herself. The findings suggest that Viola was more a facilitator than a purveyor of knowledge and, in this way, co-constructing meaning with her pupils:

1	Teacher	I think what is important is their guidance, mostly
2		about the guide, just a little bit ahead with the
3		torch going "oh I see the light here, and I see the
4		path and this is where we go" (elapsed time:
5		00:28:18).

Extract 59: Teacher Interview, 28.06.2012

The data suggest that Viola was learning along with the children, so *we* became her pronoun and operative word in her foreign language learning and teaching environment. This finding has been supported in other data for example when addressing the team aspect in *Extract 67, Lines 1* and *3*, "…me, and the class are a team" and "…we all gonna have a go together." Or during the French lesson claiming the English language for her pupils and herself in *Extract 62, Lines 3–4*, "We tend to borrow a lot of words."

The data suggest that many lessons I observed were teacher-centred but not framed in the authoritative way; Viola was non-traditional in that she employed a teaching approach that encouraged interaction and allowed learning to be constructed in meaningful activities. This was especially apparent when Viola shared her learning challenges with the class as the following example from my lesson observations presents. At the end of the autumn term, 1 December 2011, Viola presented the story of *The Giant Turnip* in the French lesson. She acted out some of the new vocabulary and displayed some pictures of the story. During the storytelling, the class became a bit unsettled as it was difficult for them to follow the story because of all the new vocabulary and the poor pronunciation by the teacher. After a while, Viola explained to the class that all those new words were a challenge for her as well. This promoted a bond between Viola and her pupils. Interestingly, all the children settled down after the teacher had disclosed her own feelings of insecurity while reading a story in a foreign language. Viola told the class that she felt "challenged" and "anxious", not knowing whether she would be able "to accomplish the task". The empathy from the children (exhibited by their calming down) gives way to thoughts about how classes could benefit from teachers sharing their teaching experiences with

learning. The data from that lesson suggest that learning is a much more equitable thing where both teacher and pupils contribute collaboratively to learning, even in such a way that the sharing of Viola's feelings made the class calm down and she could continue the lesson. In other words, Viola's language mediated her thoughts and emotions in that lesson, which, in turn, improved the class's behaviour.

The data suggest that Viola employed an exploratory approach to teaching French, which seemed useful to the children but differed greatly from the French lessons taught by teachers with more knowledge of the French language as Viola explained:

1	Teacher	I think everyone's lessons in the school is
2		different. I know that Gil, one of my colleagues,
3		he speaks French, so he uses Rigolo (*a French*
4		*textbook for primary pupils*) and he doesn't use
5		the interactive whiteboard or pictures as far as I
6		can tell. They might use the interactive
7		whiteboard, but he won't use concrete pictures
8		like I have out on my desk for sorting and stuff.
9		And he just teaches French 'cause he knows the
10		language, so it's a very different style (elapsed
11		time: 00:29:08).

Extract 60: Teacher Interview, 28.06.2012

In the extract above, *Extract 60*, Viola compared her teaching approach to that of a colleague who was fluent in French. It was her assumption that, since the other teacher knew the language, he seemed to have a more ready-made approach to the overall teaching approach as the following extract suggest:

1	Teacher	He just teaches them through listening and
2		repetition.
3	Researcher	And in the end, in the bigger picture, what do
4		you think is more helpful in the end?
5	Teacher	I hope my strategy, but I don't know for sure
6		(elapsed time: 00:29:56).

Extract 61: Teacher Interview, 28.06.2012

It can be argued that it seemed that the less language and subject knowledge the teacher had, the more the lesson content seemed to have been viewed through a learner's perspective, adapting approaches and resources to help both teacher and pupils learn and co-construct the content, which might be a useful method not only when the teacher is rather unfamiliar with the subject but, generally as a path to achieve collaborative and dialogical interactive ways of teaching and learning. In this respect, the data suggest that Viola's approach to teaching French as a foreign language included devising her own language learning approaches. They seemed very personal and originated from her own efforts to learn French. Throughout her teaching, Viola presented a personal perspective in her choice of approach.

Language comparison was one tool used to transfer knowledge from one language to another and may have supported children in becoming successful language learners. The data from my observations suggest that the class teacher compared French as a language with English, transferring knowledge from one language to another (also see *Extracts 38 and 62*):

1	Teacher	We've actually, the English language, borrowed
2		these words from the French language, as our
3		language tends to do. We tend to borrow a lot of
4		words of other languages and we incorporate
5		them into our own culture. Yes?
6	Maha	I know what they all mean.
7	Teacher	Would they mean the same thing in English as
8		they do in *français*. So, it makes no difference,
9		except the same set of colours. Their *orange* is
10		not our *red*; it's *orange*, it's *orange*, same thing,
11		ok?

Extract 62: Lesson Observation – French, 31.05.2011

However, she did not seem to extend this to ask the children to draw on their linguistic repertoire (also see *Section 7.1*). The data also suggest another approach to language learning. It seemed that language awareness was not explicitly taught but occurred spontaneously, for example, when the Viola did not know how to pronounce a word.

The data of another lesson suggest as well how language comparisons supported Viola in her teaching and learning of French but seemed to confuse her at the same time. Viola showed different items around the classroom and asked the children to say which colour they saw. After a while, the teacher displayed the French written words for the colours and began to read them out

loud with the class. Then the teacher asked the class to translate the French colour names into English:

1	Teacher	*Jaune anglais*?
2	Pupil	Yellow.
3	Teacher	Super. *Marron*? Now this seems... //I thought this
4		was purple?//
5	Teaching	//Yeah.//
6	Assistant	
7	Teacher	//Let me just watch it.// (*looks at interactive*
8		*whiteboard where a film is being played*)
9	Pupils	//No, brown, brown.//
10	Teacher	It's brown. According to the Rigolo, it's brown,
11		what do you think?
12	Marie	Yes, I saw it, yeah it was brown.
13	Teacher	A little like brown, wasn't it?
14	Marie	Yeah.
15	Teacher	But I thought that brown was *brune*, but unless
16		I'm confused with Deutsch.
17		[...]
18		*Marron* is brown, that's what I thought. Right, so,
19		*marron* is brown, so last time I was obviously
20		incorrect, I'd think it was purple because we
21		have a colour called maroon which looks quite
22		purply, don't we? Yes?
23	Pupils	Yes.
24	Teacher	It's more like this purply brown, so maybe that's
25		where there's been a bit of a crossover, //a mis//
26		a miscommunication between the two languages
27		whereas our maroon is a deep purply with a hint
28		of brown in it...
29	Pupils	//Burgundy.//
30	Marie	Yeah.

31 33	Teacher	... Theirs is brown; we've got to try to remember that.

Extract 63: Lesson Observation – French, 31.05.2012

Extract 63 suggests how the class interacted and, through this collaboration, constructed their knowledge while comparing the languages English and French. Examples like this occurred throughout the school year in the French lesson. The teacher was uncertain suddenly, in *Extract 63, Lines 15–22*, whether or not the French word *marron* equated to the English colour *brown*. She shared her thoughts with the class. In *Extract 63, Line 15*, the teacher modified her thoughts and corrected herself, and the effect was that the children could follow her train of thought and why she thought that *marron* equalled *brown*. The data suggest that the teacher helped to develop the children's language awareness, in this case by comparing the languages' similarities or seeming similarities, which the teacher simply referred to as "miscommunication" between the languages (*Extract 63, Line 26*).

The data suggest that Viola had made her own pronunciation rules (also see *Extracts 64* and *65*). She surmised from a pronunciation explanation that most letters at the end of a word were not to be pronounced in French, also see *Extract 75, Lines 10–12*, "Remember the *e* doesn't get pronounced, we stop at the *r*. The exceptions we will learn as we go along." This finding is in line with the data from the interview:

1 2 3	Teacher	Or sometimes I supply the rule, especially in French, "drop the last letter and have a go" – does it sound right? (elapsed time: 00:18:09).

Extract 64: Teacher Interview, 28.06.2012

However, this was an overgeneralisation and not true for all words. The data suggest that this led to the mispronunciations of several words, for example, the French word *fils* [fis] (*son* in English), where the last consonant is not omitted. This was the case for example in the French lesson:

1	Teacher	(*reads the story Le navet énorme*).
2		*Repetez. Fils* (*Viola pronounced the word with*
3		*an l and without an s sound at the end – fil*
4		*phonetically transcribed*).
5	Pupils	*//Fils* (*the pupils also repeated the word with an l*
6		*at the end and without the s sound, but some of*
7		*them pronounced the word correctly as fis*
8		*phonetically transcribed*).
9	Marie	Miss, you hear the *s* at the end.

Extract 65: Lesson Observation – French, 01.12.2011

The data suggest that the teacher was interrupted by Marie who explained that the *s* had to be pronounced, not following the teacher's rule that the last letter should be omitted. Another example included the word *vélo* [ve.lo] (*bicycle in English)*. The data suggest that Viola thought that the *o* had to be omitted and was uncertain how to proceed. Here and for all other cases, Viola relied on Marie, the French native speaker in the class who contributed corrections when necessary. In this case, she drew on the child's home language knowledge.

Another example of one of Viola's personal language strategies was directly translating sentences from French to English to demonstrate what each word meant and pointing out the different sentence structures between English and French. Viola eventually told the children that they should not do direct translations as these translations did not seem helpful but, instead, encouraged

them to try to understand the sentences in the overall context. This was the same for the pronunciation. The data suggest that, over the school year, the teacher had to remind them that this rule did not apply to all words, yet she was only able to do this with words she securely knew.

The data suggest how pupils could also identity Viola's overall approach to teaching French. Sanchita explained that, in every lesson, the teacher returned to content they had already learnt and incorporated this into the content of the new lesson:

1	Sanchita	When we first started French, it was really hard,
2		but now when we got to lesson part three we
3		know about other stuff and as Miss [...] doesn't
4		give us once one lesson one day, it means, she
5		doesn't move on, she gives us one lesson one
6		day and the next lesson she usually, even if
7		she's doing something different she still includes
8		that thing in it. That's why we learn it more, learn
9		French more, understand it more better (elapsed
10		time: 00:18:54).

Extract 66: Group 3 Interview – Sanchita, 31.05.2012

This finding corresponds with Viola stating in *Extract 59, Line 2* that she was the guide "…just a little bit ahead" with her French language knowledge, never far away from that of her pupils. The data suggest that the discussions about language practices were all conducted in English, which allowed for very little French language use during the lesson, which lasted half an hour, and was therefore of substantial length. Nevertheless, these occasions seemed to provide valuable opportunities to explore the French and English languages, to

compare French to English, to draw on language learning approaches, to develop language awareness and to transfer knowledge from one language to other languages. Further, the data highlights some general difficulties that arise when teachers have to teach subjects outside their areas of expertise. Devising her own approaches to language learning, Viola seemed eager to share with the children and model *her own* methods, strategies which she consciously applied and taught because they seemed supportive of her language learning.

All in all, the data suggest that despite all the challenges, with the biggest being not being the expert in the subject, Viola displayed perseverance in teaching French that entire school year. At the end of the school year, Viola told me that she was the only teacher still teaching French; all the others, even experienced language teachers, had given up. This finding ties in with the discussion about the few opportunities for professional development for all language teachers, also linked to their confidence to teach a foreign language and the school's priorities for the externally assessed core subjects discussed in *Chapter 2*.

8.2   Expert-novice and *windows of opportunity*

The focus of my third research question, the teacher's approach to teaching a foreign language let me to explore the expert/novice roles that were occupied by the teacher and pupils. As I have discussed in the previous section, the data suggest that the teacher's ideology and approach to teaching French as a foreign language was, first of all, a true challenge in regard to her French language knowledge and, secondly, a responsibility and commitment to teach French. She seemed to see herself as a guide, who would be one step ahead

of the children but would always maintain that they were learning together, in other word, co-construction of knowledge (also see *Extract 59*).

The data suggest that the teacher knew of her limited French knowledge *Extract 67*, *Lines 5–7* "…there was no way I would get away with presenting myself as the expert" and seemed grateful to have a French-speaking pupil in class so that she could draw on her expertise (see *Extract 79)*. The combination of the teacher's novice status in French and the expert status of her pupil, Marie, seemed to have completely altered the power dynamics of the classroom for the duration of the French lesson. This might have influenced how Viola viewed the learning process and how she approached her teaching of a foreign language, to a certain degree. During the interview she stated:

1	Teacher	I view it as "me, and the class are a team", we'd
2		been set this challenge of how to learn French,
3		and we all gonna have a go together. It was the
4		only way I could do it, especially as I have such
5		a good French speaker in my class. So there
6		was no way I would get away with presenting
7		myself as the expert. The next cohort of children
8		… I might be able to do that, I don't know
9		(*laughs*), but I suspect …, no, I will think about it,
10		I probably wouldn't, I would still go with the tactic
11		(elapsed time: 00:16:44).

Extract 67: Teacher Interview, 28.06.2012

The "team" (*Extract 67, Line 1*) Viola describes placed Marie in the role of expert, Viola in the role of facilitator and the class in the role of co-learners with Viola. And the data suggest that this was also recognised by Marie (also see *Extract 70*). The teacher's assumed role of *learner* opened her up to advice and

correction from a pupil, which facilitated learning opportunities for the whole class and allowed for collaborative power relations to emerge, where the entire class negotiated and co-constructed their learning of French as a foreign language.

To reemphasise, the teacher explained how the French language could be learnt. Words like *we* and *our* convey a sense of group belonging, one of a learner community (also see *Section 8.1*). What is interesting is that I remember, during my initial teacher training in Germany, teachers were not allowed to use words such as *we* because the teacher was not doing the task or learning the content, only the pupils. Here, the line between expert and novice vanished, and therefore the *we* seemed to be the only appropriate and possible way to continue to teach the lesson. The data suggest that this was also recognised by the pupils. Erica stated:

1 2 3	Erica	We usually do individual work but every time in French, we kind of work as a team (elapsed time: 00:27:09).

Extract 68: Group 1 Interview – Erica, 19.04.2012

Tawfeeq explained how he viewed his teacher in the French lesson:

1 2 3 4	Tawfeeq	She is learning like us, sometimes in the lesson [...] she gets confused as well, like us, so she's learning as well, like us (elapsed time: 00:24:32).

Extract 69: Group 5 Interview – Tawfeeq, 22.06.2012

Marie stated:

1	Marie	We learn it (*French*) by working together as a
2		team; also, we learn, because we like, we get
3		enough information by our like, our teacher. She
4		tries her hardest a lot, she really does, and she's
5		been learning in college as well, so I think that
6		most of my knowledge is shared with her. Like
7		she teaches me [and] then I do [teach] others,
8		my classmates.
9		[...]
10		I think it isn't that much of a problem if she's not
11		good at it, mostly because she gets most of the
12		help with stuff from me. I think she gets a lot of
13		support and I don't think anyone would think it's
14		that much of a problem (elapsed time:
15		00:22:35).

Extract 70: Group 5 Interview – Marie, 22.06.2012

The findings suggest that Marie was right in her assessment that no one had a problem with her role in the class. During the other interviews with the pupils, not one child commented that the teacher was not an expert in the field of French language learning, but found it normal that when the teacher did not have the subject knowledge and a child did have it, the teacher drew on the child's expertise. This was a striking finding.

Viola's teacher identity seemed to have been challenged by the children, normally assuming a novice role, which seemed now to be reversed as Marie supported her in teaching French. This event introduced a new power structure in the classroom in which the pupil *taught* her peers and *acted* as the teacher. This transformation of the usual teacher-pupil hierarchy resulted in a team-

oriented learning experience for the pupils. The above quotes draw on the dialogical relationship between teacher and learners, where learning in this case can be seen as a product of social relationships influenced and facilitated by both Viola and the pupils. In other words, the data suggest that learning was collaboratively constructed and mediated among them.

The data from my observations might give an impression of how the pupils dealt with the mistakes made by the teacher (in *Section 8.1*, I have illustrated Viola's pronunciation rules). During my observations, I was able to see that the children whispered the correct pronunciation to each other after they had heard Viola mispronounce a word. The findings suggest that Viola would then interrupt the lesson and ask for help. The data suggest that regularly, lessons were filled with phrases such as:

1	Teacher	Ok, I can't remember.

Extract 71: Lesson Observation – French, 20.01.2012

Extract 72, which follows, suggest how acutely aware Viola was that she was not the expert in the subject:

1	Teacher	It's very nerve-racking because the
2		pronunciation, that's the biggest problem. I like
3		the approach that the French coordinator has
4		gone for, games-based approach, pictures,
5		imagery, how much, use-a-little to-teach-a-lot
6		sort of process. I like that a lot and I try to make
7		the time to resource it. That's the biggest
8		headache − resourcing it and then if a child asks
9		what that means or something related to it, and I
10		have no idea, so I admit I have no idea (*laughs*)
11		(elapsed time: 00:03:00).

Extract 72: Teacher Interview, 28.06.2012

The above extract highlights the challenges Viola encountered *Extract 72, Line 2,* "…pronunciation, that's the biggest problem." She also admitted that she did not know French *Extract 72, Lines 9−10*, "…I have no idea, so I admit I have no idea." The children emphasised in the interview how it was normal for them that the teacher, Viola, received help with her French since she did not know it as well as her French native speaking pupil, Isabella explained:

1	Isabella	A lot of the time Miss [...] doesn't pronounce it
2		well. And I look at Marie, and she looks at me,
3		and she goes "yeah, I know, it's not pronounced
4		right" and she puts her hand up and tells Miss
5		that pronunciation is wrong (elapsed time:
6		00:25:20).

Extract 73: Group 1 Interview – Isabella, 19.04.2012

While I have already explored the issue of the teacher's French pronunciation in *Section 8.1*, I will now particularly draw attention to the discourse between teacher and pupils when the teacher had either mispronounced a word or did not know how to pronounce a word.

The following six extracts, *Extracts 74−78,* provide examples from different lessons in which Viola seemed to rely on the expertise of her pupils. The data suggest that the teacher was uncertain how to pronounce the number sixteen in French:

1	Teacher	(*displays pictures on the interactive whiteboard:*
2		*quatorze – a cat with oars, quinze – cans, seize*
3		*– Simon says*)
4		I wonder what to do with sixteen?
5	Marie	*Seize* sɛz (phonetic transcription).
6	Teacher	saɪz (phonetic transcription).
7	Isabella	*Seize* sɛz (phonetic transcription).
8	Teacher	saɪz (phonetic transcription).
9	Isabella and	//*Seize* sɛz (phonetic transcription).//
10	Marie	
11	Teacher	*Seize* sɛz (phonetic transcription).

Extract 74: Lesson Observation – French, 13.01.2012

The data suggest that the correction was pupil initiated. It seemed that once Viola had asked in *Extract 74, Line 4*, "I wonder what to do with sixteen?", Marie felt as if she were being addressed as she would know the answer for sure. And when Viola did not repeat Marie's pronunciation correctly, the data suggest that Isabella, generally far more expressive and engaged in the lesson, felt she had to assist Marie in correcting the teacher. This is in line with the data from

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Extract 73 suggesting that Isabella prompted Marie to say something while at the same stepping back because she was not the French native speaker.

However, the data suggest that the corrections where not always pupil initiated:

1	Teacher	(*writing je préfère* (*I prefer* in English) *on the*
2		*interactive whiteboard and asking children about*
3		*various playground games, she suddenly stops).*
4		What is it Marie? Am I saying it wrong?
5		It's alright.
6	Marie	Tell me.
7	Teacher	(in what follows, Marie explains to the teacher
8		how to say *tu préfères*).
9		[…]
10		Remember the *e* doesn't get pronounced, we
11		stop at the *r*. The exceptions we will learn as we
12		go along.

Extract 75: Lesson Observation – French, 20.01.2012

The data suggest that Marie did not always correct the teacher and it seemed that the teacher had to prompt Marie twice so that she would respond, in *Extract 75, Line 4*, "Am I saying it wrong?" and in *Extract 75, Line 6*, "Tell me." Further, the data also suggest that the teacher gave the children ownership by making the learning inclusive and collaborative, *Extract 75, Lines 11-12*, "The exceptions we will learn as we go along." This finding links with the previously explored notion of *we* in the beginning of this section, *8.2*.

The following extract is another example of data suggesting that Marie was sometimes reluctant to correct her teacher. In another French lesson at the end of the school year, on 22 June 2012, the children were learning the names of

different types of sports in French. The teacher had introduced a song called *Les jeux olympique* and had displayed the text. Then the teacher asked the children if they knew the vocabulary:

1	Teacher	Easy, we all know this already, we move on.
2	Teacher/Pupils	//Ah, shh.//
3	Erica/Pupil	//*Équitation* ekitasjõ (phonetic transcription),
4		*natation* natasjõ (phonetic transcription)//
5	Teacher	Who can pronounce that one for me?
6		Uh oh.
7	Pupils	(*Children begin to try, the majority pronounces*
8		ekitazɔn (phonetic transcription) instead of
9		ekitasjõ (phonetic transcription))
10	Teacher	(*claps for attention*)
11	Pupils	(*respond hesitantly to clapping*)
12	Teacher	So, what do we think it gets pronounced,
13		Claudiu? Loud one.
14	Claudiu	[inc.]
15	Teacher	Can't hear you, remember I'm deaf, come on.
16	Claudiu	*Équitation*? ekitazɔn (phonetic transcription)
17		(*Claudiu mispronounces as earlier described*.)
18	Teacher	*Équitation* ekitazɔn (phonetic transcription). Oui
19		is this what he says. *Équitation* ekitazɔn
20		(phonetic transcription). Pretty good. It's pretty
21		much how I would pronounce it.
22		(*Teacher mispronounces*)
23	Pupils	*Équitation* ekitazɔn (phonetic transcription).
24		(*Whispering*)
25	Teacher	Hmm?
26	Pupils	*Équitation* ekitazɔn (phonetic transcription)*.*
27		*Équitation* ekitazɔn (phonetic transcription).
28	Teacher	*Équitation* ekitazɔn (phonetic transcription). Is
29		this right?

30	Marie	Ah. Yes.
31		(*You can tell from Marie's face that the answer*
32		*should be "no"*)
33	Teacher	Well, so much from an expert.
34	Marie	*Équitation* ekitasjɔ̃ (phonetic transcription).
35		(*This time Marie pronounces it correctly*)
36	Teacher	*Équitation* ekitazɔn (phonetic transcription).
37		(*Teacher repeats it slightly different*ly)
38	Marie	sjɔ̃ (phonetic transcription)*.*
39	Teacher	zɔn (phonetic transcription), yes, zɔn (phonetic
40		transcription).
41	Marie	*Équitation* ekitasjɔ̃ (phonetic transcription).
42		(*All children practice now, it is difficult to hear*
43		*Marie*)
44	Teacher	Hmm? *Équitation* ekitazɔn (phonetic
45		transcription) (*still wrong pronunciation*).
46	Pupils	//*Équitation.*// ekitazɔn (phonetic transcription)
47	Teacher	So (*claps once*), equitation ekitazɔn (phonetic
48		transcription) (*still wrong*).
50	Pupils	//*Équitation.*// ekitazɔn (phonetic transcription)
51	Teacher	Oh dear. *Ecoutez et répétez. Équitation*
52		ekitazɔn (phonetic transcription).
53	Pupils	*Équitation* ekitazɔn (phonetic transcription).
54		(*Pronunciation is still incorrect*).
55	Teacher	That's the one I really struggle with; you might
56		too. *Équitation* ekitazɔn (phonetic transcription).
57	Pupils	*Équitation.* ekitazɔn (phonetic transcription).

Extract 76: Lesson Observation – French, 22.06.2012

Overall, the findings of Viola calling upon Marie to act as the expert in the

French lesson suggest that it might have been unfamiliar and uncomfortable for

Marie to participate in a role reversal with the class teacher. She seemed to be

in an awkward position, so awkward that she even denied that the teacher made a mistake (*Extract 76, Line 30*). However, this also indicates that Marie felt her prime position as the only French native speaker to be difficult (also see Extra*ct 80* for how Marie seemed to perceive the situation).

On another occasion, during a French lesson in June 2012, something similar with regard to the correct French language pronunciation occurred, this time with *le tennis*:

1	Teacher	Yes.
2	Sanchita	Tennis (*saying it with an English pronunciation*).
3	Erica	(*Whispering*) *Le tennis* tenis (phonetic
4		transcription).
5	Teacher	Hmm? *Le tennis* teni (phonetic transcription?
6		Not tennis tenis (phonetic transcription).
7		Remember we drop the *s*; it is silent.

Extract 77: Lesson Observation – French, 22.06.2012

The data suggest that Marie did not intervene, and it was Erica who supplied the teacher with the correct pronunciation of the word *tennis*.

While, in *Extract 74*, the data suggest that Marie felt spoken to and supported the teacher in her pronunciation, they also suggest that Marie did not seem to want to correct her teacher and expressed this by either saying the pronunciation was correct when it was not (*Extracts 75* and *76*) or by not even intervening as in *Extract 77.*

However, the data suggest that there were occasions when Marie stepped in. *Extract 78*, shows how Viola and Marie interacted with each other, how Marie would not immediately correct the teacher but seemed to wait instead to be

asked directly and, in *Extract 78, Lines 5–6*, the teacher even has to suggest an

explanation and suggestion of pronunciation before Marie corrects her:

1	Teacher	I am not sure about this one, *violet* vjɔlɛt
2		(phonetic transcription).
3	Pupils	//*Violet* vjɔlɛt (phonetic transcription) is purple.
4		*Violet* vjɔlɛt (phonetic transcription).//
5	Teacher	It is very similar, where we pronounce it violet.
6		Marie, do we agree?
7	Marie	Uhm, no.
8	Teacher	No? How do you think it is said?
9	Marie	*Violet* vjɔlɛ (phonetic transcription).
10	Teacher	*Violet* vjɔlɛt (phonetic transcription).
11	Marie	No, Miss, you don't pronounce the *t*. *Violet*.
12	Teacher	*Violet* vjɔlɛ (phonetic transcription)*. Violet* vjɔlɛ
13		(phonetic transcription).

Extract 78: Lesson Observation – French, 31.05.2012

The data suggest that Viola usually repeated the word twice to practice

(*Extract 78, Line 12*). This might have illustrated to the class that merely

knowing the correct pronunciation is not enough: It needs to be practiced and it

possibly requires approval by the expert before the lesson continues and, as

the extracts suggest, this was often the case – that the teacher had to practice

the correct pronunciation several times.

As the above extracts suggest, Viola often seemed to be in need of support during the French lesson and, therefore, appreciated having a French native speaker in her class:

1	Teacher	I'm incredibly lucky that I've Marie in my class
2		who is normally quite patient with me and will
3		correct me, sometimes worried, sometimes she
4		feels very nervous about this, but most of the
5		time she's quite happy to correct me, which is
6		great. And I hopefully will get some training next
7		year − wonderful (*laughs*) (elapsed time:
8		00:02:30).

Extract 79: Teacher Interview, 28.06.2012

The data suggest that the teacher seemed to be aware that drawing on Marie's French language knowledge might have been difficult for her sometimes as well as the reversal of expert and novice in the classroom which resulted in a rather unusual power structure between the teacher and her pupil and seemed to be unfamiliar for Marie at times (*Extract 80*). It could be that Marie was so unsure about the new power dynamics that she perhaps needed reassurance that it was alright to take the expert role and to correct the novice teacher. It seemed that Marie was placed in the role of expert, but sometimes not by her own choosing.

Further, the data suggest, that Marie felt uncomfortable at times correcting Viola. As argued before, my sense that Marie felt awkward about her role in the French lesson was confirmed during the interview with her.

When I asked Marie who the expert was, she paused, hesitantly began a sentence, corrected herself and concluded:

1	Marie	I'm not trying anything to be rude to anyone or
2		trying to show off or anything, but since I know
3		French (*laughs*) I get, I get everyone asking me
4		"what should I do?" (elapsed time: 00:21:21).

Extract 80: Group 5 Interview – Marie, 22.06.2012

The extract suggests that Marie seemed to be in a tricky situation. In *Extract 80, Line 1*, said that she did not want to be "rude", which I understand as referring to her teacher – that she was being polite and respectful towards her teacher. Then in *Extract 80, Line 2,* Marie said "show off" which I interpret to mean that she did not want to appear ostentatious towards her peers. This was possibly either because her home language was the only one drawn upon in the lesson or because she might be positioned as the *teacher's pet* due to supporting the teacher. This might be the reason for not always initiating in terms of correcting her teacher. Arguably, such a situation could have been quite demanding for a child, as she might have been trapped between the teacher and her peers.

The findings suggest the seriousness with which the teacher viewed Marie's position, also in regard to the reversal of the expert-novice:

1	Teacher	I think the children really enjoy learning from an
2		expert; definitely, I think an expert can impart
3		more knowledge, more quickly. I think the
4		children might progress more; however, as a
5		class teacher I'm responsible for all their
6		learning (elapsed time: 00:25:12).

Extract 81: Teacher Interview, 28.06.2012

The data suggest that Viola had knowledge of teaching and of delivering the lesson content. She also provided the overall structure of the lesson. Viola was the expert in terms of curriculum provision and the facilitator for learning, whereas Marie provided the linguistic knowledge. The lines between expert and novice blurred and continuously changed due to the dialogic nature of the teaching style and, more importantly, because of the expert-novice role reversal allowed by the teacher.

The data suggest that the teacher co-constructed meaning with the pupils.

This process can be visualised in the form of a triangle (see *Figure 9* below). In one corner, there is the teacher, in another corner the expert pupils who can support the foreign language learning and in the third corner are the remaining pupils who (like the teacher) are novices to the language.
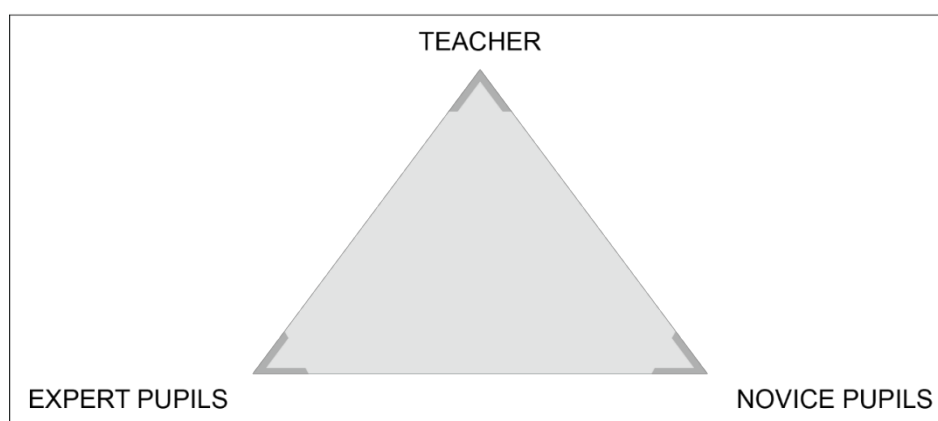
Figure 9: Negotiation and interaction in learning

This figure visualises the interconnection between the learning groups in which peer learning can take place by interacting with each other, in this case, also including the teacher. In this interaction, the teacher would analyse where the path of learning was leading and make sure that all the pupils were on the same

learning path together. Here, the teacher is working as an agent who facilitates learning opportunities and advances the children's learning and language practices through collaborative explorations of the lesson, drawing on the notions of *learning power* (Kenner and Ruby, 2012).

To summarise, the unique way the teacher approached teaching French to a classroom of multilingual children had not been planned by her; rather, it developed over time. As mentioned before, even though the teacher had limited French language knowledge, the data suggest that, while Viola thought teaching French was "scary" and personally challenging, she also considered it her duty to carry out the school's decision to implement the teaching of French as a foreign language and in this she adhered to that institutional requirement. Further, her sense of obligation combined with her lack of knowledge in the subject area caused her to allow other children to support her teaching French, thus softening the usual hierarchical power dynamics.

The more I observed the French lessons, the more I wondered what aspects of Viola's teaching encouraged the unique dynamic that occurred in the lessons.

The data suggest that from the beginning of the school year the typical structures of the teacher-pupil hierarchy seemed to already have been removed, and I had noticed a shift in the learning atmosphere: drawing on the expertise of the pupil Marie and taking that opportunity for their learning enabled both teacher and pupils to collaboratively explore the French lesson and thereby to create a learner community. I will address this further in the next chapter, discussing the concept of *windows of opportunity*.

8.3 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have described the way the teacher approached teaching French as a foreign language. Further, I have explored how teacher and pupils assumed reversed expert-novice roles as a form of collaborative learning. This discussion has been brought up in relation to my third sub-research question: *In what ways does a teacher with limited expertise in the subject approach teaching French as a foreign language to a classroom of multilingual pupils?*

The data helps to emphasise that the teacher's ideology and her approach to teaching had a bearing on the classroom dynamics within the French as a foreign language lesson. The data suggest that the teacher had limited expertise in speaking that language as well as in the teaching of that subject. Yet, it seemed that she saw this lesson as a challenge set for herself and for her pupils and, in this way, displayed perseverance throughout the year, in contrast to all her colleagues who had given up teaching French in the course of the school year. The data suggest that Viola's approach was to see the teaching and learning of French as a challenge for all those involved, thereby allowing for a co-construction of knowledge. In other words, her understanding of her professional role and her personal values, expressed in that particular lesson, mediated her teaching and, rather than constructing knowledge for her pupils, she co-constructed meaning *together with* her pupils, for example, by comparing languages or transferring knowledge from English to French. It seemed that not all of the approaches she attempted were linguistically correct, and this allowed herself to call upon Marie, the French native speaker in the class. This seemed helpful as it allowed a collaborative exploration of the lesson content. However, the data also suggest that this caused some tension

for Marie and that she did not seem to always feel comfortable with the way she was positioned by the teacher; this could have been linked to classroom practices i.e. here the reversal of the normally assumed expert/novice roles. The teacher called upon the multilingual resources of Marie, and used it for the learning of the entire class. However, the potential for multilingual learning remained fragmented and, while the teacher had built a learner community, no further step was taken to create a multilingual learner community. I will provide reflections on this in in the final chapter.

To conclude, the findings in this section help to answer my research question by describing the teacher's approach to teaching a subject in which she had limited expertise. The data suggest that Viola carefully mediated her own learning and that of her pupils through her collaborative approach to teaching and learning in that lesson. These findings are supported by other researchers, for example Rogoff (1990) in her work on the concept of *guided participation*, Cummins and Early (2011a) in their work on identity texts, Kenner and Ruby (2012) discussing the concept of *learning power* or Esteban-Guitart and Moll (2014) with their research and the concept of *funds of identity*, all of which I have discussed in *Chapter 3*. These findings provide an important underpinning for my overall discussion about multilingualism and foreign languages learning linked to *windows of opportunity* within the entire education system.

The final chapter, *Chapter 9,* concludes the thesis by reflecting on my research questions. This is followed by a discussion of its originality and contribution to the development of knowledge as well as its implications for the field. Lastly, I will address the limitations of my research and I will conclude the chapter with final reflections about my thesis.

9 Discussion of findings

This final chapter will summarise my findings in response to my research questions, weaving together the threads which have emerged from this study and forming the conclusion of my thesis.

In *Chapter 1 How the journey began – autobiographical outline and research questions*, I described my journey up to the beginning of this PhD, my personal experiences in the field of study and the questions I had begun investigating about multilingualism and foreign language learning.

In *Chapter 2 Policy debates, research and practice in language education in England*, I discussed some policies from the past seven decades about multilingualism and diversity and policies on foreign language learning in the primary classroom in England. My intention in this section was to provide background information about the ever-changing policy debates, research and practice in language education and to highlight how multilingualism and foreign languages are up to today regarded as separate, still following their own distinct theoretical traditions, concepts and terminology.

The literature review, *Chapter 3,* provided me with a basis for studying multilingual children in the foreign language classroom, detailing the context of my research in the specific areas of multilingual children's construction of identities and multilingual classroom explorations – adopting a sociocultural perspective on learning to my study.

My theoretical, methodological and analytical approaches were discussed in *Chapters 4* and *5*. In *Chapter 4 Methodological considerations*, I discussed the theoretical considerations pertaining to my research design: adopting an ethnographic approach, the role of the researcher within the research and the validity of qualitative research. In *Chapter 5 Design of my study – setting, methods of collecting data and analysis*, I addressed the research setting, my research participants and how I gained consent as well as the challenging ethical considerations when working with children. Furthermore, I provided a rationale for my choice of methods of collecting data (observations, interviews and language diagrams) to answer my research questions in the best possible way. I also introduced the methods of data analysis which I later used to help me identify patterns and themes emerging from the data.

In *Chapters 6* to *8*, I analysed and interpreted the data gathered throughout the school year I conducted my study, relating it to the research questions (also see *Section 1.2*), the literature of the field (*Chapter 3*). *Chapter 6 Data analysis and findings I: multilingual children's identities* explored the pupils' understanding of themselves as multilinguals, their feelings of belonging and how their distinct environments influenced their understanding of their identity. *Chapter 7 Data analysis and findings II: multilingual learning* discussed the teacher's and children's views, perceptions and awareness of multilingual learning and the conditions for language learning and language practices within the French lesson and the participants' engagement and use of their language resources. *Chapter 8 Data analysis and findings III: the learner community* addressed how the

learner community shifted the expert-novice roles by exploring how a learner community was formed by teacher and pupils. Also, the chapter touched upon the concept of *windows of opportunity*.

This chapter is divided into four sections. In Section 1, I reflect on my research questions, bringing together and summarising the findings of this study. In Section 2, I justify the originality of my study and its contribution to the existing knowledge. Also, I suggest possible implications and future research in the field of multilingual children's identities, multilingual learning and the learner community. Section 3 will address the limitations of my research. And Section 4 ends the chapter with concluding remarks about my study.

9.1 Reflections on the research questions

In this section, I bring together the findings from the analysis (*Chapters 6* to *8*) and relate them separately to my research questions.

9.1.1 Reflections on sub-question 1

I discuss my first research sub-question (*How do identities provide a context for understanding what the children say or do?)* in relation to how children understand themselves in multiple linguistic and social environments and the benefits they perceive in speaking multiple languages as well how the children describe themselves in terms of their feelings of belonging.

I have evidenced that the children in my study saw themselves as multilinguals (also see *Section 6.1*). They were able to express what their languages were used for, for example to speak with other people, in their learning at school or in their faith setting, for example for reading Arabic but also to quantify how home

languages were used. This led to the finding that the children's home language use increased with members of the older generation in their families.

This is in line with findings of Gregory et al. (2004a) Martin et al. (2007), Robertson (2007), Ruby et al. (2010), Gregory et al. (2012) and Walters (2011; 2017), all of whom explored children's multilingual practices and learning across different settings (faith settings, complementary schools or family). However, the school seemed to be the place with the least home language use, and multilingual identities did not really seem to surface except when we discussed them during the interviews. A reason for this may the monolingual ideology emerging from the dominant policy discourses in the English education system discussed in *Chapter 2* and has been evidenced in the work by Leung (2001), Pearce (2012) and Costley (2014). Further, I have illustrated that the children's feelings of belonging were often expressed by the fusing of their forms of identities, whereby this concept has also been referred to as hybrid identities (Harris, 2006) (also see *Section 6.2*). They expressed themselves in a sophisticated manner when explaining their thoughts and feelings on multilingual identity development by describing their feelings of belonging dependent on their language knowledge and language use and choice across different contexts. The findings suggest that the level to which learners feel comfortable with their language abilities seems to depend on the extent to which the languages are mastered, in what context they are used and for what purpose they are employed. This then suggest that multilingual children may act in accordance with their identities differently according to the situation, in other words, they negotiated their multilayered identities across

time and context and, also, for different purposes (Harris, 2006; Riley, 2007; Blackledge and Creese, 2010).

To conclude, the overall findings answered my first research sub-question and help to highlight the children's complex accounts of where they are from and how their languages are spoken and used, how children's identities are formed and how they themselves perceive their identity. This feeds into an understanding of what they say or do in the classroom, which is an important basis for the discussion that follows in which I discuss my second and third research sub-questions.

9.1.2 Reflections on sub-question 2

I discuss my second research sub-question (*How do children use their existing languages when learning French as a foreign language in class?*) in relation to the children's and the teacher's views and perceptions on multilingual learning and the conditions for language learning and language practices within the French lesson.

Drawing on my discussion of the first research sub-question, the French as foreign language lesson was not a space to explore multilingual learning practices. Within the school context, on the one hand the children learnt a significant amount of French in their first year of lessons and enjoyed learning a new skill. On the other hand, multilingual learning played a minor role in their learning experience with few opportunities arising for multilingual practices. I have evidenced that the pupils see school as a context in which English is spoken rather than a space for exploring multilingual practices (also see *Section 7.2*). Ignoring the pupils' linguistic diversity could have drawbacks for

the children's multilingual learner identity construction by ultimately causing them to develop monolingual identities at school (Kenner and Ruby, 2012; Mehmedbegovic, 2017) (also see *Section 7.3*). Moreover, ignoring pupils' backgrounds and prior experiences is also inherently connected to their feelings of belonging and, as a consequence, this also affects pupils' "sense of school belonging" (Agirdag et al., 2014, p. 7), drawing on my discussion of language choice in *Section 2.2*. Pupils begin to perceive school as separate from the rest of their upbringing, and a polarity is thus created between the monolingual profile at school and home language profile outside, rather than a union in the form of a multilingual learner identity.

To conclude, the overall findings answered my second research sub-question and help to highlight that children hardly had any opportunities for using their home languages in the French foreign language lesson. This feeds into an understanding of how the dominant educational policies with their driving force to keep *Englishness* seem to constrain the situated practices of the school which deviated from those policies.

9.1.3 Reflections on sub-question 3

The discussion of my third research sub-question (*In what ways does a teacher with limited expertise in the subject approach teaching French as a foreign language to a classroom of multilingual pupils?*) is made in relation to how a learner community was formed by teacher and pupils and how their relationship within that learner community shifted the French foreign language lesson.

I have evidenced that Viola's teaching approach may have been the most significant factor in the pupils' learning success (also see *Sections 8.1* and *8.2*).

Even though she facilitated the learning opportunities, she was dependent on those who had more subject knowledge (Marie, the French native speaker for example). Due to the unique novice status of the teacher (in terms of her limited French language knowledge), the French language lessons became a space in which the pupils and teacher came together as a learner community in which all participants were potentially able to contribute to the learning process (Rogoff, 1990; Kenner and Ruby, 2012), collaboratively exploring a topic as non-experts. The teacher mediated their learning through the use of the interactive whiteboard, learning materials and her language (sharing with the class her anxiety and feeling of being challenged) but, most importantly, by drawing upon Marie's expertise as the teacher herself was not the expert in the class. Marie was able to support the teacher with her French, calling on her *funds of identity* (Esteban-Guitart and Moll, 2014) and using them for her learning (also see *Section 8.2*). This seemed to leave Marie with mixed feelings: She appeared to feel uncomfortable to be the expert in a power dynamic where she and the teacher seemed to have exchanged roles, but also honoured to be supporting the teacher and class. This was important as this might have taken away some of the tension Marie felt as the only child whose expertise the teacher drew upon. Marie's corrections led to a few breaks and pauses, which normally allowed all the children to try out the pronunciation of words themselves. Here it must be added that not all the children began trying out the pronunciation, but it was still important that these opportunities were provided – whether utilised or not.

I have evidenced that the teacher was able to lead the class as a teacher while, at the same time, taking on the role of a language learner in a reverse expert-

novice relationship within this classroom. Here, the teacher took the opportunity provided by the expertise of her pupil Marie to carry on the lesson and to work cooperatively, thus forming a learner community. The French lesson provided a unique space wherein Viola spoke very differently about the learning process than in other lessons. I have evidenced that, despite the challenges Viola faced teaching a foreign language, she displayed some understanding of the children's multilingual capacity, at the same time regarding English as the appropriate means with which to engage all the children.

As I have evidenced in *Sections 8.1* and *8.2*, the teacher accepted that she was not the French expert in the room, thus reversing the typically hierarchical roles of teacher-pupil or expert-novice, and drew on the expertise of a French native girl, Marie. The learner community and its interrelated power dynamics seemed to be an important support mechanism in the teaching and seemed to help negotiation and interaction in the classroom, in that way possibly advancing the collective knowledge.

To conclude, these overall findings answered my third research sub-question and help to highlight that the teacher's approach to teaching French as a foreign language and her limitations seemed to have a bearing on the classroom dynamics. While they allowed for the potential to explore the children's *funds of identity* (Esteban-Guitart and Moll, 2014), this was not extended to all her pupils. This feeds into an understanding of how a learner community is formed but, more importantly, how it could be extended to a multilingual learner community.

9.1.4 Reflection on main research question:

I would like to draw on two aspects of the sociocultural perspective on learning (also see *Section 3.1*) in order to answer my overall research question: *How does children's multilingualism influence the learning of French as a foreign language in a Key Stage 2 primary school classroom in England when taught by a teacher whose knowledge of French is relatively limited?* Here, I will bring together the analysis, findings and discussions of the data and potential answers to the research questions.

1. Learning is actively constructed.
   Viola's approach to teaching French facilitated agency in the pupil's knowledge construction. Due to the reversal of the assumed expert-novice roles, learning was a collaborative process between teacher and pupils, drawing on the notion of *learning power* (Kenner and Ruby, 2012) but also on the concept of *guided participation* (Rogoff, 1990).

2. Learning emerges from and builds on experience.
   Overall, the pupils knew and used their language resources and experiences, depending on the context and purpose. However the fact that every child has prior knowledge it brings to education had not been explored sufficiently by the teacher except when drawing on Marie, her French native pupils' knowledge during the lesson time, calling on her *funds of identity* (Esteban-Guitart and Moll, 2014) and using them for her learning (Cummins and Early, 2011a).

In answer to my research question, I have said that children's multilingualism in general did not influence the learning of French as a foreign language lesson as the children did not openly draw on their language recourse, opting instead for a "monolingual profile" (Mehmedbegovic, 2017, p. 546) at school. This was in contrast to Marie's language knowledge in French which did have an influence

on the learning of French as a foreign language in the form of supporting the teacher and, thus, the class in their knowledge construction. However, whether it was Marie influencing the learning of French or the teacher's approach which allowed the reversal of the assumed expert-novice role is a question which underlines the connectivity of the research questions as a whole. All three research questions are relevant in their own right but also inherently linked to each other.

9.2 Originality of my study and its contribution to knowledge

The analysed data and findings suggest a valuable contribution to knowledge in the field of foreign language learning and multilingualism.

For the sake of my research and to expand understanding of the findings of my study and Viola's approach to teaching French as a foreign language, I devised the term, *windows of opportunity*. *Windows of opportunity* highlight the potential conditions for language learning and language practices within the education system. *Windows of opportunity* as a term, captures the notion of a *gained opportunity* for multilingual pupils in their learning, and counteracts the often-discussed *lost opportunity* within the education system. This not only has implications for foreign language learning for both teachers and pupils as it is related to what the teacher can do as well as to what the pupils can do in the foreign language lesson, but also for school administrators and policy makers. In this way, my study presents a further view on the *opportunity* for multilingual learning in education, which I will discuss under the headings: a) teacher, b) school and c) policy.

a) Teacher

As I alluded to in the preceding data analysis and findings chapters (*Chapters 6 to 8*), I am proposing that one of the specific *windows of opportunity* arises from the fact that, in my study, the teacher does not occupy the role of the expert within the French lesson. This particular situation of multilingual children here and the context of the teacher, herself a novice, within the French language lesson provided an environment where a mutual learning space could be created. This seemingly disadvantageous situation many foreign language teachers find themselves in is instead argued to be one of the *windows of opportunity* enabling the teacher and the class to carry on the lesson and work cooperatively interacting together to create a learning space and thereby create a learner community. The example of Marie's tentative interventions encouraged by the teacher, although it occurred in an apparently random manner here, could actually set an example for how teachers could in future, provide even more explicit encouragement for pupils to share their knowledge for mutual learning and, specifically, for multilingual learners to share their existing knowledge, in other words actively creating *windows of opportunity*. And while in my study the teacher rather unintentionally and more out of pragmatic necessity, constructed the learning by reversing the expert-novice roles, I argue that her situation cannot be viewed in isolation. Rather, to some extent, that situation directly stems from a policy change to include foreign languages in primary schools in England. This could thus relate to many teachers who find themselves in similar situations because they are put in a position of having to teach a foreign language in which they are not necessarily themselves proficient. So this approach can be seen not only as a challenge but

also as an *opportunity* for multilingual learning with great potential for all teachers regardless of whether they are proficient in the language they are teaching or not. Teachers could use the foreign language space or even English language space in which to directly ask pupils about their home languages. To use or actively created this *opportunity* would mean to expand this synthesis of teacher and pupils to include the learning resources from all, namely the entire linguistic repertoire of the multilingual children within the foreign language. Here language has the potential to become a mediating mean to advance multilingual practices and the construction of a potentially strong learner identity and, as such, *windows of opportunity* for all.

The opportunity for the teacher to take the novice role allows the construction of learning opportunities where children use their languages at school in order to counter the monolingual effect of the school. In this way children do not feel a divide but recognise that home, school and community can complement each other. This then also resonates with bringing the two still largely separately seen and discussed fields of foreign language learning and multilingualism together. In this way *windows of opportunity* are created by the teacher for all pupils. To fully expand these, however, the *windows* need to be further split into separate points which include:

1. increasing the teacher's awareness and the importance of enquiring into her pupils' backgrounds, as the data in my study suggest that the teacher's attitude towards languages, such as English, home language and foreign language had a bearing on her pupils' language use, learning and identity negotiation within the classroom. Not knowing the backgrounds of her pupils, she was unable to make full use of the *windows of opportunity*. In other words, the teacher must be informed

about the individual pupils' backgrounds and, in particular, about the languages they already have knowledge of and their prior schooling if relevant. This could be achieved through questionnaires but also through direct parent-teacher meetings. This in turn could also mean communicating with parents in a number of languages rather than solely in English.

2. constructing learning opportunities where multilingual pupils may use all their language resources for learning. The data in my study suggest that these pupils regard themselves as multilingual and clearly connect their identity to their multilingualism. As such, these pupils are definitely themselves a resource and could benefit multilingual learning in school. This would counteract the dominant monolingual ideology discourse still prevalent in education and overcome the divide between different multilingual learning contexts the children named in the study and further, it would allow the children to negotiate their multilayered identities and thus their feeling of belonging. In other words, it would be appropriate to recognise children's prior knowledge and learning experiences by including these into the lesson, for example by creating dual language books or multiliteracy projects.

3. acknowledging that reversed power relations of expert and novice can enable the co-construction and mediation of learning, as my data suggest, where the teacher is an agent and facilitator, moving away from teacher-centredness towards more autonomy for pupils. For teachers, this would mean carefully constructing the lesson content, while being aware of the potential contributions the children bring to the lesson, for example in the form of project based work, where children can independently explore and engage in topics. Further, this could include partnership teaching, involving for example community members as more knowledgeable others who also contribute to the creation of such multilingual projects.

4. recognising that a learner community can be advanced to a multilingual learner community, even if it takes time to construct multilingual learning

opportunities for all. This also requires taking the opportunities arising from the preceding three points.

Acting on the above mentioned points for teaching and learning can enable teachers to help children develop multilingual learning (i.e. through teachers' theoretical understanding of how this works, valorising all languages, knowing/discovering children's resources, leading the children explicitly, designing suitable activities and offering examples of strategies).

b) School

Within the context of my findings, the opportunity for schools is that they could provide an environment in which the pupils' narratives are shared and where they are already acknowledged as empowered, affirmed and valuable members of society. This could provide an initial framework for their future which could, in the long run, enrich society, leading to a more generally diffused appreciation of language and cultural heritage, also bearing in mind the principles of multilingual practices: social justice and social practice (García, 2009; Conteh, 2018c).

I have discussed and evidenced in my study that schools are not neutral institutions and not independent from political, social and cultural forces, in other words educational policies regarding foreign language learning and multilingualism as two separate areas. Yet schools are part of the community in which both are located. Here school serves a twofold purpose: to overcome the polarity between home and school but also, and equally important on the education level, it is the mediator between policy makers and teachers. Two particular points arising from my study show how theory may be played out in

practice for schools: 1. involve all languages in children's learning and 2. widen the learner community beyond the school fence which I will detail in the following paragraphs:

The idea of *windows of opportunity*, which arises from my study is to involve all languages (English, home language and foreign languages) and in that way language and content learning can take place in partnership with all those relevant and also multilingual colleagues within the schools such as teaching assistants as well as families and the community itself. Examples may include 1. Schools could organise events such as bazars or fairs with multicultural themes where language would also been given a special place. These could involve school staff as well as parents and members of the wider community. Teachers could then use lessons in the following weeks to go back to these events referring to language that came up, actively opening the *windows of opportunity*. Various themes and topics could be addressed via such events: food, toys, customs, national dress, etc. 2. Schools could organise a regular meeting for parents, teachers and selected representative members of specific communities to discuss the use of various languages. Again, there could be follow-up after the meetings to *open windows* even more. 3. Musical events where songs in different languages would be presented by the children could be organised. The preparation itself as well as the event itself and aftermath would then offer more *windows of opportunity*. Here the opportunity arises to not only see school as a place for learning as academic achievement but also to acknowledge the potential schools have to create a learning space where pupils can draw on their language knowledge and also use their multilingual resources for learning (Cummins and Early, 2011a; Kenner and Ruby, 2012). This would

promote the construction of a strong multilingual learner identity at school. Practically speaking, sometimes an openness for languages, interest in the same and encouragement of these (home and foreign alike) as well as cultures is enough to create an environment in which the children, as evidenced in my study, already bring the tools and resources.

Windows of opportunity for school could include understanding a *learner community* not just as the pupils in the classroom with their teacher but also including the wider context of family members, community members or significant others. Here the findings in my study are consistent with previous studies that suggest that learning is not tied to one context but rather takes place between different contexts and in a variety of settings. One way of doing that is to recognise and to acknowledge the multilingual profile of the school and to incorporate the community's culture within the school life. Schools can benefit from a positive community of learners by taking on the responsibility of fostering all languages. Rather than transferring this to the communities, this could be an opportunity to communicate with all parents, not to marginalise them as a group by leaving some parents out, insisting on a monolingual communication approach. In this respect meeting on an equal footing and avoiding lines between expert and novice which might compromise creating a community through learning from each other, is critical. So schools can benefit from these language resources children bring to school. While school can do this on the external level, teachers can do this on the internal level. Here the teacher's approach to teaching is significant to the children's success at school which I have also discussed in my data analysis and findings.

c) Policy

The policy context of my study provides an important underpinning for my findings regarding the *windows of opportunity* policy makers can create. In my preceding discussions I have evidenced from my findings that policies affect the language use at schools. Here policy makers can take that chance to regard foreign language learning as part of multilingual practices, rather than the two being separate fields. Foreign language learning and multilingualism in the primary classroom may offer new approaches to teaching as well as new ideas for finding ways in which children's multilingualism can contribute to the learning process, especially in the foreign language lesson. Further, this discussion is also related to language ideologies, hierarchies and status which either constrain or encourage multilingual learning affecting multilingual learner identities (Kenner and Ruby, 2012; Sierens and Ramaut, 2018). In other words, a polarity between foreign language lessons and multilingualism, and between school and home is created rather than overcome. Again, policy makers could take the opportunity to recognise that learning takes place in multiple contexts and various settings and could play on the strength of the entire education system. As my data suggest, bringing home language knowledge to school enriches and empowers pupils and this was an important element in the French lesson in my study. Here multilingual learning is not a hindrance but, rather, a support for all language learning – including English.

In view of this, the biggest opportunity for policy makers would be to regard language learning in all its facets as related and even to regard English, foreign languages and home languages in unison. Much research has been conducted in the two fields of foreign language learning and multilingual learning; here,

windows of opportunity bring these together, particularly in the foreign language lesson. In this way language learning means to use language resources from English, home languages and foreign language lessons rather than separating them out. In this way, policies on foreign language learning and multilingualism are no longer in competition with each other but complement each other, tying in with the *windows of opportunity* for schools and teachers.

The findings of my study are relevant for researchers focusing on multilingual learning and foreign language learning in the primary classroom. This study may contribute to a better understanding of linking multilingual education and foreign language learning within the mainstream primary school setting for which I also see possible future research occurring. Further exploration into the reversal of expert/novice roles that can be occupied by teachers and pupils and into *windows of opportunity* possibly being provided by a multilingual learner community would directly build upon my research. This type of study could bring together a sociocultural perspective on learning, the construction of multilingual identities and multilingual children's classroom explorations within the foreign language lesson. Other researchers, for example Agirdag et al. (2014) or Sierens and Ramaut (2018), have demonstrated how teacher's valorising or denigrating the use of multiple languages impacts on the children's multilingual learner identity. Kenner and Ruby's (2013, p. 399) assertion that spaces in which "multiple aspects of cultural experiences can coexist and interact to make new meanings" could provide the underpinnings of further research regarding the construction of multilingual identities and multilingual learning.

To conclude, while this study uniquely brings in a new element of seeing language learning as a unitary endeavour rather than as separate areas (English, home language and foreign language), it is in part consistent with what other researchers have documented. Further it points towards *windows of opportunity* in the education system in England. Here, I have presented a further view on the power of opportunity in education, one that moves away from its negative connotation of a lost opportunity and represents more accurately that opportunity can be taken to foster multilingualism by teachers of multilingual pupils, by school administrators, but also by policy makers. In the preceding discussion I have separated these out and even though they stand for themselves all three are inherently connected. Also, I have argued how the ideas arising from my study may inform practice e.g. how to increase the teacher's awareness of the children's complex accounts or the way multilingual learning opportunities can be constructed and fostered by both teacher and school including the involvement of the school community. I hope that my work can contribute in some small way to building learning environments that celebrate and support children who live linguistically and culturally rich lives. May their example inspire educators and policy makers to be a catalyst for change in multilingual practices and, ending in Conteh's (2018a, p. 253) words: "the way forward is to construct dialogues to play to the strengths of both communities".

In the following section, I discuss the limitations of my research.

9.3   Limitations of my research

I have addressed the limitations in various areas of my research throughout my thesis and I will now revisit these. The embeddedness of the collected data within a specific context, the scope of the research, the chosen methodology and methods of data collection are relevant here.

There are limitations to data collection within a particular classroom setting. First of all, I would like to point out that my collected data, the participants' accounts, are context sensitive and that the behaviour I observed may be typical in the classroom environment – however, it might be very different across other contexts and, in that sense, my research is limited to the context of the foreign language lesson (also see *Section 4.1.1*). Since the study is based on the observation of one classroom, in the Year 5, I acknowledge that the data cannot be applied to a whole school system (also see *Section 4.1.2*). As mentioned in the methodology chapter, *Section 4.1.4*, adopting an ethnographic approach always contains the difficulty that the researcher may not see everything and that other researchers would have seen or interpreted phenomena differently. In the future, it might be useful to observe several classrooms to detect possible patterns of similarities or differences.

While my research may have limited scope, I have tried to allow for increased transferability to research on similar populations or contexts by providing thick descriptions (Geertz, 2017) of participants and their behaviour (also see *Section 4.1.5*). My research is limited to the actions of one class teacher teaching French as a foreign language to her class over the period of a single school year. Including my initial observations of the Guided Reading lessons,

my study was limited to two kinds of learning: French and Guided Reading (also see *Section 5.1.2* and *Appendix 1*). The limitation for the data collection was that the Guided Reading lesson was a very tightly structured lesson; it provided far less classroom interactions than I had hoped for. Also, only looking at the French lesson does only allow for limited transferability to other subjects taught. As I have outlined in *Section 5.1.2*, I was dependent on the gatekeeper's decision in regard to which lessons I was able to observe.

In *Chapter 4* and *5,* I have addressed the methodological limitations of adopting an ethnographic approach such as the difficulty to replicate the study to prove the findings. Further, the study is heavily dependent on the trustworthy descriptions and interpretations of the researcher. The language diagrams provided factual information but left little room for participants' accounts. Also, the observations had some limitations as they only described the behaviour of the participants without providing any further reasons, and the descriptions might have been affected by the researcher's interpretations. Interviews through allowing people to express themselves in their own words complemented my observations. All three methods of collecting data were context sensitive which means the data was affected by the situation in which the observations of the participants, the language diagrams and interviews were situated as well as by the researcher and the participants themselves. Taken together, this shows the importance of triangulation where the methods support and complement each other in order to get a full picture on how and why things happen.

9.4 Concluding remarks

This final section brings my thesis to an end.

In this chapter, I have reflected on my overall research question and the three subsidiary questions, bringing together, discussing and summarising the findings of this study. This was followed by a discussion of the originality of my study and its contribution to the existing knowledge in the form of the concept *windows of opportunity*. Further, I have provided suggestions for possible future research in the field of multilingual learning and reflected on the limitations of my research.

Within my thesis, I have described how the initial idea for this study stemmed from my own foreign language teaching experiences at primary school. My thesis aimed to gain an understanding of children's multilingualism and the dynamics at play in the French foreign language primary classroom in England when approached by a teacher with limited French language knowledge and no teaching expertise in the subject. For this, I also discussed the literature pertinent to my research: the long-standing issues surrounding polices of multilingualism and diversity and policies for foreign language learning, the literature adopting a sociocultural perspective on learning and the construction of multilingual identities and multilingual classroom explorations. Further, as I have described, I adopted an ethnographic approach using observations, language diagrams and interviews for my methods of collecting data. I have explained that it was important for me to understand the role of myself in the research, which I tried to address throughout this thesis, but also to understand that the collected accounts of my participants are context sensitive.

Now all the threads of my study have come together, and I am at the end of my thesis. My time with the participants who willingly shared their thoughts and lives with me has ended, and they have all moved on to different schools and will probably soon finish their school education. It has been an incredible journey, and I have enjoyed exploring the complex and multifaceted area of multilingualism and its role in education in depth.

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Appendices

Appendix 1 What is Guided Reading?

With the launch of the *National Literacy Strategy* (Department for Education and Employment, 1998) Guided Reading was introduced, a strategy to develop reading skills which no longer focused on accuracy and fluency but on teaching children "how to read, understand and create meaning from texts" (Fisher, 2008, p. 19). A part of this was a framework of teaching which offered guidance and support for teachers, supplied teaching objectives and suggested time management by, for example, introducing the *Literacy Hour* to raise standards in literacy. However it was a rather prescriptive method of pedagogy, teaching and lesson organisation (Adams, 2014) and the material within the framework addressed organisation and procedural information on Guided Reading rather than pedagogy. With the introduction of the *Primary Strategy* (Department for Education and Skills, 2003) in 2003, the *National Literacy Strategy* was moved under its umbrella, later renewed and named *Primary Framework for literacy and mathematics* (Department for Education and Skills, 2006b) and finally superseded in 2011 by the new coalition government. Nevertheless, these strategies had a profound impact on teaching and at the time of my research from 2011 to 2012 the school where I conducted my research in still followed these guidelines, attainment targets and assessments for learning guidance for their daily Guided Reading sessions.

So what is Guided Reading? Guided Reading is an instructional approach to reading. In accordance to the pupils' reading levels, the class is divided into small groups. This enables the teacher to differentiate her teaching especially in

accordance to the needs of each group, thus developing reading proficiency in a focused way. The teacher in my research had divided the class into five reading groups of different ability. For this, books corresponding to the pupils' reading levels were chosen by teacher. The teacher had set up a reading rota for reading with the teacher and a carousel of activities for those pupils working independently. Daily, for 30 minutes, Guided Reading took place. She read with a different group every day. Meanwhile, the other children were involved in independent activities related to Guided Reading, such as writing in their reading journal, working on worksheets with reading comprehension tasks, playing reading comprehension games and reading in the book corner. However, activities unrelated to reading also took place like practising handwriting or tidying the class. During the teacher-led reading activity, each child had the opportunity to read out loud. The teacher supported each child individually in terms of decoding and comprehension. Toward the end of the session, the teacher engaged the children in a brief discussion about the text. This seems to correspond with Fisher's (2008, p. 25) findings in her study about the conduct of Guided Reading; she argues:

> Rather than analysing how children created meaning,
> teaching appropriate strategies to enhance this or
> encouraging a personal, analytical and critical response,
> each teacher spent three-quarters of their teaching time
> listening to the children read.

The session ended with changing the book in the children's book bags and a short-written assessment on each child's reading skills.

In summary, even though Guided Reading was introduced to move away from reading out loud without any further engagement in the text through discussions analysing and constructing meaning, it was actually a tightly structured lesson, dominated by teaching objectives and assessment. Arguably, the controlled and prescriptive framework failed to guide children by "teaching comprehension strategies and the development of critical literacy" (Fisher, 2008, p. 20) and seemed to be a teacher-led experience without much engagement in collaborative discussions but rather an occasion for teachers to listen to children read aloud.

The limitations for data collection in such a constrained lesson and the implications involved for my own research have been discussed in *Section 9.3*.

Appendix 2 Examples of observational data

Appendix 2 provides different examples of field notes produced in the time of my research. In Appendix 2.1, I provide sample extracts from my observations. Appendix 2.2 is an example of the field notes I wrote while observing the lesson, in other words my base source material in shorthand. Appendix 2.3 provides an example of field notes once I had tidied my shorthand and edited and rewritten my notes from the observations, and Appendix 2.4 provides an example of initial coding written on my observations. For a more detailed discussion on observations of the participants, also see *Section 5.3.1*.

Appendix 2.1 Field notes

The following extracts are seven samples which I had transcribed from my observations while conducting my research to which I added over the course the school year. I wanted to write and describe as much as possible in order to get a full picture of my research. These extracts are personal notes, which I have left as they were written at the time of writing.

> When entering the school, the two school secretaries questioned me very thoroughly about my whereabouts and what I was intending to do at their school (in comparison to the school in my pilot study where there was no one sitting there, you signed in yourself in, took a sticker with 'visitor' written on and waited in the entrance area). I received a pin with 'visitor' written on it and waited in the entrance area until a teacher collected me. This scenario was the same every time I visited the school. In the last couple of months of my research, both secretaries began to recognise me and the procedure was much quicker.

Appendix 2.1 Extract 1 from field notes – Entering the school, 14.06.2012

The number of girls (16) and boys (14) is nearly even. The class seems to be a homogenous group. During my first observations, I could observe that boys and girls interacted very little; even though the children sat together at tables, little conversations among mixed gender was visible. Girls and boys worked mainly separately and last week, I could see that a table would not work together because they were supposed to divide themselves into groups of three instead of two (they would have needed to form a mixed boy girl group). The teacher left it and the children continued to work separately. The teacher commented on this as well. It took her quite a while to have all children interact and work with each other during group activities.

Appendix 2.1 Extract 2 from field notes – Boys and girls, 07.06.2012

The relationship of the pupils to the teacher seemed to be a very positive one. There was a mutual liking and respect between pupils and teacher. The teacher created a distant but welcoming classroom environment. She managed to balance positive encouragement with high expectations using meaningful praise when appropriate. The teacher was quite strict (at least it appeared this way from the outside), but it was also visible that the children responded very well and followed a well-established classroom routine and behaviour management. Over time, the atmosphere became warmer and warmer and it became visible how affectionate teacher and pupils were towards each other. The minute you entered the classroom, it was very enjoyable and pleasant for me. By now the children knew exactly what was expected from them and the teacher was less strict or at least she needed to say less than at the beginning of the school year.

Appendix 2.1 Extract 3 from field notes – The pupils' relationship to the teacher, 01.12.2011

From the beginning the children accepted me well into their classroom environment. I introduced myself in the first lesson and, since then, all the children had been really friendly and welcoming towards me. So far, the girls addressed me far more often than the boys and provided me with a lot of information regarding their peers and themselves when I sat at their tables. From conversations in one lesson (03.11.11), a group of girls thought that I was working now in class to assist the French lesson. Even though I explained several times why I was here, the idea that I was supporting the teacher with her French stuck in the children's minds and they were sort of right; I did support the teacher. I was warmly greeted at each lesson. I always looked forward to going to the school. When I began to draw language diagrams, all the children were eager to participate, so that in the end I worked with all of them. At the moment, I am in the middle of conducting interviews and again, all the children would like to participate.

On my last day at the school (July 2012), the children asked me many questions; why was I not coming back, did I have further tasks for them, and they said that they had really enjoyed working with me and liked it that I did different activities with them i.e. observing, language diagrams, interviewing. As a thank you, I gave each child a German sweet called 'Hanuta' which the children really enjoyed. The children said several times thank you for me being there and that they were sad seeing me leave - I must say me too! I had never thought that the children would accept me in their daily school lives so openly, that they expressed their thoughts and shared their view points. I was really touched when I left the school!

Appendix 2.1 Extract 4 from field notes − The pupils' relationship to the researcher, 01.12.2011, complemented 12.07.2012

All the children have an ethnic minority background, no white British child was in the class, all children learnt English as an additional language, some only began to speak English once they entered primary school. So far, I have not seen or heard about any special arrangements regarding EAL.

All the lessons are aimed at children learning English as an additional language, but no special provision is made. I spoke to the head teacher who confirmed this. He said that this was due to the fact that all children (except ten in the entire school) came from a background where English was not their first language and therefore the aim was to plan lessons in such a way that they were equally accessible to all children. The only interventions made were ability groups across the entire year group (four classes per year), so that all children in Year 5 would work together at a certain level in order to receive targeted support for English and numeracy. Also, great emphasis was made on independent learning resources, so that children were able to learn at their own pace. I was able to see during Guided Reading, where children worked with German materials (Freiarbeitsmaterialien).

Appendix 2.1 Extract 5 from field notes − English as an additional language, 13.10.2011

During the autumn term 2011 I had the opportunity to see five (15.09., 13.10., 03.11., 24.11., 01.12.) French and Guided Reading lessons, which I recorded in my journal (taking field notes and typing those in to the computer afterwards). I tried to meet on a weekly basis but very often the school had events and, as I was only able to come either Thursdays or Fridays, we had to cancel lessons, though we did try our best to schedule as regularly as possible. Because I was befriended with the class teacher, she had spoken to the head teacher and he was fine with me observing the pupils in Year 5. I briefly met him and explained my project. My main purpose for this term was to get to know the class and to get a general idea about the teaching of French. The class teacher was motivated and enthusiastic about teaching French, but at the same time anxious and nervous due to her lack of

speaking French. She saw my coming as a challenge and obligation to really teach French, as she found out that not all teachers at her school taught French but skipped it due to their linguistic incompetence (for example the last lesson before the Christmas holidays the story telling of the Giant Turnip; hardly any teacher had taught this lesson).

The children in the class were very friendly and accepted me as their second French teacher; this is how referred to me. Overall, the children seemed to like French, joined in and were engaged.

In most lessons, I was able to see opportunities, think about language or draw comparisons to English however little I saw children drawing on their languages (language awareness and knowledge about language). In fact, so far, I found only one concrete, recorded example, 13.10.2011; potentially they had opportunities, but the teacher did not ask about the children's resources; maybe she was too occupied with learning French herself? Additionally, the class discussed language aspects such as grammar, word endings and meanings. Consciously, language learning strategies and the transfer of knowledge from one language to another were approached (from English to French only). I could see how the teacher always started the lesson with prior knowledge and, through this, consolidated the children's knowledge (going back one step and then stepping two steps forward).

Through my talks to the children, I learnt how knowledgeable they were in their home languages.

This term, the children were mainly engaged in listening, speaking and reading activities in order to get used to the language; writing was only visible in the first lesson. The immediate use, when introducing new words, of the written word did help sometimes to clarify meaning (un = 1) and equally hindered the children in their pronunciation, as they read the words applying an English pronunciation. The teacher had started with single words, then gradually progressed with whole sentences and finally ended the term with reading a story. During the lesson, the teacher actively sought the help of a French native speaker and two other girls who were knowledgeable in French. The teacher did not seem afraid to hand over to the class whenever she was

uncertain about pronunciation or meaning of vocabulary. This created a sense of 'community' and encouraged the class to continue to learn or to be engaged in the lesson.

For the next term, I hope to start interviewing the children. I am still stuck with the thought of grouping the lesson content under specific headings to avoid being too general.

In Guided Reading, I was mainly with the group doing reading comprehension tasks. Here I had the opportunity to observe the children in regard to their English language competencies. This was also the time I was able to speak to the children. Unfortunately, this was the only place I was given to interact with the children. In Guided Reading, it was obvious that the class teacher was the expert. She made the rules, put the children in ability groups, took notes on all children and made sure that she was working with all children equally and that each child had the opportunity to work with her. Also, in comparison to French, regular assessment was taking place through observations, working directly with children in groups, homework and independently completed comprehension work. This gives a little insight on the school's priority with regard to French and Guided Reading, but I did not have the feeling that the class teacher thought about the lessons very differently – though she did admit that she would have skipped French sometimes in order to catch up with some work if I had not come to the lessons. I heard that the majority of teachers have already stopped teaching French.

Appendix 2.1 Extract 6 from field notes – Reflections on the autumn term, 02.12.2011

Appendix 2.2 Field notes written during a lesson observation – shorthand

The following is an example of my shorthand. As I mentioned in *Section 5.3.1.1*, my field notes were often no more than jottings and scribbles and often only comprehensible to myself. They contained various abbreviations, incomplete sentences and alternated between English and German. I noted things down which were symptomatic for that moment, things I wanted to remember when I had time to sit down and copy and edit my field notes on the computer which took place within the following couple of days.

Quel 'age as-tu?
1 S hand up   what's your
age
T Aussprache grausam
Ki zeigen zu
Quesse que j'ai caché
S : five
T : Francais?
unable
T j'ai cinq ans
again
T open your eyes
2 SuS beteiligt
1143 T with your partner
T j'ai dix ans et tu?
und versteben es kaum,
eher unbeteiligt
T models it
In groups practise
Ich übe → verstandes dass ich
32 Jahre bin
L fragt, wenn Ki richtig,
dann an Tafel für
☺ guter betragen
Ki korrigiert
... et toi, not tu.
1147 Quel âge as-tu? an Tafel
écoutez et repetez!
compare
Comment t'appelles-tu ?
2 am Tisch machen mit

Appendix 2.2 Extract from field notes written during the lesson observation – French,
24.11.2011

Appendix 2.3 Field notes written after a lesson observation – tidied copy

The following field notes are a tidied-up copy of my shorthand (also see

Appendix 2.2). As I stated in *Section 5.3.1.1*, within the following couple of days

after my school visit, I copied, tidied and edited my field notes on the computer,

and what follows here is a sample of this. While my handwritten field notes

captured things that were important for that moment, sitting down with the notes

later enabled me to add context and background which I had not had time to do

during the observations. To see examples of work from this lesson, also see

Appendix 5.2.

French, Thursday 28th June 2012
Time: 10:15 - 10:45h
Present: 26 pupils (12 girls and 14 boys), teaching assistant, class teacher, researcher
Absent: 4
Aims of the lesson: LO: To label in French. Context: French. (written on the IWB, interactive whiteboard)
Personal comment: Today was the last lesson of French and I was lucky to see all four languages skills applied in this lesson (listening, speaking, reading and writing). After reading the story to the children, the teacher went through the story, clarifying words, building memory aids and pointing out the different sentence with them another time, clarifying structures (adjective/noun). Later, when the children drew their monsters and labelled the body parts and colours, it was visible how challenging this task was for many children. I have taken pictures of some work samples.

Time	Teacher	Class/researcher/teaching assistant	Additional information
00:00:01	(teacher claps)		*Some children speak, other children are responding to the clapping.*
	What's taking so long? Please. Right. Hurry up please Qaim. What's the matter? There is the chair over there, on this table. There's a chair in the book corner. There's a chair over there. Hurry up. Hurry up please. Right. Hurry up please Qaim.		*Coughing.* *Children speak. TA (teaching assistant) speaks to Yadu on the table.* *Shuffling noises.* *A lot of rumble with tables, chairs and the door.* *Erica begins to read the story on the board.*
00:00:50	Ok. Right. So now we've got French and after French we'll have some Guided Reading time and some will be with Miss, is this right?	Researcher: Yah.	
	It's very warm in here. I might (inc.) the windows (inc.) this morning, sorry.		*PARTS NOT COMPREHENSIBLE*
	Right. Today we are going to work on two things we've done in the past. We're going to combine them, ok? So, we're going to be looking at body parts and colours – in combinations.		
	So, //ok, right.//	Erica: //Blanc, bleu, rose, orange.//	

00:01:40	So. Va-t'en, Grand Monstre Vert (teacher corrects herself) vert. Sorry. Vert.		*Some children repeat and correct the teacher regarding 'vert' because she had pronounced the 't' in 'vert'.*
	Ok. Va-t'en, Grand Monstre Vert!		
	Grand Monstre Vert a deux grands yeux jaunes, un long nez bleu turquoise.	Erica whispers: One long nose blue turquoise.	*Teacher reads book: Va-t'en Grand Monstre Vert, pronunciation is approximate. Teacher uses IWB for the pictures.*
	Un grande bouche rouge avec des dents blanches et pointues, no? Pointues.		*Teacher coughs.*
00:02:28	Deux petites oreilles tordues, des cheveux violets ébouriffés, Ébouriffés. Hmm (affirmative noise). Qaim, écoutez. Et une grosse tête verte effrayante! Mais… tu ne me fais pas peur! Alors, partez, cheveux violets ébouriffés! Partez, petites oreilles tordues. Hmm (affirmative noise). Va-t'en, long nez turquoise. Va-t'en, grosse tête verte! Va-t'en, grande bouche rouge! Partez, dents blanches et pointues! Partez, grand yeux jaune! Va-t'en Grand Monstre Vert et ne reviens jamais! Sauf si je te le demande.		*Teacher coughs.* *Some words are misread.*
00:04:03	Hmm. Ok. Now I read through this again and I'm asking you what those words are in anglais. Ok?	Erica: Anglais.	*Erica corrects the teacher's pronunciation, the teacher had pronounced the 's' in 'anglais'. Some coughing.*
	Let's see if we can do that. Let's go back through the story, here we go, so.		
00:04:26	Va-t'en, Grand Monstre Vert.		
	Grand Monstre Vert a deux grands yeux jaunes, deux grands yeux jaunes. Anglais? Any ideas? Yes.	Maha: A monster, a big monster that is yellow?	
	So something is yellow. Good, we've got yellow. We've got jaune, yellow, good.	Erica: Two.	
00:04:28	Two. So we've got two yellow what?	Class: Eyes.	
	Two? //Eyes// yellow, what do you think that means?	Class: //Yellow.// Child: Two big eyes yellow.	*Some speech overlap, children just call out.*
00:05:10	So two big yellow eyes.		

	That's an amazing amount you've just managed to translate there.		
	So deux grands yeux jaunes. Ok. Écoutez et répétez. Deux grands yeux jaunes.	Class: Deux grands yeux jaunes.	
00:05:29	Not bad. Now. Un long nez bleu turquoise.		*TA begins to speak to some children at her table. Some speech overlap. Class begins to repeat and to mumble.*
	(negative noise)	Joshita: Me, me, me, me.	
	(affirmative noise)	Joshita: One long nose blue turquoise.	
	Yes, turquoise blue. One long turquoise blue nose. So, if you've noticed, we put the adjective before the noun, they have the noun and then the adjective. So, they reorganise their structure, ok? So (inc.) one of the adjectives in front and some behind, ok? So, whereas we would say a long turquoise nose, they say a long nose that's turquoise, ok? So, écoutez et répétez.		*PARTS NOT COMPREHENSIBLE*
00:06:20	//…//Un long nez bleu turquoise.	TA: //Ready?// Class: Un long nez bleu turquoise.	
	//Aha. So, what word, in français, Saajid, is nose?//	Saajid: Nez.	*TA explains the words to Yadu*
	Nez. Good. What word in français is eyes?	Saajid: Uhm.	
	That's on the previous page.	TA: A blue long nose, yeah?	
	Who can help him? Isabella?	Isabella: Yeux.	
	Yeux. Ok. Eyes, yeux, nez, nose.	TA: (inc. repeats the words to Yadu.)	*PARTS NOT COMPREHENSIBLE*
	Une grande bouche rouge avec des dents blanches et pointues.		
00:07:02	Hmm. There's a lot there. Une grande bouche rouge, rouge. What's rouge en fr in English?	Yadu: I think red?	
	Red, exactly. What was red on the picture? Yadu?	Yadu: The red, black.	*TA speaks to him.*
	What is red on the picture?	Yadu: Mouth?	

	What body part?		
	His mouth, exactly, so we know that something in here is referring to his mouth.		
00:07:31	Une grande bouche rouge (inc.) oh go on then.	Child: uh the teeth.	*TA speaks to Yadu.* *PARTS NOT COMPREHENSIBLE*
	No, I haven't talked about the teeth, just a moment. So. Une grande bouche rouge, rouge, red, bouge…	Class: Mouth.	
	Grande…	Class: Big.	
	So big mouth red. So, big red mouth. A, good, or you could say one, we would say a. We would use the singular a. So, one big mouth red avec des dents blanches et pointues.		
00:08:16	Hmmm.		*Children make a lot of noise when they put their hands up.* *TA talks to Yadu.*
	Go on then.	Indra: With, uhm, with, uhm with…	
	Des dents blanches et pointues.	Indra: With pointy teeth?	
00:08:31	Pointy teeth. What word is teeth in there?	Indra: Uhm	
	Do you know?	Indra: Des dents?	
	Yes. Des dents. Dents. Think about it. Teeth, dents. What can you link that to?	Class: Dentist.	
	Exactly, that's how I remember that means teeth. I think, oh yes, dentist. Des dents. Interesting. Maybe a dentist was initially a French profession or maybe they have their roots in the same language.		
00:09:02	Ok. Une grande bouche rouge avec des dents blanches et pointues.		
	Deux petites oreilles tordues. I think that is right? Deux petites oreilles tordues. So, what are they referring to here? Look at the image.	Class: Ears.	*Coughing.* *TA talks to Yadu.*
	Ears. And what word is 'ears'? Deux petites oreilles tordues. Aamir.	Aamir: Oreilles.	*TA speaks.*
00:09:31	Hmmm. Exactly, that's one referring to the ears. Good.		
	So deux is…	Class: Two.	
	Petites…	Class: Small.	

	Oreilles…	Class: Ears.	
	Ok. Good. Look at this; don't worry about this for a moment. Look what you can do. You're pulling your number knowledge here. You are pulling together your knowledge about size and your knowledge of body parts in altogether. Brilliant.		
00:10:02	So, des cheveux violets ébou…	Marie: Ébouriffés.	
	Ébouriffés. Ok (laughs) (inc.)? I'm giving a clue.		*Children begin to guess, call out.* *Teacher slightly mispronounces the word 'ébouriffés'.* *PARTS NOT COMPREHENSIBLE*
	Hmm?		
	Curly hair. Yes. Des cheveux is hair. Violets is //purple//.	Erica: Purple.	*Speech overlap.*
	And ébouriffés…		*Children speak at the same time, some speech overlap.*
	Curly. Yes. Shh.	Marie: I think it's ébouriffés (inc.).	*PARTS NOT COMPREHENSIBLE*
00:10:35	Hmm?		
	No, I think that's sure that I pronounced it right – Miss Smith was teaching me before break. I'm sure I've got it right. I hope so.		
	Ok, une grosse tête verte effrayante. Une uh une grande, sorry et une grosse tête verte effrayante!	Erica: Uh.	*TA explains the words to Yadu.*
	What do we think? Turn to the person next to you. What does it mean?	Erica: I don't know because I know et means and one, and one…	*Children speak to their partners; some speech overlaps.*
	//Qaim!//	Erica: And one grosse. Joshita: Vert means green. Erica: Yeah vert. TA: What is the other one? Erica: Green. TA: No, I know what green is, but I don't know what the other one is affray, affray. Erica: Effrayante.	*Difficult to understand because of speech overlap.*
00:11:52	(teacher claps) (inc.) I had a chat about you.		*Some children join in clapping, the majority stops talking.* *PARTS NOT COMPREHENSIBLE*
	Ok, so, what do we think? So	Class: One.	

	et, une, what's une?		
	One. Grosse?	Class: Big.	
	Big. Tête?	Marie: Head.	
	Tête. Head. Vert?	Class: Green.	
	We are not sure about that one, are we? But?	Class: Frightening.	
	Hmm?	Class: Frightening.	
	Frightening. Well done, who knows that? Fantastic. What would we say in English, we would say and a big green frightening head. Ok? But what they've said is and one big head green frightening. Ok. So, using all of that. What you're going to do now, you're going have a go at creating your own monster in your topic books, ok?		*Children make happy sound.*
00:13.00	So, all you need to think about, uhm you're going to create your own monster in your topic books, all right and you will be able to show me. Utpal (pause) I'm waiting for you to turn around. Thank you. Ok.		
00:13:26	Our learning outcome for this session obviously then is to… what do you think it is?	Class: Monster, create	*Speech overlap.*
	To learn what?	Class: Monster.	*Speech overlap.*
	Hmmm?	Class: To create a monster.	
	But the main shh, the main thing obviously is then the context.	Class: Story, in French…	
	Is label…	Class: In French.	
	Label in français, in French. Good.		
00:13:59	So, you going to have an image of a monster of your own creation, then you are going to (pause) oh, it's nice enthusiasm but I haven't finished explaining Indra (pause), Indra.	TA: Yadu stop.	*Some speech overlap.*
	So, you're going to draw your picture of the monster, ok, don't go too mad 'cause we've got to be finished by twelve, ok? And then you've got to label it in French. If it is not labelled in French you haven't met the objective		

	really, ok? Just create the monster. I should think we change that a little bit, to label actually. French is the context. Open your books please. You need colours obviously.		
00:14:56			*The next 12 minutes the children work on their monsters, while I walk around. The children begin their task.* *TA works with Yadu.* *Teacher walks around.* *The children discuss how their monster looks like.* *The teacher interrupts from time to time to give tips and instructions.*
		Yadu: Only the head or the body as well?	
	Just the head or the whole body, up to you.		*Children continue to work.*
	This is really a 'do what you can, let's see what you remember'.		*TA and Yadu speak to each other.*
00:17:30		Erica: I need vert.	*Children continue to work for the next eleven minutes. Not everything has been transcribed due to speech overlap.*
00:18:29	If you don't have your book, then do it on paper.		*Teacher reminds children to be quieter.*
00:19:42		Erica: Marie, how, how do you say, what is legs in French again?	
		Marie: Legs? Jambs.	
		Erica: Thanks.	
		Erica: How do you spell that?	
		Marie: Arms are bras, and legs are jambs.	*TA helps children with vocabulary and spelling of the words.*
00:22:40		Indra: In French, would it be hot eyes blue?	
		Joshita: I don't know.	*TA gives example of the nose from the story.*
00:23:17		Erica: French is so cool, I like French, like the best lesson I ever had, it's the best French lesson. Marie, what's 'fingers'?	
		Marie: Fingers?	
		TA: Droite?	
		Marie: Yes, doigt.	
		TA: No, no, that's left or	*Teaching assistant asks*

		right, innit?	*teacher, her answer is not to do it if they don't know it, but then the children are suddenly certain that it is* 'doigt'.
			Children continue to work together, using Marie's expertise. Children think about the spelling of French words. (I took pictures of their work)
00:26:45	(teacher claps)		*Children join in and stop talking.*
	People pay attention.		
	(teacher claps again)		*All children quiet and clap as well.*
	Ok (clears throat), who's finished? Who's finished? Hmmm. Alright. I'll give you a few more moments. I know we only have half an hour, I'll give you a few moments to finish that 'cause I know that you don't like unfinished work just as much as me. But Miss needs to speak to some people now.	KK: Yah.	

Appendix 2.3 Extract from field notes written during the lesson observation – French, 28.06.2012

Appendix 2.4 Initial coding on observation template

The following is an initial sample of my coding from my base source material and was an absolutely essential part of how I later interpreted my data. For a more detailed discussion about my data analysis, also see *Section 5.4.1*.

3.3 DAY 2, FRENCH, THURSDAY 13TH OCTOBER 2011

Time: 11:30 - 12:00h

Present: 30 pupils (15 girls and 13 boys), teaching assistant, class teacher, researcher

Absent: 2

Aims of the lesson: Family members. LO: To describe. Context: My family. SC: I can say family members correctly. I can pronounce family members correctly.

Summary of the lesson: The children learnt how to say family members in French. The gender was introduced using different colours for le and la. The teacher introduced word cards by matching them to the picture cards. On display are the 'Je m'appelle booklets' from the previous lesson and map of France.

Lesson focus: How good is the children's French language use after half a term?

Display: 'Je m'appelle' cards and map of France.

Time	Lesson	Pupil's response	Facial expressions	Move-ment	Silence	Re-sources
11:33h	P greet when they see me. T: who can remember any phrases? All watch the video.			All children on desk		Rigolo video: Ma Famille
11:36h 11:38h	T: voici ma mère. T points to Simpson family on the board, P repeat it. T reads each sentence. T: what have I done? T points to board to the colour coded words. Voici mon père. Voici ma mère. Voici mon frère. T: why did I use different colours? Have a quick discussion. P have a quick discussion. [On my table sit one French speaking, one Bengali speaking, one Hindi speaking and two English speaking girls.] T: why have I chosen different colours? P answer that it is about boys and girls. T explains that this is feminine and masculine - like girl and boy. T: we keep it simple. T explains 'gender' briefly. One child says: m in mon, ma means my.	Seven chd put hands up Most P hands up	Attentive			IWB with pictures and words of the Simpson family Colour coded sentences in IWB

[Handwritten annotation in left margin:] gender

[Handwritten annotations in right margin and across lower table:] what to explore: multiple identities! Are children allowed to claim English? Exploring chd's long use. allowing pupils to claim English → multiple identities. identity. metalinguistic awareness relationship. was man die Sprache oder die Ausdrücke, gevil und boy, die englisch nicht, weil sie Mutter und nimmer feminin, masculine, nicht, masculine Sie meint Englisch!

11:45h	[T leaves this uncommented.] T points out accent on *mère*. T; what is this? T explains that this accent is to help to pronounce the word correctly. T puts cards on table, some with pictures, other with sentences like *Voici mon père*. T explains P to build a family tree. [*Iindra speaks Bengali, was born in UK but her parents were born in Bangladesh, **Joshita** speaks Malayalam and comes from India. **Marie** comes from Mauritius and is half Hindu half Buddhist. Her father is from England, her family from France, which makes her English, French, Hindu and Mauritius. **Rahul** is English born, but the mother was born in Bangladesh, his father died. He speaks English and Bengali.* **Tawfeeq** *has English-Pakistani Parents, with the grandparents he speaks Urdu, with the parents he speaks Urdu and English. "Look my friends here and here, we are all from Pakistan and communicate in Urdu."*].	Though most chil-dren lis-ten, quite a few drift off. P en-gaged, when finished they start to speak to me	Concen-trated	Group work	Word and picture cards
11:55h	T starts off with the first senten-ces, the other children follow. T shows a picture and says *Je m'appelle Bart*. Then T reads word card: *Voici mon père*. T goes through all family mem-bers [*Joshita* explains that there is no difference between female and male in her language. **Taw-feeq** *explains that Urdu dif-ferentiates between female and male.* **Marie** *explains that there is a difference between female and male in Mauritian as it is similar to French.* **Indra** *says that there is a difference between male and female in Bengali.*] T gives task to children and they complete it, reading it aloud.				
12:02h	T: tidy away. Suddenly T points to the dis-play, refers to it, as there are ~~sentences~~ sample sentences				

potentially could explore own language - only occasionally self-initiated

used as example in Community of learners → chd's language skills to support French

Appendix 2.4 Extract of initial coding on field note – French, 13.10.2011

Appendix 3 Interview questions

The questions below formed the basis of my interviews. However, their wording varied slightly or was elaborated as appropriate in accordance with the interviewee's responses. Where some of the questions are particularly pertinent to the responses of the interviewees, they have been repeated in relation to the comments which have been transcribed and analysed in the analysis section (also see *Chapters 6* to *8*). For a more detailed discussion on interviewing, also see *Section 5.3.3*.

Appendix 3.1 Interview questions and topics covered during the pupils' interviews

- **Background of children**
  Name
  Age
  Origin, growing up, school
  Can you tell me a little bit about yourself?

- **Languages spoken**
  How much or how little
  Can you tell me which languages you speak?

- **Home language use**
  Where
  With whom
  How often
  Where did you learn those languages? Can you think of an example when and where you use other languages? And with whom?

- **Knowledge transfer**
  Thinking in home language
  Thinking in English
  Thinking in French
  When and where
  Benefits of knowing multiple languages
  Third language acquisition

Can you tell me if you think in your home language during the lesson? While learning French as a foreign language, can you think of examples drawing on your home languages? Do you think it is helpful to know other languages and does it get 'easier' to learn other languages the more languages you know? Can you think of reasons why it might be helpful to know many languages?

- **Multilingual learning value, the status of the language and culture**
  Home language use at school
  Different status of languages
  Can you tell me about home language use at your school? And in your classroom? Can you think of any examples in your school about other languages or cultures, for examples display boards, assemblies etc.? Can you tell me if your teacher knows about the many languages you can speak? Can you think of any examples where you used your home languages at school? When and where? Are all languages the same?

- **Identity**
  Acting in accordance with multilingual identities
  Can you tell me about growing up using many languages? Where do you feel that you belong?

- **Children and learning**
  Expert-novice
  Perception of learning
  Can you tell me who the expert is in the French as a foreign language lesson? And in other lessons? Can you think of any examples during the French lesson where you learn together? Help each other? How is learning different in each lesson?

Appendix 3.2 Interview questions and topics covered during the pupils' mixed group interview

- **Home language use**
  Context
  Can you tell me which languages you speak? Where do you speak those languages? With whom do you speak those languages?

- **Knowledge transfer**
  Thinking in home language
  Thinking in English
  Thinking in French
  When and where
  Benefits of knowing multiple languages
  During our previous interview, we spoke about using all languages together.

Can you tell me more about this? Can you think of any examples? During our previous interview you referred to it as "mixing languages", "getting mixed up", "mixing up" languages, "getting confused", "using different languages", "going back to my languages". Can you tell me more about this?

- **Multilingual learning**
  Expert-novice
  Perception of learning
  During our previous interview, you mentioned "working as a team" and "working together with the teacher": Can you tell me more about this? Can you think of any examples? During our previous interview you said that language learning was getting easier and that you could use all your languages then. Can you think of any examples?

- **Learner community**
  Learning together
  During our previous interview, you mentioned "learning together". Can you tell me more about that? Can you think of any examples?

Appendix 3.3 Interview questions and topics covered during the teacher interview

- **Background of teacher**
  Name
  Origin, growing up, school, university, teaching experiences
  Can you tell me a little bit about yourself?

- **Languages spoken**
  How much
  How little
  Context
  Can you tell me which languages you speak? Where did you learn those languages? Can you think of an example when and where you used other languages?

- **Feeling of teaching a foreign language**
  Can you tell me how you feel teaching French as a foreign language? Can you think of any examples in your teaching career teaching a foreign language?

- **Knowledge transfer**
  Thinking in English while teaching French
  Thinking in other foreign languages while teaching French
  Benefits of knowing multiple languages

While teaching French as a foreign language, can you think of examples drawing on other languages (either English or another foreign language like German)? Do you think it is beneficial to know other languages and does it get 'easier' to learn other languages the more languages you know?

- **Multilingual learning/value, the status of the language and culture**

  Home language use at school

  Different status of languages/encouragement of using home languages at school

  Can you tell be about home language use at your school? And in your classroom? How does the school view home language use? Can you think of any examples in your school of other languages and cultures being valued? How do you see home language use at school? Can you think of any examples where pupils draw on their home languages at school? When and where? Can you think of an occasion when you have encouraged home language use? Can you tell me what you think about 'English only' approaches to teaching? Can you tell me what you think about language hierarchies? Do you think languages are ascribed different statuses? Can you think of examples?

- **Identity**

  Acting in accordance with multilingual identities/school as a site of multilingual learning

  Can you tell me what you think of children's multilingual upbringing? How do you think your multilingual pupils feel at school? Do you regard school as a site for multilingual learning?

- T**eacher and learning**

  Expert-novice

  Perception of learning

  Learner community

  Drawing on home languages

  Can you tell me who the expert is in the French as a foreign language lesson? And in other lessons? Can you think of any examples during the French lesson where the pupils and you learn collaboratively? How does learning taking place in your lessons? Are there any forms of assessment? Can you tell me how you feel about not having been given any form of French language training? Do you think lessons are prioritised at your school?

Appendix 4 Language diagrams

Appendix 4 provides some background information on the language diagrams.

Appendix 4.1. lays out the basis for the language diagrams and how

I introduced the language diagrams to the participants. In Appendix 4.2,

I describe how the children responded and provide samples of their language

diagrams. In Appendix 4.3, I discuss how data emerged from these language

diagrams. For a more detailed discussion on language diagrams, also see

Sections 5.3.2 and *5.4* as well as *Chapters 6* to *8* for a discussion of that data.

Appendix 4.1 The basis of the language diagrams and what I gave the children

In her research on literacy with bilingual children, Sneddon (2009) studied

children's language use. Part of the research included using an activity sheet

(see below) where children were encouraged to visually explore their language

use.
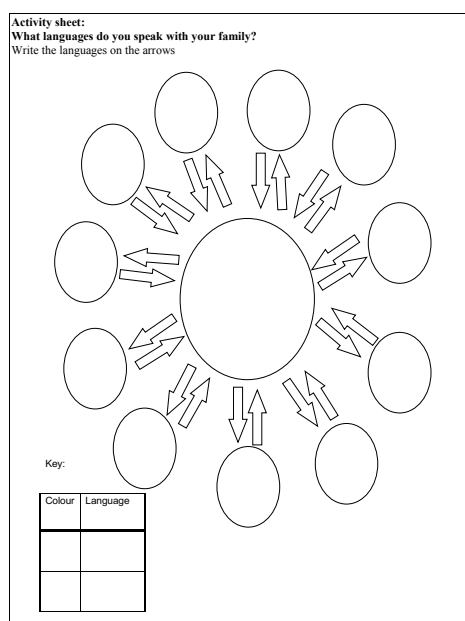
Appendix 4.1 Language diagram by Sneddon (2009)

I worked with small groups of four to six children at a time. All 30 children in Year 5 participated. One child had special educational needs and drew a picture of a flower instead of himself. I based my language diagrams on that of Sneddon (2009). However, instead of providing this template, I had decided to give the children a blank piece of paper. I asked them to draw a picture of themselves in any way they liked in the middle of the page. In this way I wanted to ensure that the children could freely express themselves on the paper without being constrained to a prescribed activity sheet and I hoped to support the children in actively exploring their social world (Marshall and Rossman, 2016). I then asked them to illustrate with whom they spoke their languages. While I spoke to the children, I also showed them what they were supposed to do. With the help of arrows, the children indicated which language they used with whom. So, the arrows connected the children with the people and contexts in which they used their languages. I ended the language diagram session with an interview part where I asked the children to describe what they had drawn. Here the children talked me through their drawings and their reasons for including certain people. In the end, the language diagrams illustrated how the children represented what languages they spoke to with whom in their family and immediate environment.

Appendix 4.2 The way children responded to the language diagrams

In the following, I would like to provide three extracts of field notes and six

sample language diagrams to illustrate how the participants responded.

I asked the children if I could do an activity with them and explained them what a language diagram was. All the children listened very carefully. I modelled how to do a language diagram. We clarified all possible questions and then the children drew their own language diagrams. The children had around 25 minutes. Most children needed that long. When they were finished they began to show each other what they had done, they seemed excited and told the other children in the class that they were doing something special with me.

Appendix 4.2 Extract 1 from field notes – Language diagrams 1, 09.02.2012

Like in the previous session, I asked the children if I could do an activity with them and explained to them what a language diagram was. Marie interrupted and said *"Oh, you mean a communication model? We did this with our family, if we loved them. Red meant you loved them and yellow meant we liked them. But this here is about languages and how you communicate, isn't it?"* So, Marie knew what to do, whereas Trevor found it quite hard and misunderstood the task from the beginning.

Appendix 4.2 Extract 2 from field notes – Language diagrams 2, 24.02.2012

I was still fascinated about how the children explained their diagrams to each other. I had observed this in previous times but, still, it was fascinating. Today, they suddenly began to show each other their diagrams and explained to each other to whom they spoke what language and which people had already died – hence they were unable to speak to them at all. Yadu drew a 'flower person' and labelled it with the body parts. He was very proud and showed it to me. The other children intervened and told Yadu that he had done the task incorrectly, but this did not bother him; he showed it to me and left the table.

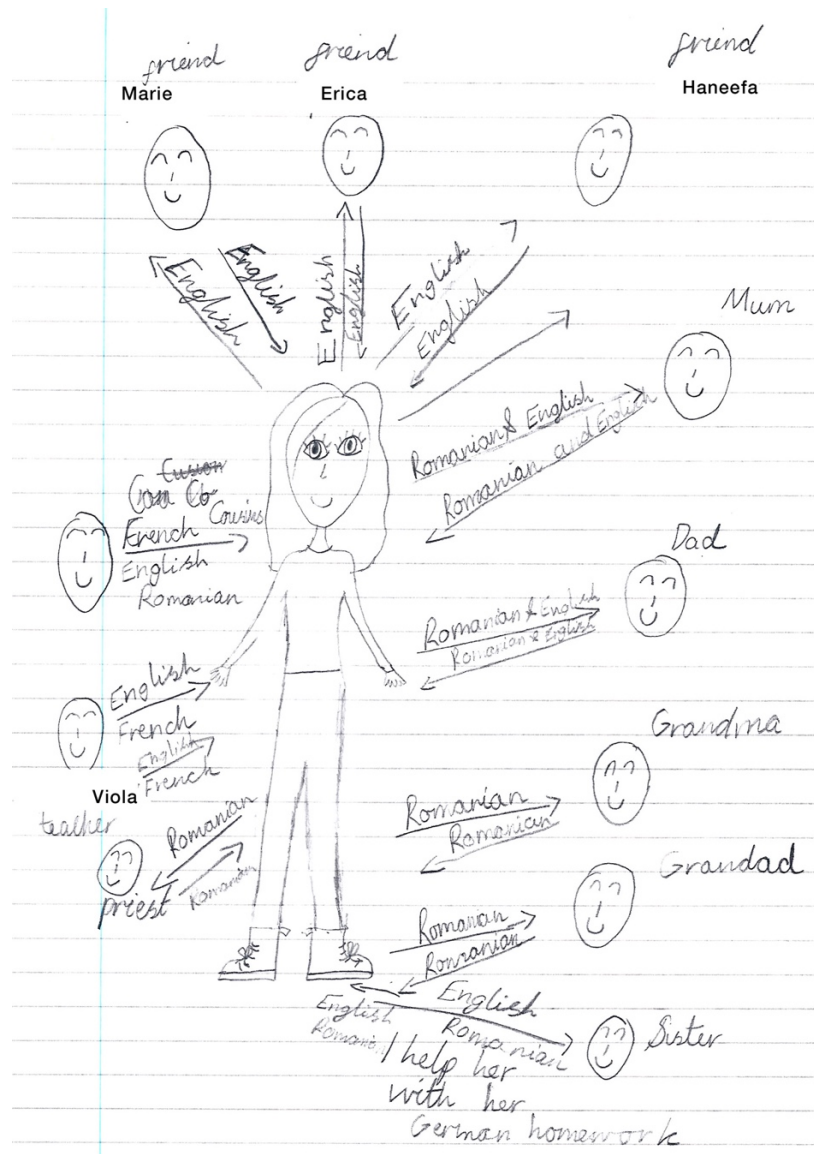Appendix 4.2 Extract 3 from field notes – Language diagrams 3, 15.03.2012

In the following, I provide samples of the children's language diagrams.
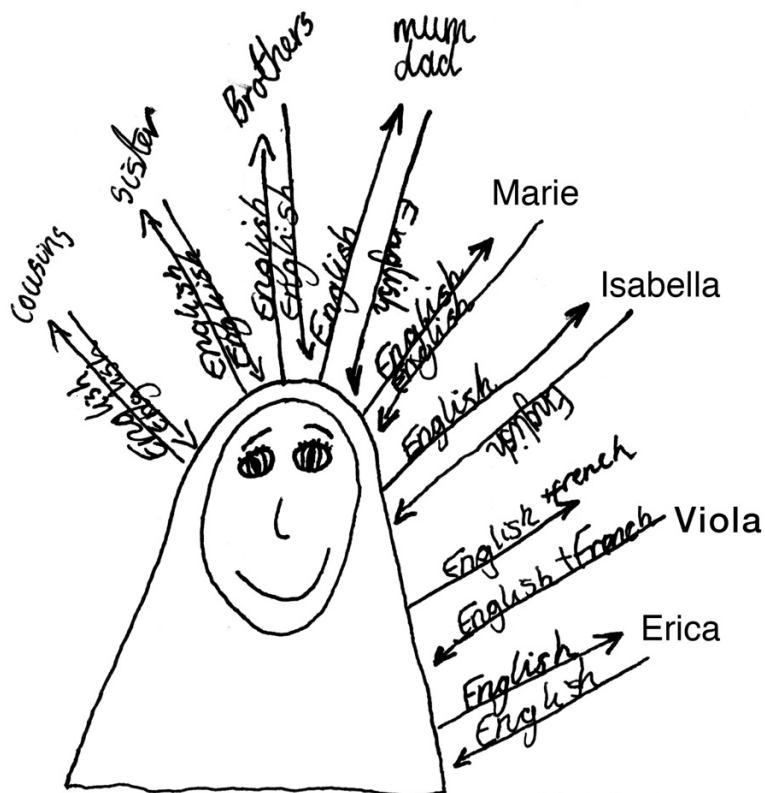
Appendix 4.2 Language diagram – Haneefa, 15.03.2012
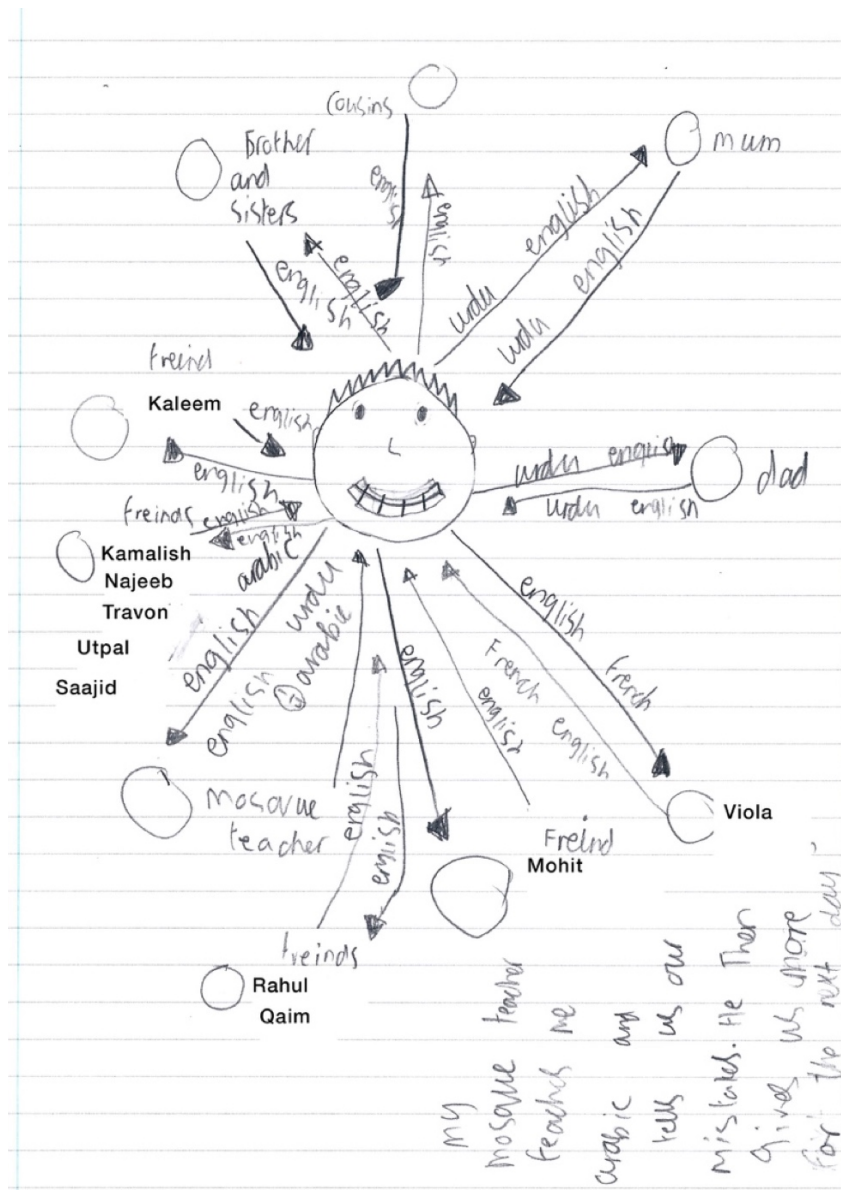
Appendix 4.2 Language diagram – Dawar, 09.02.2012

Appendix 4.2 Language diagram – Isabella, 22.03.2012

Appendix 4.3 How did data emerge from the language diagrams?

In this section, I would like to discuss briefly how data emerged from the language diagrams already dealt with to some extent in *Section 5.4* where I detailed the method of analysis.

All 30 children drew a language diagram. So, drawing on my analytical procedures explained in *Section 5.4.2,* I began to look for themes and categories. For example, when I started to collate and summarise the language

diagrams, I started to note down all the people indicated on the diagrams, i.e. mother, grandmother, teacher, etc. I then began to sort them into broader categories and themes. My analysis of the language diagrams suggested four main settings in which the children engaged drawing on their language repertoire. I broke down the overarching theme "setting" into four categories: "friends", "faith community", "family" and "school". The category "friends" included all the children's friends. Here I had to ask the children as I was not always sure when looking at the diagrams whether that person was a family member or a friend. The category "faith community" included all people belonging to that community (faith leaders and faith teachers); however, this did not include family members or friends. In this respect the oral part of the language diagrams, when the children explained their drawings to me, was very important so as not to make any mistakes when forming these categories (also see *Section 5.3.2*). The category "family" included all family members (parents, siblings, cousins, grandparents and so forth). The category "school" included the teaching staff. These four general categories proved to be the most helpful for working with the data.

The following table provides an overview of the settings which emerged from the language diagrams. However, I would like to point out that each language diagram was unique as each child individually explored their language use. Therefore, not all children mentioned the same languages or settings in which they spoke their languages. Here, using other data such as observations and interviews were useful as they complemented the language diagrams (also see *Section 4.1.5* on the notion of triangulation).

Appendix 4.3 Table with initial of data emerging from the language diagrams

	Children	Faith setting	Family	Friend	School
1	Aalia	U	E, U	E	
2	Aamir	A	E	E	F
3	Ablaa	A, E	E, U	E	E, F
4	Amrita	A, B, E	B, E	B, E	E, F, I
5	Arwa	U	U	E	E, F
6	Basma	E, U	E, U	E	E, F
7	Claudiu		E, R	R	
8	Dawar	A, E, U	E, U	E	E, F
9	Erica		E, Ta		E, F, S
10	Haneefa		E	E	E, F
11	Haniya		E, U	E	
12	Indra		A, B, E		E, F
13	Isabella	R	E, F, G, R	E	E, F
14	Joshita	M	E, M	E	E, F
15	Kaleem	A, E, U	E, P, U	E	E, F
16	Kamalish		E, L, T	E	
17	Maha		E, U	E, U	E, F
18	Marie	E	E, F, Mau	F	
19	Mohit	A, E	B, E	B, E	
20	Najeeb		E, T	E	
21	Qaim	A, E	E, G, P, U	E	F
22	Rahul		B, E	E	
23	Roshan	A, E, U	E, U	E	E
24	Saajid	A, P, U	E, P, U	E	F
25	Sanchita		B, E	E, U	E
26	Shakia		D, J		
27	Tawfeeq	A, E	E, U	E	E, F
28	Travon		E	E	E, F
29	Utpal	A	B, E	E	E
30	Yadu				
A=Arabic; B=Bengali; D=Dominican Spanish; E=English; F=French; G=German; I=Italian; J=Jamaican Patois; L=Latvian; M=Malayalam; Mau=Mauritian; P=Punjabi; R=Romanian; S=Spanish; T=Tamil; Ta=Tagalog; U=Urdu					

Besides codes, categories and themes the language diagrams also offered

quantitative data in term of the number of languages spoken and the number of

contexts in which the languages were spoken.

The language diagrams, however, enabled children to openly explore their languages use. Also, their discussions around the languages diagrams sparked off further points of discussion such as patterns of language use or how some languages were exclusively used within one setting, whereas other languages seemed to be more fluid in their use. Such discussions might have not been possible to such an extent if solely questionnaires were used. Depending on their format, questionnaires could have elicited yes or no answers or required answers to multiple choice questions or descriptive answers in some cases perhaps, but the visual formal activated the children's imagination and thus brought the children into a more creative, open space in which they could speak more freely about their language use.

Appendix 5 Additional documented data

Appendix 5 provides some additional documented data and pictures from my research. Appendix 5.1 provides classroom pictures of the Year 5 classroom in which the research was conducted as well as a close-up view of the French display board. Appendix 5.2 provides seven work samples from a French lesson. For a detailed discussion about the school setting, participants and the French lesson, also see *Section 5.1*.

Appendix 5.1 Classroom pictures

Appendix 5.1 Classroom Year 5, view of the of the right side of the front of the classroom

Appendix 5.1 Classroom Year 5, view of the left side of the front of the classroom

Appendix 5.1 Classroom Year 5, view of the right side of the back of the classroom

Appendix 5.1 Classroom Year 5, view of the right side of the back of the classroom

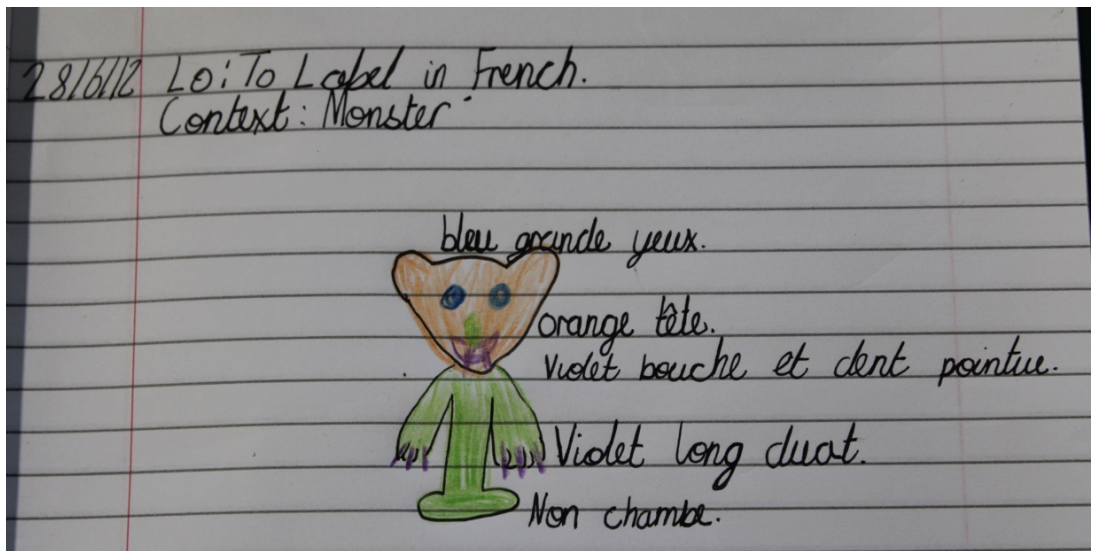Appendix 5.1 Classroom Year 5, French display board

Appendix 5.1 Classroom Year 5, French display board, close-up

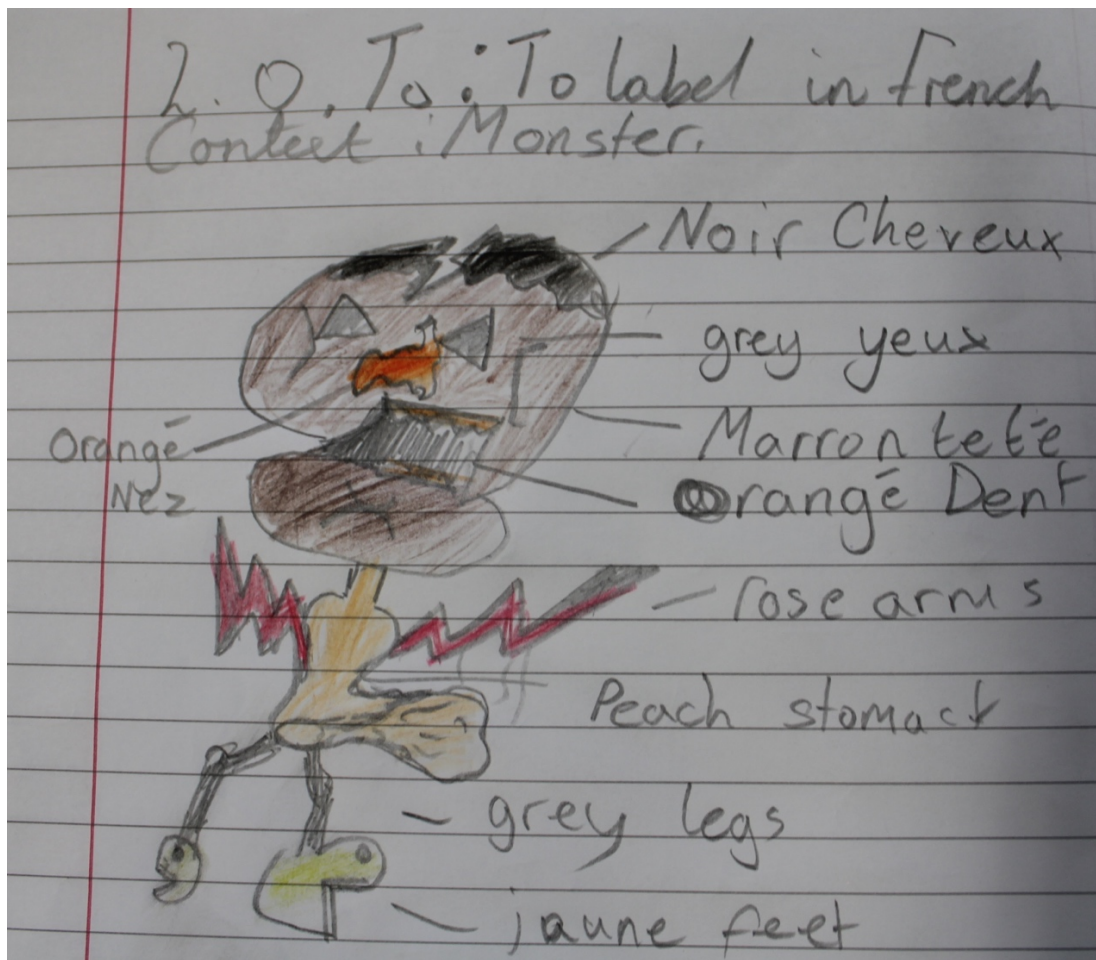**Appendix 5.2 Work samples from a French lesson**

These work sample are from the children's final French lesson in Year 5, shortly before the start of their summer holidays. This lesson was one of the rare occasions where all four skills (listening, speaking, reading and writing) were drawn upon. The children had listened to a story by the teacher involving many different monsters. Here, the teacher had paid particular attention to the sentence structure, i.e. the positioning of adjectives and nouns. Once children and teacher had clarified the vocabulary, the children began to draw and label their own monsters. Over the course of the school year, the teacher had taken a game-based approach to teaching, including songs, rhymes and stories which meant that hardly any written work was produced. For field notes on this lesson, also see *Appendix 2.1* to gain a better understanding of the context in which these work samples were produced.
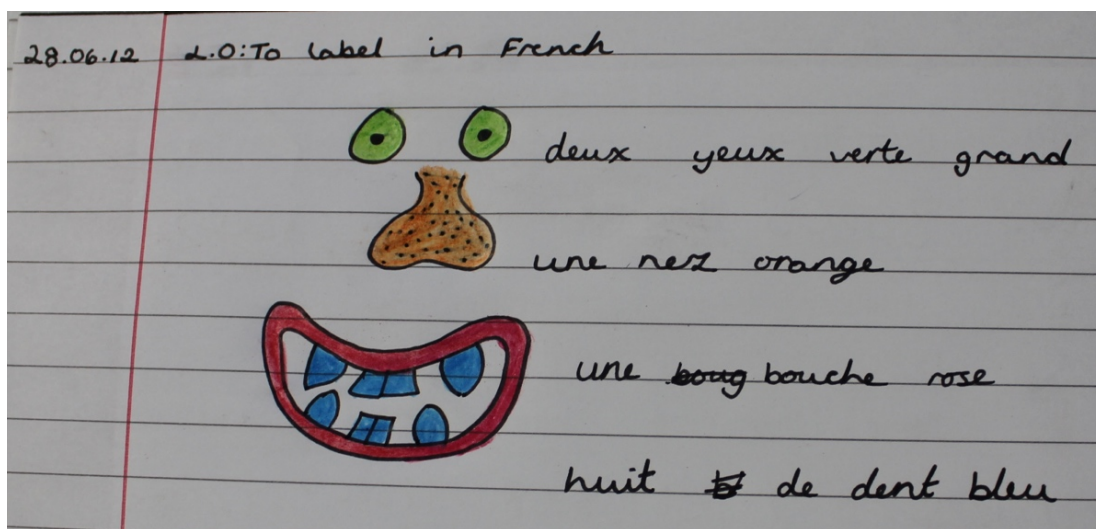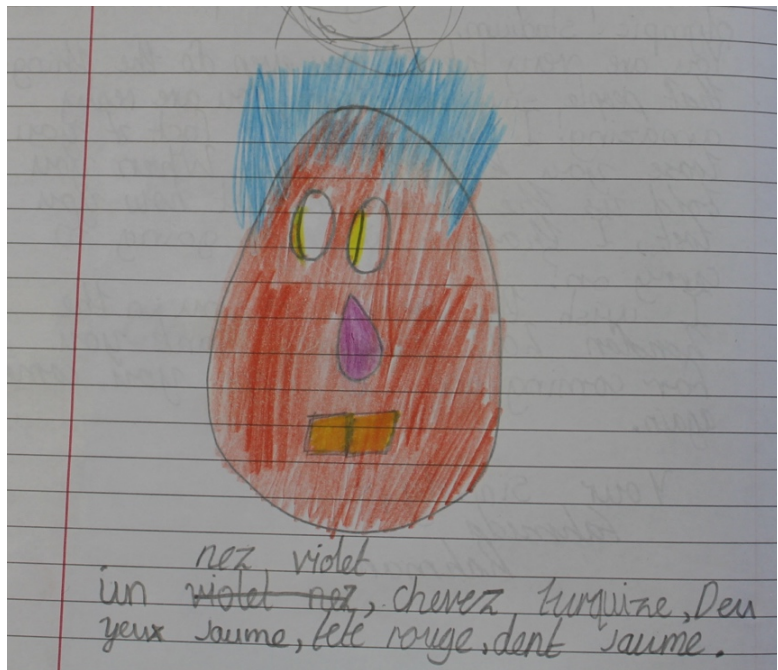
Appendix 5.2 Work sample – Erica, 28.06.2012

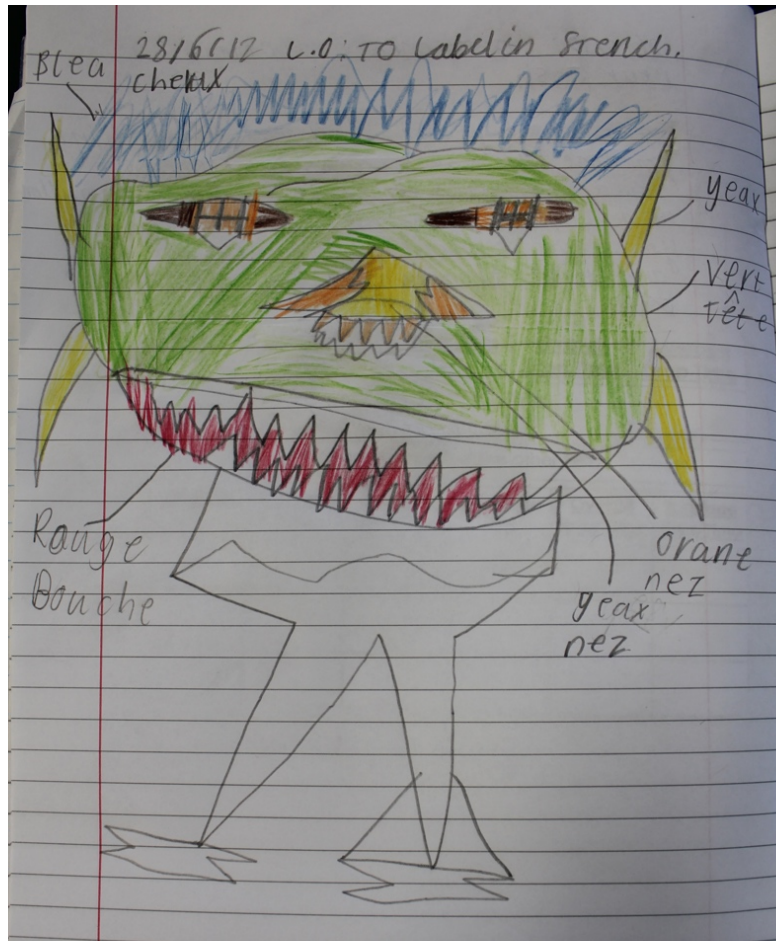Appendix 5.2 Work sample – Erica, 28.06.2012

2. O. To: To label in french
Conteet: Monster.

Noir Cheveux
grey yeux
Marron tete
Orange Nez
Orangé Dent
rose arms
Peach stomack
grey legs
jaune feet

Appendix 5.2 Work sample – Aamir, 28.06.2012

28.06.12   2.0: To label in French

deux yeux verte grand

une nez orange

une boug bouche rose

huit de dent bleu

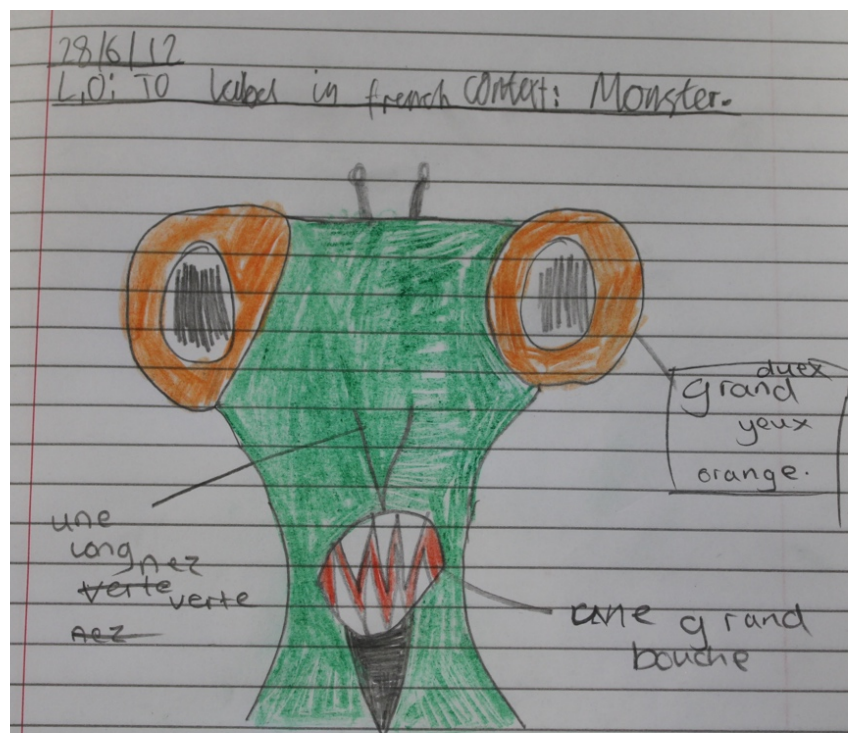Appendix 5.2 Work sample – Joshita, 28.06.2012

Appendix 5.2 Work sample – Amrita, 28.06.2012

Appendix 5.2 Work sample – Rahul, 28.06.2012

Appendix 5.2 Work sample – Saajid, 28.06.2012

Appendix 5.2 Work sample – Tawfeeq, 28.06.2012

Appendix 5.3 Long-term plan for Year 5

In the following I provide an extract of the long-term plan for Year 5. As I have maintained in *Section 5.1.4*, the school nowhere mentioned that, as of September 2011, French had been introduced in Key Stage 2, neither on the school's website nor on the curriculum maps.

Spring Term Year 5

BREADTH OF STUDY	THEME – STRUCTURES

History – British History – some significant events and individuals in Tudor times from different sections of society.
Geography – A locality in the UK (carry out fieldwork outside the classroom).
Art/Design – Working independently and collaborating with others on projects in 2d and 3d and on different scales.
Design Technology – Focused practical tasks that develop a range of techniques, skills, processes and knowledge.
Music – A range of musical activities that integrate performing, composing and appraising.
Science – Everyday effects of light
   o that light cannot pass through some materials, and how this leads to the formation of shadows
   o that light is reflected from surfaces [for example, mirrors, polished metals]
Science – Grouping and classifying materials
   o that some materials are better thermal insulators than others
Science – Changing materials
   o to describe changes that occur when materials [for example, water, clay, dough] are heated or cooled
   o that temperature is a measure of how hot or cold things are
	Enquiry Led Learning:
	
	1. How can you identify a Tudor home?
	2. Why do people insulate their homes?
	3. Hypothesise whether shadows would have been longer of shorter in Tudor times?

History Year 5 Skills	**Geography Year 5 Skills**
o use characteristics to identify changes within and across periods. (They can give causes and consequences of main events and changes.) o understand how some aspects from the past have been subject to different interpretations.	o offer explanations about the reasons for different and similar features. o offer reasons for their observations and judgements about places. o begin to suggest suitable geographical topics for study.

Art Year 5 Skills	**Design Technology Year 5 Skills**
o use observation, ideas, imagination and experience to develop their work. o prepare and develop an idea or a project for their work by collecting and organising visual resources.	o select between alternative designs o evaluate her/his work as s/he goes along, and adapt accordingly, according to the original intentions.

Science Year 5 Skills	**Music Year 5 Skills**

Discussing and Questioning:
  o Identify what may be changed in an investigation.
  o Use scientific vocabulary during discussions.
Recording Charts and Graphs:
  o Record results using stick and line graphs, with whole-number scales.
  o Use a sensible range of results.
Planning:
  o Plan an investigation in detail, including what to measure/observe, how to record.
  o When a fair test is involved, they identify the key factors to be considered.
Evaluating Results:
  o Make further predictions and test them.
Scientists:
  o looking at the part science has played in the development of many useful things.
Health and Safety:
  o recognise that there are hazards in living things, materials and physical processes, and assess risks and take action to reduce risks to themselves and others.
	Composing:
	  o arrange musical accompaniment for a simple song.
	  o compose using variation of keys, and in a variety of genres, using musical elements to create atmosphere, and creating balance of musical devices.
	Appraisal:
	  o recognise instruments in music, and changes in key within pieces.
	Performing:
	  o begin to sing in two part harmony).
	  o perform on tuned and untuned percussion using more sophisticated skills – two beaters, speed and dexterity, accuracy.

Appendix 5.3 Extract from the long-term plan – skill-based curriculum, Spring term, Year 5

Appendix 5.4 Mixed ability groups for the French lesson

The pupils were seated in mixed ability groups. The children did not have designated seats as long as they were sitting at the right table. The name of the groups and the assigned colours where chosen by the teacher and had no further meaning than to divide the class into smaller groups.

Yellow Group: Images

Aalia, Erica, Haniya, Roshan, Travon, Utpal

Green Group: Artefact

Ablaa, Claudiu, Dawar, Isabella, Kaleem, Shakia, Yadu

Purple Group: Create

Basma, Haneefa, Kamalish, Mohit, Najeeb, Sanchita

Red Group: Research

Aamir, Amrita, Arwa, Maha, Qaim, Saajid

Blue Group: Maps

Indra, Joshita, Marie, Rahul, Tawfeeq

Appendix 5.5 Ability groups for Guided Reading

For the Guided Reading lesson, the teacher had grouped the children according to reading ability. In the following, the groups are listed starting with the highest ability group in descending order. The name of the groups and the assigned colours where chosen by the teacher and had no further meaning than to divide the class into smaller groups.

Blue Group: Cruella de Villa

Erica, Haneefa, Indra, Isabella, Kamalish, Kaleem,

Purple Group: Voldamort

Amrita, Dawar, Joshita, Marie, Tawfeeq, Travon

Green Group: Bad Wolf

Aamir, Maha, Najeeb, Saajid, Sanchita, Shakia,

Red Group: Goblin

Aalia, Ablaa, Haniya, Qaim, Rahul, Roshan,

Yellow Group: Bill Sykes

Arwa, Basma, Claudiu, Mohit, Utpal, Yadu

Appendix 6 Ethics forms

Appendix 6 provides, in Appendix 6.1, the informed consent form for parents and carers of the Year 5 class in which I conducted my research and, in Appendix 6.2, the ethical practice research form from the Goldsmiths Departmental Ethics Committee. For a detailed discussion about gaining consent and the ethical considerations involved, please also see *Sections 5.1.5* and *5.2* respectively.

Appendix 6.1 Consent form to parents and carers

London, 15th September, 2011

Research project in Year 5: The use of home languages during lesson time

Dear Parents/Carer,

My name is Katharina Schulz-Pruss and I am a PhD student at Goldsmiths, University of London. As part of my research in bilingualism, I am interested in the children's home language use at school, particular in the French as a foreign language lesson.

For my research, I am hoping to visit Year 5 over the course of the school year and to observe lessons (French as a foreign language lesson and Guided Reading). Further, I would like to talk to the children and record the discussions I have with them. I would also like to use some of my observations and discussions in my thesis.

Confidentiality and right of withdrawal will be guaranteed at all times, and anonymity of the children will be maintained and personal privacy protected.

If you have any objections, please do not hesitate to contact me, the class teacher Mrs Baker or my supervisor Dr Charmian Kenner.

I would like to thank you for your cooperation.

Kind regards,

Katharina Schulz-Pruss

For further information, please feel free to contact me: k.schulz-pruss@friendstore.com or Dr Charmian Kenner: c.kenner@gold.ac.uk

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If you do NOT wish your child to take part in this exciting study, please sign this letter and return it to Mrs Baker.

Date: _____

_____ Signature of parent/carer: _____

_____

Appendix 6.2 The Goldsmiths ethical practice in research form

The following is a copy of the Goldsmiths ethical practice in research form
which was submitted and approved by the Goldsmiths Departmental Ethics
Committee in summer 2011.

Department of Educational Studies
Ethical Practice in Research Form

Name: Katharina Schulz-Pruss	Degree: PhD
Student Number: edp01ks	Year of Degree: 1 part time
Title of Research: How does bilingualism support modern foreign language learning in a multilingual primary classroom	
Supervisor: Dr Charmian Kenner	

Section 1:

	YES	NO	N/A
I have reflected carefully on the research that I propose to undertake.	X		
I have reviewed the 'Revised Ethical Guidelines for Educational Research (2004)' and 'Good practice in Educational Research Writing' published by the British Educational Research Association (BERA). Note that, depending on your research topic, you might need to review other published ethical guidelines (e.g. BPS, BSA).	X		
I have discussed the ethical aspects of this research with my supervisor, and my research complies with these guidelines.	X		

Section 2:

Research Checklist:	YES	NO	N/A
1. Does the study involve participants who are particularly vulnerable or unable to give informed consent? (e.g. young children, children, adults with learning or communication difficulties, patients). Note that you may also need to obtain satisfactory CRB clearance (or equivalent for overseas students).	X		
2. Will the study require the co-operation of a gatekeeper for initial access to the groups or individuals to be recruited? (e.g. children at school, parents, patients, people in custody, members of organisations)	X		
3.In the case of action research will the researcher inform the sponsor/host of the work they propose to undertake? (e.g. head of school)			x
4. Will the research be carried out without the knowledge and/or consent of the participants? (e.g. covert observation of people in non-public places)		x	
5. Will the study involve discussion of sensitive topics (e.g. race, bullying, sexual or drug activity)?		x	
6. Could the study induce psychological stress or anxiety or cause harm or negative consequences beyond the risks encountered in normal life?		x	
7. Will the study involve prolonged data collection or repetitive testing?		x	
8. Will financial inducements (other than reasonable expenses and compensation for time) be offered to participants?		x	

If you have ticked 'no' for all questions in Section 2, then please sign below and arrange for your supervisor to sign this form. If you have ticked 'yes' to any of these questions, then please complete and sign the second page of this form.

There is an obligation on the supervisor to bring to the attention of the Departmental Ethics Committee any issues with ethical implications not clearly covered by the above checklist.

Section 3:

Please provide a brief outline of your research:
My research aims to determine how bilingualism supports foreign language learning. Interconnected with this question is the role of the teacher, the construction of multiple identities and multilingual learning.

Please set out the ethical issues arising from your research:
When working with children, ethical concerns arise and must be addressed such as for example choice of participation, autonomy of the participants, privacy, and confidentiality. My data collection methods include observations in class (video and audio), use of language diagrams and semi-structured interviews.

Please identify how you intend to address these ethical issues:
All parents and carers will be notified through an informed consent form about the procedures involved in the research. The research guarantees confidentiality and the participants remain anonymous. For this, pseudonyms are chosen for pupils and the teacher. Throughout the research all participants have the right to withdraw.