

Pedagogical Spaces in the Primary School: Teacher Agency in Multilingual Pedagogies

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A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor in Philosophy

February 2021

Goldsmiths, University of London

Abstract

Multilingual pedagogies, which acknowledge and respond to the fact that an increasing number of children grow up with more than one language, can be seen as an emerging yet contested area of pedagogy in the UK and internationally. In England, the situation is complex, because teachers cannot rely on distinct curriculum guidance or a widely established body of practices in this domain, while overall schools remain framed by a culture of performativity. Against this background, this ethnographic study examines aspects that constitute, facilitate or hinder teacher agency in multilingual pedagogies, and asks how it can be enhanced in the primary school. The study draws on the subject-centred sociocultural conceptualisation of professional agency presented by Eteläpelto et al. (2013), and the ecological approach to teacher agency proposed by Priestley et al. (2015). Both concepts allow for an exploration of teacher agency that starts with the classroom, but considers also its interrelatedness with institutional contexts and teachers' professional subjectivities.

The ethnographic study was conducted in four Lower Key Stage 2 classrooms and one Year 5 class in three maintained inner-city primary schools in London and the East of England. The findings point to a monolingual norm in the official classroom, a dominant 'EAL-discourse' and a symbolic multilingualism as major hindrances to teacher agency in multilingual pedagogies. Yet, the analysis also identified tensions and possibilities within the monolingual status quo. Although those were small in scope, teachers' general agency in their classrooms, their reflexivity based on pedagogical motivations and experience, and their supportive relationships in the workplace are seen as potentially contributing to teacher agency in multilingual pedagogies. To enhance such agency, I propose to develop, conceptually and practically, a 'pedagogical space' that is best understood as co-constructed by teachers and their pupils and supported by education policy and the institution school.

Acknowledgements

For their comments, critical questions and encouragement, for their time and the dialogue they offered, for their patience with timelines and word counts, I would like to thank my supervisors, Dr Jim Anderson (in the first PhD year), Dr Vicky Macleroy and Dr Vally Lytra. Without the empowerment they provided throughout, there wouldn't be this thesis – thank you!

I am also very grateful to the headteachers who let me into their schools and to the teachers and children who allowed me into their classrooms, sharing so freely their experiences and time with me. Without all their superdiverse voices, there wouldn't be a thesis.

Finally, I would like to express my gratitude to the Department of Educational Studies at Goldsmiths for the departmental bursary that generously supported my PhD.

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1. Introduction

Multilingual pedagogies, which acknowledge and respond to the fact that an increasing number of children grow up in their daily life with more than one language, are seen as an emerging yet contested field of pedagogy in schools in the UK and internationally (e.g. Duarte/Gogolin 2013; Conteh/Meier 2014; Cummins 2017; Probyn 2019). Due to the field's interdisciplinary character, the rationales and teaching practices are multifaceted, and in addition teachers in England cannot rely on coherent or distinct curriculum guidance or a widely established body of practices as is the case in other domains of the curriculum. Against this background my ethnographic study, conducted in three inner-city primary schools, is based on the assumption that teacher agency – seen as practiced when teachers exert influence and make choices that affect their teaching in this area (see 3.2) – is crucial for further developments, and I explore how teacher agency is achieved in multilingual pedagogies, i.e. which aspects and features constitute, facilitate and hinder such agency. To explain my interest in this focus, I would like to position myself regarding the research topic with some biographical and professional notes – I discuss in 4.7, how these positionings may come to influence the research process – and to locate this focus in relation to the research literature. In the last part of this introduction, I will outline the research questions and the structure of the thesis.

My own language socialisation in West-Berlin was German monolingual, the different local varieties my parents brought with them were not really perceived by the child I was, and I only learned that at least one great-grandfather spoke Polish when I was already working as a teacher and issues of multilingualism started to interest me. In hindsight, when working in inner-city, working class primary schools in Berlin and Duisburg, I followed at first the mainstream of teacher education and pedagogy in Germany, which until the mid-2000s widely ignored the role of language for educational success and in particular regarding plurilingual children (see Gogolin 2006: 83). Before moving from Berlin to Duisburg, I had the opportunity to study in London for an MA in Education and Social Justice and to learn about anti-racist education in the UK. This offered me new perspectives and – back as teacher in Duisburg, perhaps the country's most classical rust-belt city, where the vast majority of my pupils was bilingual – involved me in the debate about the institutional discrimination of bilingual children, the development of German as additional language resources, in-service trainings and some action research on teaching academic language in science. Later, I was involved in emerging discussions of how to integrate students' multilingualism in in-service provision for teachers. I mention this pathway because it influenced not only my understanding of the educational participation of plurilingual students but also my experience of how my own agency as a teacher was enhanced by having access to knowledge and educational debates.

In the schools in Germany the vast majority of children I worked with were bilinguals or emergent bilinguals with, among others, Turkish, Kurdish, Bosnian, Arabic or Berber the other language than German, and the number of languages children had in their linguistic repertoire multiplied when I began working in primary schools in London. What stays with me is a combination of various pedagogical and didactical approaches and experiences as well as the puzzlement that comes from moving as a teacher from one society to another. Thus, I identify with Jean Conteh's description of her experience of moving back to the UK: "[i]n professional contexts, [...] I seemed to perceive things differently from the other teachers [...] feeling really quite alienated and de-skilled, something I have since found is not uncommon in people moving between very different working contexts within a profession" (2005: 9). As I became more familiar with teaching in the UK, I learned that the education system differs considerably, e.g. in relation to features like managerialism and performativity, from the environment where my professional agency had evolved previously. It could be said that I implicitly experienced teacher agency before I started to approach the theoretical concept.

While re-training as primary school teacher in London, I had the opportunity to gain insights from the literature on multilingualism in school contexts with the emerging reception of translanguaging (García 2009), superdiversity (Vertovec 2007) and plurilingualism (Anderson 2011), when preparing an essay for the Modern Foreign Language component of the Primary PGCE. Moreover and somewhat implicitly, my interest in teacher agency clearly grew as I realized that certain aspects of my profession which I had taken for granted were not easily to be found in another educational system (e.g. a degree of relative independence in terms of lesson planning and choice of teaching methods).

In my understanding, the ongoing developments around multilingual pedagogies might be seen simultaneously as local and as global, influenced as much by movements of people and their children as by changing perspectives in sociolinguistics, educational linguistics and language education. I would like to argue that from a teacher's standpoint these developments are certainly inspiring. Yet schools cannot follow easily the pace at which they unfold, and regarding the educational context in England, the current situation appears contradictory. On the one hand, scholars, teachers and students have generated knowledge and practices of multilingual pedagogies within classroom activities and research (e.g. Datta 2007; Sneddon 2009; Kenner/Ruby 2012; Anderson/Macleroy 2016; see also the research on complementary schools, Creese/Blackledge 2010; Lytra/Martin 2010). On the other hand, there exists – in the UK and beyond – a lack of guidance for teachers and a need for more research "to inform the development of user-friendly pedagogic guidance as part of more critical, cross[-]curricular, context-sensitive and flexible multilingual pedagogies" (Meier 2017: 152). Moreover, writing in the context of translanguaging, superdiversity and mainstream schools, Conteh asserts that teachers "are

still – in the main – not recognised as active participants in researching and developing models of pedagogy” (2018: 473), and that “the links between theory and practice in the field of multilingual education [are] generally [...] weak” (ibid.), due to a lack of official support for teacher education and educators’ professional development in this area. By approaching primary school classrooms from an ethnographic perspective and exploring teacher agency in multilingual pedagogies through the lens of the daily workings, the logics and the conditions of these classrooms, I would like to add with my study to the exploration of links between theoretical and practical developments with the intention to strengthen them.

The study sets out to investigate the interplay between the educational setting as a sociocultural context and the teacher’s professional subjectivities, and I hope to contribute with a new analysis to the limited literature on teachers’ agency in multilingual primary school contexts. Conteh’s study (2007) focusses on the professional identities and the language practices of bilingual class teachers and those financed by the then Ethnic Minority Achievement Grant, and on bilingual primary teachers working in a complementary school. The author argues for the inclusion of those teachers’ experiences and knowledge into mainstream educational practices and debates. Conteh, Begum and Riasat (2014) address various aspects which can be related to teacher agency in their study of a complementary Saturday class, in which teachers do not teach with a heritage language approach, but rather encourage children to use various languages in order to enhance learning. While those studies refer implicitly or explicitly to aspects around teacher agency, they do not engage conceptually with it. Venegas-Weber (2019), by contrast, adopts teacher agency as an analytical lens in her study of primary school teachers in dual language immersion programmes drawing on life history interviews.

I see it as the specific feature of my research that it draws on theoretical approaches to teacher agency and, therefore, includes and explores contextual aspects of the respective mainstream school setting. A second specific aspect that has been important in the course of the study was the inclusion of participatory activities with the children.

The study is guided by the following research questions:

Main research question: What constitutes, facilitates and hinders teacher agency in multilingual pedagogies?

RQ2: How can teachers’ professional knowledge, experiences and attitudes function as affordances for multilingual pedagogies?

RQ3: How can teacher agency in multilingual pedagogies be enhanced?

RQ4: How can possibilities for multilingual pedagogies in mainstream schools emerge?

RQ5: How could teacher agency be achieved in multilingual pedagogies?

To develop answers to these questions, I first outline, in Chapter 2, some of the developments of education policy that are relevant in the context of multilingual pedagogies and of teacher agency in the current primary school in England. In chapter 3, I present the theoretical frameworks of my study. I focus on the conceptual understanding of multilingual pedagogies on which the inquiry is based, before describing the two overlapping models of teacher agency, on which I draw. Chapter 4 presents the methodology and research design, and in this context, I will also address the ethical issues involved and my positionality as researcher.

In chapters 5 to 9, I present the findings of the inquiry. Chapter 5 looks at the five classrooms of the participating teachers as a context for their general teacher agency. In chapter 6, I focus on various facets of how the teachers and schools respond on the institutional level to the multilingualism of their pupils. In chapter 7, I take a closer look at the classrooms' conditions of mono- and multilingualism described in the previous chapter. In the first part, I present findings that allow for more detailed insights into how the prevalence of monolingualism is shaped and how it constitutes a norm in the 'official' activities of the classroom. The chapter's second part presents insights from the participatory activities with the children. The last part of chapter 7 is a stopover section in which I discuss what the previous findings on the monolingual norm and the children's 'superdiverse voices' might mean conceptually for multilingual pedagogies in the primary school.

Chapter 8 consists of three parts: first I present insights that are relevant for the question of teacher agency in relation to the workplace school; second, issues around teachers' professional subjectivities are addressed; and a third part explores facets of multilingualism in school as thematised by the teachers. In chapter 9, I present findings that are relevant for possibilities of multilingual pedagogies as seen from the perspective of the teachers. The chapter's second part draws once more on the participatory activities with the children, and I present insights that allow for an understanding of how pupils' and teachers' experiences could come together for further developments of multilingual pedagogies. Finally, in chapter 10, I return to the research questions to discuss my findings and to comment on the conceptual and methodological contribution I hope the study can make.

2. Context of the study

In the following sections, I will outline aspects of the education policy context that are relevant to a study of teacher agency in the field of multilingual pedagogies. Two major strands of developments intersect and impact on the field: developments in education policy in England generally and, more specifically, language education policy. Taking into consideration the devolved character of education policy in the UK, I will describe these developments only in relation to England, where the study was conducted. Both areas are, of course, complex, constantly evolving and contested, and in this short chapter, I can refer to them only briefly as the overall backdrop for the following ethnographic work.

Developments in education policy and their implications for pedagogy and agency

Since the early 1990s the English educational system has been characterised by continuous reforms and a general orientation towards performativity as the dominant approach of regulation. Stephen Ball uses the term performativity to describe “a technology, a culture and a mode of regulation that employs judgements, comparisons and displays as means of incentive, control, attrition and change” (2003: 216). From the perspective of a class teacher in a primary school, a variety of features come together in this constellation, most prominently the centralised national curriculum assessments (SATs) in Year 2 and Year 6, and school inspections through the Office for Standards in Education, Children's Services and Skills (Ofsted). In addition, since 2010, the Department of Education has the capacity to convert schools into Academies, if they have been deemed to ‘require improvement’ and are assessed as having failed to improve, thus reducing further the influence of Local Educational Authorities (Ball 2018). In relation to teacher agency, as conceptualised in this study (see 3.2), two further conditions appear highly relevant. First, the workload of English primary school teachers is one of the highest, compared to the working conditions of teachers in other countries (OECD 2019; Ofsted 2019c). Second, while Britain had inherited traditions of a decentralised curriculum, as Robin Alexander (2008: 47) explains, the fundamental transformation brought about through the introduction of a National Curriculum in 1988, reinforced the tendency “in English educational discourse [...] to make pedagogy subsidiary to curriculum” (ibid.).

While from the perspective of the sociology of education the principles of autonomy and control regarding the teacher's work in state education (Gewirtz and Cribb 2009: 154-181) will necessarily always be in tension with each other, the education policy in England must be seen as strongly regulating both ends of the teaching process. That is, the input regulation through the curriculum is centralised, and although the National Curriculum (DfE 2013: 6) technically allows for teaching content

beyond its specifications, the forceful output regulation, i.e. the combination of accountability procedures and school inspections, de facto restrict such possibilities. In a study on teacher agency in the Scottish context, Priestley, Biesta, and Robinson argue that “the neoliberal reconstruction of the professional role has thus impacted radically on the possibilities for agency” (2015: 126).

Developments in language education policy and implications for multilingual pedagogies

Although statistics in areas related to languages and ethnicity have been problematised on linguistic, ideological and pragmatic grounds (e.g. Busch 2016; Bonnett/Carrington 2000; Vertovec 2007), a few statistical figures can help to set out the context for multilingualism and education. In England, the number of pupils aged 5 to 16 who were recorded by their schools as speaking English as an additional language has increased from 7.6% in 1997 to 16.2% in 2013. While the total number was just over one million in England in 2013, the percentages varied considerably between c. 6% in the South West and North East to 43% in Outer and 56% in Inner London (Strand et al. 2015: 5). Currently, 21.3% of pupils in English primary schools and 17.1% of pupils in secondary schools are recorded as speaking English as an additional language (DfE 2020a).

I would now like to address briefly the current situation in relation to the domains of (1) community languages in complementary schools, (2) English as additional language in mainstream schools, and (3) the overall status of modern foreign language learning in mainstream schools as thematised in current debates.

(1) While the Bullock Report had expressed in pedagogically holistic terms the principle that “[n]o child should be expected to cast off the language and culture of the home as he [sic] crosses the school threshold...” (DES 1975: 286), education policy’s overall position towards community languages was shaped decisively ten years later by the Swann report (DES 1985). It suggested that a provision for community languages would be the responsibility of the minority communities themselves instead of taking place in mainstream schools (Anderson/Macleroy 2015: 244). This perspective has guided education policy ever since and results in “a general failure of mainstream education in the UK to recognise and value the linguistic and cultural capital that children bring and to draw on it as a learning resource” (Anderson 2016: 18). While research has emphasised the important role that complementary schools play in language and literacy learning as well as for children’s and young people’s negotiations around identities and affiliations (e.g. Lytra/Martin 2010), these schools are often, as the British Academy (2019: 5) recently put it, invisible to and disconnected from the mainstream education system. They also operate under financially difficult circumstances that have

been exacerbated by the general education policy described above, since Local Education Authorities saw both their influence to support the mainstream schools and their financial resources diminished over the decades (Rampton et al. 2020: 12).

(2) Educational reforms since the early 1990s that restructured the state school system by establishing market-like mechanisms (Ball 2013: 138-147) also had a considerable impact on the teaching of English as an additional language. As the management of the schools' budget was moved to the individual school, this included the financial arrangements for EAL provision, and most EAL support teams, which had previously been part of the Local Authorities, were disbanded (Rampton et al. 2020: 9). Since the late 1980s and following the recommendations of the Swann Report (DES 1985: 385), EAL support has been integrated into the mainstream classroom. This 'mainstreaming' was primarily a response to the anti-discriminatory critique of separate provisions for pupils new to English (Leung 2016: 162). Yet, the wider organisational reconfiguration of schools and the fact that the curriculum does not include any specifications for EAL (ibid.: 164) results currently in a situation that must be seen as characterised by "the lack of adequate initial and in-service teacher education, the lack of EAL-sensitive curriculum and assessment provision, and the lack of recognition of the importance of nurturing pupils' own languages in the school curriculum" (Leung 2019: 18).

(3) It would be important to look at developments around language education in far more detail than is possible here (see for a recent summary Rampton et al. 2020). However, for the overall development of language education in England as a point of reference for multilingual pedagogies in the primary school, it appears particularly useful to highlight two paradoxical constellations. Leung (2016: 166) argues that the development of EAL provision and the mainstreaming of EAL can be interpreted as an implicit endorsement for the English-medium school as opposite to, say, a search for alternative routes and curricular arrangements, in which children's home languages might play a role. The second paradox is addressed concisely in the question whether English needs to be seen as the elephant in the room. Using this metaphor, Lanvers highlights "the paradox of multilingualism and monolingualism [...] in that a great variety of ethnic minority languages (e.g. Bengali, Punjabi, Urdu, Polish) are spoken but many English speakers show little competence in other languages" (2011: 63). Thus, a report for the Teaching Schools Council stated that "currently fewer than half of pupils take a GCSE in a language, and only one third of pupils achieve a good GCSE grade in a language. Beyond GCSE, modern languages are in crisis" (TSC 2016: 2). Yet, over 80 languages are taught in, according to estimations, more than 3000 complementary schools in England (CILT et al. 2009). While the 'language crisis' is a recurrent description of the situation, it might be said that wider political and

economic perspectives begin to include bilingual children in the dominant debate on this situation. In the words of the All-Party Parliamentary Group on Modern Languages:

“The languages ‘supply chain’ through schools is drying up. GCSE and A Level figures are historically low. Exam entries in ‘languages with smaller cohorts’ – some of the most strategically important for the future – are minuscule, despite 2 million bilingual children in our schools” (2019: 2)

What is implicitly addressed here is the status that different languages have in society as a whole. While GCSE and A level assessment is currently available in c. 15 languages (Rampton et al. 2020: 12), and although the requirement for mainstream primary and lower secondary schools to choose only one of seven languages for teaching was removed in 2013, de facto, it is mainly European languages that schools teach as Modern Foreign Languages at these levels (Anderson/Macleroy 2015: 247). Against this background, the scholars emphasise the necessity to conceptualise pedagogical approaches that respond dynamically to local conditions and the languages pupils learn at home, while promoting at the same time plurilingual language skills for all students (ibid.: 243).

3. The theoretical framework of the study

In this chapter, I will describe the theoretical frameworks employed in the study. In 3.1 I will present perspectives on multilingual pedagogies, and in 3.2 I describe the two approaches to teacher agency used in this study.

3.1 Multilingual pedagogies

Multilingual pedagogies might be usefully seen as a multi-layered field, and many of the currently influential concepts in this field result themselves from trans-/interdisciplinary perspectives (see May 2014b; Douglas Fir Group 2016; Blackledge/Creese 2018). Moreover, “one of the difficulties in speaking about multilingual pedagogies is that it always has to be done in the plural” (García/Flores 2012: 232). That is, multilingual pedagogies need to adapt to various conditions of education systems and altering spaces within schools, which result from communities’ and teachers’ views and values, as well as varying experiences of pupils and educational goals (ibid.). Thus, to relate this field to the present urban mainstream primary school requires certain theoretical choices for this study, and I would like to explain these in three parts: first, I describe how I understand the primary school as a place for multilingual pedagogies, which are relevant there, as I will argue, at two different planes (3.1.1). Second, I will present elements of multilingual pedagogies in the systematic ways suggested recently in the literature (3.1.2). And finally, I will mention a range of approaches within multilingual pedagogies that are relevant for the primary school context (3.1.3).

3.1.1 Approaching two planes of multilingual pedagogies

In this study, ‘multilingual pedagogies’ is understood as an *emerging* term that scholars have employed for various classroom contexts, in which activities use other languages than the respective main language of instruction. For example, Weber (2014: 139) speaks of multilingual pedagogies in the context of schools in South Africa, where teachers draw on code-switching strategies to develop learning and exploratory talk; Sneddon (2014) uses the term regarding the inclusion of pupils’ plurilingual literacy skills and dual language books as well as in relation to other processes of bilingual learning in the primary classroom (Kenner/Ruby 2012); and Conteh (2015) uses ‘multilingual pedagogy’ to indicate not only the use of various languages within a multilingual complementary primary classroom but also the inclusion of pedagogical concepts such as funds of knowledge (Gonzalez et al. 2005) and exploratory talk (Barnes 2008). Moreover, the notion is used in the context

of US teacher education, where it is argued that future teachers need to experience orientations of language-as-resource (Ruiz 1984/2017) in their pre-service courses in order to implement such approaches later in school (Catalano et al. 2016; Catalano/Hamann 2016). Finally, Meier and Conteh (2014) and Meier (2017) apply ‘multilingual pedagogies’ in their conclusion, and review respectively what they describe as the multilingual turn in language education. It is against this wider background that I use ‘multilingual pedagogies’ as an umbrella term in this study. This allows for a *multiplicity* of approaches and – within this study on teacher agency – also for conceptual flexibility, which appears necessary given the lack of any reference to multilingualism in the current English primary curriculum, and also makes it easier for educators to create links with ongoing work. I would like to argue that an additional advantage of using the notion of multilingual pedagogies lies – especially in the primary school context – in the fact that it explicitly acknowledges *pedagogies*. That is, emphasising ‘*pedagogies*’ makes it possible to thematise the interplay between teaching/learning activities and associated educational and (socio-)linguistic theories, as well as values and reasonings. Robin Alexander suggests that pedagogy “is what one needs to know, and the skills one needs to command, in order to make and justify the many different kinds of decision of which teaching is constituted” (2008: 47). Taking up these formulations, it could be said that *multilingual pedagogies are what one needs to know about multilingualism, multilingual learning and learners, and the skills one needs to command, in order to make and justify the many different kinds of decision of which teaching is constituted, when it acknowledges, includes, and uses other languages than the main language of instruction*. The distinction between *acknowledgment*, *inclusion* and *use* follows the suggestion that in order to build on pupils’ linguistic and cultural strengths and to develop multilingual awareness and tolerance “educators plan carefully the ways in which all the students’ home languages and their language practices are acknowledged, included and used in the classroom” (García/Flores 2012: 242). A broadly similar distinction between *acknowledgement* and *use* in instruction, seen as located on a continuum, features also in a conceptual model developed in the context of schools in Fryslân, an official bilingual region of the Netherlands (Duarte/Günther-van der Meij 2018: 29).

Before I report below how the notion of multilingual pedagogies has been elaborated more systematically in the literature, I want to outline how I understand, for the purpose of this study, *the mainstream school as a place for multilingual pedagogies*. I would like to do this for two reasons: first, I intend to link my inquiry to a ‘critical’ perspective on multilingualism. Blackledge and Creese argue that a critical perspective is required, because, on the one hand, political discourses about minority languages and plurilingual speakers are deeply entangled in the construction and reproduction of social difference. On the other hand, a critical perspective allows to examine terms like ‘multi’- or ‘bilingualism’ themselves and how they are historically and socially constructed (2010: 5-6). Second,

when it became evident during the research process that multilingual activities were – apart from the MFL lessons – not observable in the official classroom, it became even more relevant for an exploration of teacher agency in mainstream schools to have conceptually a point of reference that would allow me to explore the status quo alongside possible developments in conjunction with the projective dimension of teacher agency. Therefore, I distinguish between *two planes of multilingual pedagogies*: a plane of *pedagogical practices* and another of reflexivity in relation to a *nexus of three aspects that are relevant for the school as a place for multilingual pedagogies*. The second plane is linked to sociolinguistic perspectives and also brings together insights from two strands of research in classrooms. On the one hand, it relates to those findings that have shown a strong prevalence of monolingualism in the mainstream classroom (e.g. Bourne 2001, Welply 2017, Cunningham 2019), indicating that children compartmentalise their plurilingual repertoires and cease to use one of their languages – traditionally called the ‘home languages’ – as they are well aware of the ‘institutional silence’ towards those languages (Kenner/Ruby 2012: 2). On the other hand, it relates to research in complementary schools that offer insights into how pupils negotiate about the meanings that speaking a certain language or that speaking more than one language has for them (e.g. Blackledge/Creese 2010; Lytra 2011; Li 2014). The nexus of three aspects that are relevant for the school as a place for multilingual pedagogies can be visualized as a triangle (fig. 1); that is the three aspects are interrelated, and activities of multilingual pedagogies intervene in the nexus between them and may influence each of them.

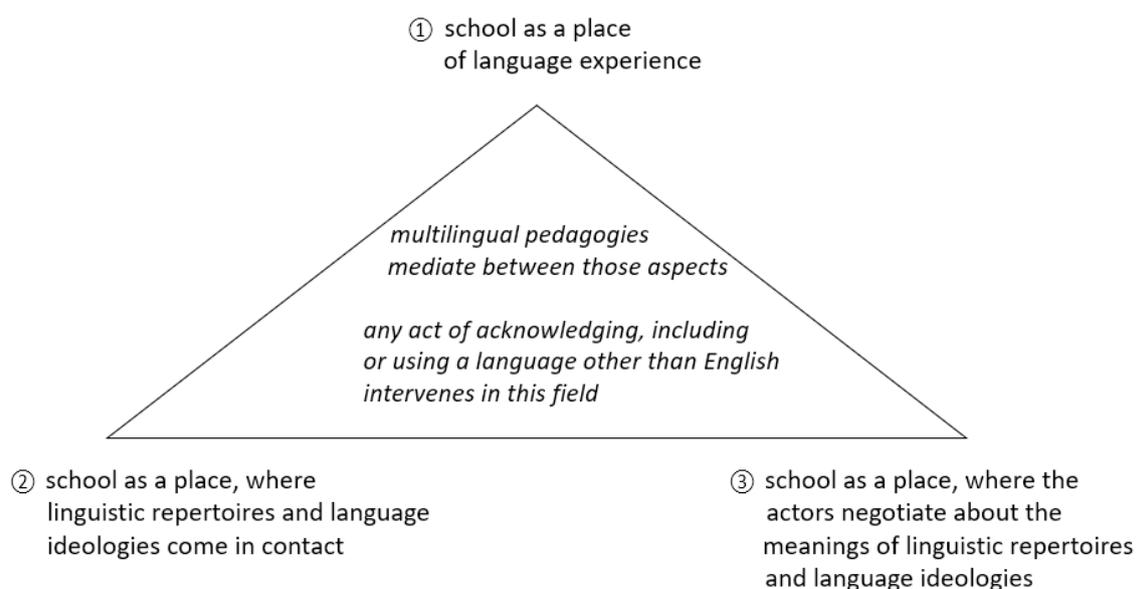


fig.1: three aspects of the school as a place for multilingual pedagogies

In the context of biographically oriented research, Busch (2012, 2015, 2017) suggests a perspective which highlights the individual's linguistic repertoire and 'the lived experience of language'. *School as a place of language experience (1)* could be considered a first aspect, which I initially associated with students. However, the interview data showed that the school needs to be seen also as a place of and for the language experience of teachers. Busch argues further for combining the concept of the linguistic repertoire and poststructuralist perspectives to enhance our understanding of the ways in which the linguistic repertoire of the subject is affected by language ideologies and societal discourses:

"Language ideologies or discourses on language and language use, on linguistic normativity, appropriateness, hierarchies, taboos, etc., translate into attitudes, into the ways in which we perceive ourselves and others as speakers, and into the ways in which these perceptions are enacted in language practices that confirm, subvert or transform categorisations, norms and rules" (2017: 52).

This points to the aspect of the *school as a place, where linguistic repertoires and language ideologies come in contact (2)*, which brings together the perspective of the subject – the child or young person and his/her entire linguistic repertoire, as well as that of teachers and other actors in school – and an understanding of the school setting as a space constituted and framed by those ideologies and discourses around multilingualism which exist in wider society in their entanglement, with discourses on nation state, immigration, multiculturalism, racism, and social cohesion (Blackledge 2004; Blackledge/Creese 2010: 4-10). With this aspect in mind, it becomes possible to consider the ways in which those ideologies and discourses may operate in school, and to address questions of multilingual pedagogies against this background.

The aspect of *school as a place where linguistic repertoires and language ideologies come in contact (2)* is relevant in relation to pedagogy and the school as institution for two further reasons: first, language ideologies are not monolithic (Kroskrity 2000), and schools are sites where ideologies are not simply *imposed* but also *produced* (e.g. Willis 1977; Apple 1982: 26). Importantly, school should be seen as a microculture that conveys pedagogical messages over and above those of the single classroom (Alexander 2008: 48). In the sense of the 'hidden curriculum' (see for an overview Portelli 1993), schools must be seen as places where meanings around languages, language hierarchies, and multilingualism are 'learnt', mediated, and eventually naturalized. Working with analytical tools like ideology or discourse and the related concept of subjectivation helps to explore how ideologies and discourses operate, while avoiding the misconception that they completely determine the subject. On the one hand, those meanings around multilingualism that are learnt and mediated in school need to be seen in relation to the ways in which the linguistic repertoire is used in school. As García and Li suggest: "Societal forces, and in particular schools, enforce a call, an interpellation, by which bilingual

speakers are often able to recognize themselves only as subjects that speak two separate languages” (2014: 15). It could be said that the East London children in Kenner and Ruby’s study, who have learnt to compartmentalize their use of languages, are a case in point (2012: 2). On the other hand, there might be also other subjectivations involved or subject positions at stake for students, and educators need to be cautious not to make assumptions about their pupils’ linguistic repertoires and avoid ascriptions or essentialisations when considering students’, or their families’, language practices and affiliations (e.g. Harris 1997; Rampton 2005; Anderson/Chung 2014: 289). Thus, it is important to consider a third aspect of the school as a place for multilingual pedagogies: it is *a place, where the actors negotiate about the meanings of linguistic repertoires and language ideologies* (3).

Consequently, the mainstream school can be conceptualized as a place where all children and teachers experience languages, where these experiences are mediated by the school and where meanings attributed to different language practices are learnt and negotiated. I would like to argue that the perspective of the two planes sketched here is useful for my inquiry for three reasons: it responds to the fact that multilingual pedagogies are not a distinct part of the school curriculum; it enables me to distinguish analytically between practices adopted in relation to multilingualism in the classroom and discourses on plurilingual children and multilingualism that are effective in school and can support or hinder such practices; and last but not least, it becomes possible to consider the relation between both planes when researching teacher agency in multilingual pedagogies. On the whole, it offers the possibility to draw on sociolinguistic perspectives and to ask how they can underpin practices of multilingual pedagogies.

3.1.2 Mapping out multilingual pedagogies

In this section, I will draw on two accounts as starting points: García and Flores (2012) provide a systematic description of ‘multilingual pedagogies’, and Meier (2017) offers a synthesis of the ‘multilingual turn’. I have chosen these two accounts because they outline the domain of multilingual pedagogies as an evolving and dynamic field, and point to ‘translanguaging’ and the ‘multilingual turn’ respectively as two notions that have become paradigmatic during the last decade. In addition, I will also highlight notions that have proven relevant for the analysis of the classrooms encountered in the research. I follow the terminology used by the respective scholars, before discussing terminological issues in more detail at the end of the section.

García and Flores (2012: 233) distinguish between four types of socio-educational contexts for multilingual pedagogies: (1) foreign language teaching; (2) second language teaching; (3)

bilingual/monoglossic instruction; and (4) plurilingual/heteroglossic instruction. Starting with this classification of the school's inclusion of languages that are not the main language of instruction or not seen as belonging to the respective nation state – as the only supposedly legitimate reason for instruction language choice – is helpful, since reasonings around multilingual pedagogies frequently refer back to those contexts. García and Flores identify ideological assumptions as well as underlying language uses and orientations on which these types of teaching are based. They see foreign language instruction as anchored in the monoglossic paradigm, which assumes that the acquisition of the respective language is linear and sequential (ibid.). Second language teaching is traditionally based on the same suppositions, namely the expectation that second language speakers would behave like first language speakers, and this perspective allows for the considerable negligence of the pupil's first languages in second language pedagogy, especially in its dominant version of subtractive bilingualism. Similarly, a primarily monoglossic approach has been adopted in the various versions of bilingual programmes. Although they use two languages for instruction, and aim at equalizing existing power disparities between minoritised and majority languages, those programmes operate – in their traditional form – with a monoglossic understanding of languages and language arrangements (ibid.: 234-235). Yet,

“diglossic classroom arrangements where the languages are carefully compartmentalized are being increasingly questioned. [...] foreign language, second language, and even traditional bilingual education programs are no longer sufficient when classrooms are highly heterogeneous linguistically” (ibid.: 235).

Going beyond such diglossic settings, García and Flores, who are prominently positioned in the development of the ‘translanguaging’ concept (e.g. García 2009; Flores/García 2014), suggest a ‘plurilingual/heteroglossic instruction’ that, as a form of ‘multilingual pedagogies’, adopts a dynamic multilingual lens and a heteroglossic language orientation, based on fluid language practices rather than on the concept of autonomous languages. Thus, students are encouraged to bring into the classroom their various linguistic skills, and the teacher refers to them (ibid.: 235-237). García and Flores’s classification can provide pointers for mapping multilingual pedagogies as a field with diverse yet complementing – or/and competing – elements. For any exploration of teacher agency, it seems relevant to consider that more dynamic approaches must be put forward in relation to currently existing settings and the logic behind them. Questions addressed might be: what can be gained in foreign language teaching from a plurilingual perspective? How might these perspectives be beneficial for emergent bilinguals in contexts of second language instruction? Furthermore – and importantly for a study in primary schools – it raises the question whether there are other pedagogical reasonings

that suggest paying more attention to the diverse language practices and skills students (and teachers) bring with them to school.

García and Flores argue that heteroglossic multilingual approaches are the next phase of development and mention three features that are fundamental to them: first, ‘language’ is seen as ‘linguaging’ – a perspective that articulates language as a social practice (e.g. Heller 2007) and also draws attention to the concurrent constant “becoming of ourselves and of our language practices, as we interact and make meaning in the world” (García/Li 2014: 8). Second, “[d]ynamic plurilingual pedagogies do not separate languages as if they were autonomous skills, but rather acknowledge the complex and fluid language practices of children in school” (García/Flores 2012: 238). And finally, those heteroglossic multilingual approaches are intentionally designed and carefully planned (ibid.: 239).

Dynamic plurilingual pedagogies have been developed most prominently in the theory and practice of ‘translanguaging’, which has proved in the last decade to be an effective practice in settings where the language of instruction differs from the languages of the students (Li/Lin 2019: 211). Studies have employed this approach and lens in very different educational contexts: in US bilingual programmes or mainly bilingual settings (García/Kleyn 2016a), complementary schools in England (Creese/Blackledge 2010), primary schools in officially bilingual regions or countries (Duarte 2018; Little/Kirwan 2019), pre-school settings (Latisha/Young 2017), primary schools in South Africa (Makalela 2019), and secondary classrooms in Germany (Duarte 2019). It seems to depend often on the respective educational setting, disciplinary stance and/or political context, how much weight scholars put on the contestation of the existence of named and bounded (often national) languages, how they further contextualise this politically (García/Kleyn 2016b; Li/Lin 2019), or whether such political stances are explicitly critiqued (Little/Kirwan 2019: 83, Jaspers 2020). However, Leung and Valdés maintain that

“the translanguaging paradigm both encompasses and expands on a set of growing concerns and shifting perspectives present in the study of bilingual and multilingual individuals and societies over many years as well as on more recent critical examinations of language and migration, superdiversity, and globalization” (2019: 357-358).

In addition, the authors highlight an imperative need to clarify the concept further regarding *different* educational settings (ibid.: 365-366). Although Leung and Valdés refer to practices that are actually implemented, and such strategies were in my study – with one exception (see 6.1) – not part of the data from the participant observations, I want to mention how I draw in the description of the classrooms and their linguistic relations on some conceptual facets of the translanguaging framework. Translanguaging has been defined

“as a process by which students and teachers engage in complex discursive practices that include *all* the language practices of students in order to develop new language practices and sustain old ones, communicate [and] appropriate knowledge, and give voice to new sociopolitical realities by interrogating linguistic inequality” (García/Kano 2014: 261, emphasis in orig.).

Ofelia García and Li Wei (2014: 120-121) link this definition to three categories of goals and possible strategies: the first relates to the *communication and appropriation of knowledge* (e.g. multilingual listening, reading multilingual texts and project learning); a second category relates to the *development of new language practices* and the *sustainment of existing ones*, and this includes metalinguistic awareness (e.g. via multilingual vocabulary inquiry and translating); and a third category of goals seeks “identity investment and positionality; that is, to engage learners” and “[t]o interrogate linguistic inequality and disrupt linguistic hierarchies and social structures” (ibid.: 121). García and Li relate the last two goals to “giving voice and shaping new sociopolitical realities by interrogating linguistic inequality” (ibid.). Crucially, they see all the listed possible strategies as oriented towards these last two goals and also suggest that translanguaging strategies can be used in mainstream or bilingual education.

I understand my choice to draw on facets of the translanguaging framework as in line with what I have outlined as aspects of the school as a place for multilingual pedagogies in 3.1.1. Three facets, in particular, have come into view and proved helpful during the data analysis: (1) the *thematization* of dominance and power relations, (2) the ‘*strategical*’ use of translanguaging, and (3) the inclusion of the position of the *bilingual speaker*. I found that these facets proved conceptually useful for the exploration of teacher agency in the primary school precisely because the translanguaging framework operates both on a theoretical level and on the level of pedagogical practice (García/Kleyn 2016a):

(1) It is relevant for the primary school to thematise the relation between the institution school and society’s linguistic power relations because this allows for an explicit consideration of how dominance is realized and how discourses on language use and monolingual practices become naturalised. The school is historically, although in a dialectical relation with the labour market, the place “to impose recognition of the legitimate language” (Bourdieu 1991: 49). More recently, it has been argued in the context of the paradigms shift from ‘multiculturalism’ to ‘superdiversity’ (Vertovec 2010) that the traditional association of ‘a language’ with a given supposedly monolingual nation-state

“has consequences for the hierarchisation of languages in society – accepting monolingualism as the rule implies that multilingual forms of practice, particularly those that are migration-induced, acquire the status of deviant or ‘illegitimate’ practices [...]” (Duarte/Gogolin 2013: 6).

From this perspective, the question arises what kind of pedagogical practices could be envisioned if multilingualism and multilingual forms of practice were considered as ‘the rule’. Furthermore, it might be asked what could be the specific task or contribution of the primary school, i.e. of a phase of schooling which is commonly regarded as laying the foundations for learning and for the exploration of themes of individual and societal significance.

(2) “Whether translanguaging as pedagogy is used as an active teaching practice, or as a student learning process, it is always used *strategically*, and is never random” (García 2014: 4, emphasis in orig.). García describes here one of the tenets of translanguaging pedagogy, underscoring the goal-oriented use of languages in the school. The translanguaging paradigm has been originally derived from classrooms in which the presence of two languages was legitimate and/or negotiable – in Welsh schools (Lewis et al. 2012a, 2012b), complementary schools (Creese/Blackledge 2010), chiefly bilingual settings and classes for newly arrived pupils in the US (García/Kleyn 2016a). Yet, in primary schools like those involved in this study, where children might speak forty or so languages between them, “bilingual education for all is not a realistic possibility” (Sneddon 2014: 122). Thus, it appears helpful to consider whether some strategies specified by García and Li above can also be understood as working towards wider goals such as learner engagement and the interrogation of linguistic inequality and hierarchies. From this angle, the strategic use of translanguaging would mean an active, planned teaching approach on the part of the teachers or a process within a pupil’s learning; yet within the superdiverse primary school, it could also imply that teachers plan pedagogically for activities that *strategically* do not accept the monolingualism as the rule and address hierarchisations in the sense formulated by Duarte and Gogolin above.

(3) A third conceptual facet from the translanguaging framework relevant to the superdiverse primary school is the inclusion of the perspective of the bilingual or plurilingual speaker. The translanguaging stance “takes *the point of view of the bilingual speaker himself or herself* for whom the concept of two linguistic systems does not apply, for he or she has one complex and dynamic linguistic system [...]” (García/Kleyn 2016b: 12, emphasis in orig.). A further aspect is foregrounded in the concept of the ‘lived experience of language’. In line with the observation quoted above (see p. 12) that language ideologies or discourses on language use translate in people’s perception of themselves as speakers, it is suggested that a *first person perspective* focuses on how speaking subjects “live language as a subjective experience” (Busch 2015: 2).

Writing about superdiversity in the context of translanguaging as pedagogy, Conteh (2018: 474) points to the degree of normalcy with which adults and children live linguistic diversity in their everyday life and their ‘superdiverse’ neighbourhoods. The term superdiversity was coined in migration studies to

emphasise three *interrelated* aspects: a descriptive one to portray the change in demographic configurations stemming from global migration flows since the early 1990s; a methodological one to overcome the narrow focus on ‘ethnicity’; and a practical and policy-oriented aspect to identify consequences for new provisions of public services (Vertovec 2007; Meissner/Vertovec 2015). I would like to argue that for many primary schools located in urban neighbourhoods all those aspects – including, importantly, the normalcy of linguistic diversity – have some significance. On the one hand, features like duration of residence, class, education of parents, legal status, and others may all frame the conditions of pupils’ life. On the other hand, linguistic superdiversity also includes the complex linguistic repertoires that may reflect recent migratory trajectories of some pupils’ families, but may be present also in families who belong to longer settled communities, which comprise of different generations with their shifting experiences of languages (Martin-Jones et al. 2012: 7). In sociolinguistics, the notion of superdiversity has been developed into a general orientation towards difference, asserting that through a sociolinguistic and ethnographic lens “superdiversity is able to challenge and contest the very social categories and structures which bring it into being” (Blackledge/Creese 2018: xl). In this study, however, I use the notion ‘superdiverse’ in a sense that is closer to its original meaning, as suggested above in the outline of the three aspects, in order to describe the linguistic circumstances in the classrooms.

Another notion that has acquired a paradigmatic status is the *multilingual turn*. It has been put forward as an umbrella term in two edited volumes that refer to language education (Conteh/Meier 2014) and Second Language Acquisition, TESOL, and bilingual education (May 2014a) respectively. Cummins (2017: 105) traces the evolution of the multilingual turn – in the broad sense of researching cross-language transfer and facilitating it in education – from his own hypothesis of a common underlying proficiency (1979) via the critique of the monolingual bias that views bilinguals as two monolinguals in one person (Grosjean 1989) and ‘multicompetence’ (Cook 1995) to dynamic systems concepts of multilingualism (e.g. Herdina/Jessner 2002), and further to conceptualizations of dynamic bilingualism and translanguaging. From a synopsis that identifies various themes within the multilingual turn (Meier 2017), I have chosen three such themes as particularly relevant for mainstream school settings.

Language-as-a-resource features prominently in the multilingual turn (ibid.: 142). Historically, it was introduced as an orientation for language policy to overcome the impasse between *language-as-problem* and *language-as-right* orientations, and it was seen as increasing “the language status of subordinate languages, [...] it can serve as a more consistent way of viewing the role of non-English languages in U.S. society [...]” (Ruiz 2017: 24). The perspective is vital for multilingual pedagogies as

they need to create affordances which enable plurilingual children to *experience* ‘language-as-a-resource’ for ‘doing something’ and for learning *in school*. The emphasis is on *in school*, since the children already know from daily life that, by using their entire linguistic repertoires, they can constantly enlarge the scope of the world which they interact with and act upon. Another theme commonly addressed in the multilingual turn are issues of power and ideologies (Meier 2017: 143-144), and social representation is thematised in this regard. Writing in the European and Francophone context, Gajo argues that as a very first step it is necessary to make languages visible in the school environment: “Such visibility is the initial condition for recognizing multilingualism as a fact, then as a value and, finally, as a possible added value” (2014: 116). This context can provide a background for exploring how multilingualism is represented in schools. Another influential theme in the multilingual turn is a reconceptualization of the learner. Meier (2017: 145) sums up various aspects of what she calls a ‘learner-with-dynamic-identity-view’, in which interaction is crucial for learning processes in the sociocultural tradition. This perspective is extended through negotiations about participation into the realm of learner identity, drawing on concepts of investment and imagined communities (Norton 2013). For multilingual pedagogies in mainstream schools this perspective is relevant, as it suggests to ask, e.g. how to understand ‘imagined communities’ and how to transfer such understanding into affordances for learning. Moreover – and importantly for teacher agency – it highlights that multilingual pedagogies are located in relation to other pedagogies practiced in a classroom.

Finally, I would like to address terminological issues relevant to this study. I draw on the following terms: a *bilingual* is someone who uses two (or more) languages in his or her everyday life (Grosjean 1989: 4), and an *emergent bilingual* is someone who is “at the initial points of the continuum of bilingualism” (García 2014: 5). I use both notions *multilingualism* and *plurilingualism* in relation to societal and individual realities, but I follow the suggestion that *plurilingualism* highlights the dynamic and integrated relationships among the elements of the linguistic repertoire within an individual speaker (Cummins 2017: 111). Thus, whereas I used ‘*bilingual and multilingual children*’ in the teacher interviews for reasons of intelligibility, I will use terms like *plurilingual children, ...voices, ...speaker, ...literacy skills and ...experiences* in the following chapters. The *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages* employs *plurilingualism* to illuminate the dynamic character of the linguistic repertoires of plurilinguals, and differentiates the term from *multilingualism*, which would keep languages separated (CoE 2001: 4-5). However, this distinction has not been taken up by scholars within the multilingual turn (Cummins 2017: 110).

Another terminological question relevant to this study is the controversy about *language, named languages, and languaging*. In this regard, Cummins’s response to García’s and Li’s contention that

'language' is a social construction and that the concept of language transfer can be replaced within translanguaging by "a conceptualization of *integration* of language practices *in the person of the learner*" (2014: 80) is instructive for me. He asserts that – although the boundaries between different languages are social constructions – "it is nevertheless legitimate to distinguish languages in certain contexts and for certain purposes in order to make sense of and act on our worlds" (2017: 112). In my view, it is extremely important to contextualize such debates and to consider what has been outlined before as a first-person perspective. That is, it is vital for exploring multilingualism in superdiverse schools to consider a wide range of linguistic constellations on part of the children. For some, the description of 'first' and 'second' language may apply, for others it does not reflect their experience and language use at home; yet other children may speak one language with one parent and another with the other. For this reason too, I draw on the notion of the 'linguistic repertoire' in a perspective which takes the speaker's perception as a starting point and eschews objectifications or fixed categories like 'first' or 'second language' (Busch 2017: 56).

3.1.3 Some pedagogical approaches for the primary school

I have selected here some of the pedagogical approaches that can be seen as influential in the ongoing debates on multilingual pedagogies in the primary school and belong to various wider theoretical and practical contexts within those pedagogies. Moreover, they are also embedded in broader pedagogical perspectives that must be considered alongside the focus on children's plurilingualism.

Working within the *ethnography of multilingual literacy practices*, Gregory and Williams (2000) studied young children's multiple literacy experiences at home. They argue that the official mainstream paradigm of reading a certain kind of 'good' book in a certain 'way' neglects the richness of children's other – multi- or monolingual – literacy experiences that they have at home or in community contexts and with various literacy brokers. In the context of *cooperation between primary and complementary schools*, Kenner and Ruby (2012) identify five main aspects relevant for bilingual learners: conceptual transfer of ideas between languages; in-depth learning through translation and interpretation; development of meta-linguistic awareness and skills; expanding of culture knowledge through comparison; and the empowerment of learner identities through a recognition of children's multilingual and multicultural identities. For instance, working on fables and using transliteration into Latin script, children compared grammatical features, such as the use of articles and phenomena of syntax in English and Bengali, while others compared metaphors in poems and lullabies thus amplifying their understanding of the cultural references inherent in metaphors. Within a '*pedagogy*

of *multiliteracy*' (Hélot 2014), Sneddon (2009) too emphasises the empowerment of bilingual learners by bridging their literacy experiences at home and in the mainstream school. She documents how children become *biliterate through dual language books* and points out that this approach relies on good relationships with parents. This perspective is extended into book making, where children draw on their strategies acquired in English lessons when writing and translating their own dual language texts (Sneddon 2014).

Cummins, Early, and Stille (2011a) use the term *identity texts* to highlight the empowering character of tasks of text production, in which students experience their voices as being heard and their self-expression facilitated. They explain: "Students' perceptions of their intelligence, imagination, and multilingual talents are a part of their identity and when these are affirmed in the school and classroom context, they invest their identities actively in the learning process" (ibid.: 38-39). Locating identity texts in the tradition of progressive educators like John Dewey, Célestin Freinet, and Paulo Freire, the scholars describe four key elements: the link between curricular content and students' experiences and identities; fosterage of critical literacy skills, including an understanding how language works for different social purposes; expression and exploration of students' identities through many forms of cultural production; and – within critical and transformative approaches of pedagogy, which enable students to examine issues of literacy, power, and equality – a general pedagogical orientation that promotes values of social justice and democratic participation (Cummins et al. 2011b: 162; 2011a). Examples from their *Engaging Literacies Project* include students writing dual language story books (e.g. a newly arrived student wrote her story in Dari before working on a very simple English version); producing a short film about the school community thus making children's and families' multilingual experiences visible; and, in Social Studies, the pupils used their bilingual resources for presentations (ibid.). In another case study, the children initially expressed reservations and were unsure about the legitimacy of their first language in school before starting to write dual language books. The use of multilingual dictionaries, translations, and metalinguistic talk were all part of the successful writing process (Giampapa/Sandhu 2011). These examples can be understood as drawing on various practices of translanguaging as detailed in guides for educators (e.g. Celic/Seltzer 2012). The next example of multilingual pedagogies can also be seen as 'identity texts', but the approach of the '*Little Books*' in a multigrade classroom in a superdiverse primary school in Vienna is more explicitly associated with the pedagogical tradition of Freinet (Schreger/Pernes 2014; Busch 2014).¹ With the routine of making 'Little Books' – usually five pictures, five texts, one cover – the children use all their semiotic resources to write, draw or add photographs. Pedagogically, the

¹ Working with Sámi languages in a Finish school, Pitkänen-Huhta/Pietikäinen (2014) link the Little Books to Freire's pedagogy, but I refer here to the context of the superdiverse urban classroom (Schreger/Pernes 2014).

multimodal approach involves “questioning conformity and protectiveness and stepping into the lifeworlds of children” (Schreger/Pernes 2014: 154), and because their lifeworld is multilingual, many books are multilingual too. The approach’s ‘child-centredness’ and learner autonomy refer to the children’s decision about the content of the books, while the pupils are involved in dialogues with teachers, family members and other children during their multimodal text production.

The *Critical Connections Multilingual Digital Storytelling Project* (Anderson/Macleroy 2016) has been developed in various language learning settings in mainstream and complementary schools. Students used a variety of artistic techniques (e.g. animation, drama, and shadow puppetry) to produce their films, which included various genres such as traditional tales, fantasy, and personal interest, among others. Their digital stories combined, e.g. Mandarin, Arabic, Croatian, or Urdu with English, and in one film, the students included six different languages. Regarding language learning, the approach is located within project- and task-based approaches. Although it is seen as important that the respective target language is the principal means of communication, the overall principle of multilingual storytelling enables the students to experience themselves as ‘multicompetent’ speakers, and translanguaging plays an important role, e.g. in phases of planning or translating story scripts (Anderson 2016b: 237-238). Pedagogically, multilingual digital storytelling combines an empowerment of plurilingual identities, the collaboration across boundaries between school, home, and communities, the fosterage of learner autonomy and student voice, and the potential of multimodal creativity. In the thematic and cross-curricular approach to multilingual digital storytelling, the pupils are provided with a general theme but, crucially, they have the opportunity to make sense of it in their own ways, responding with their own perspectives. Jim Anderson asserts that a critical theory perspective is important “in its resistance to monolingual ideologies and to the suppression of minority voices” (2016: 228), locating the approach in transformative pedagogy.

In addition, I want to mention multiliteracies and critical literacy as other ‘pedagogies of reference’. While it has been critiqued that multilingualism has not been fully incorporated in the pedagogical field of multiliteracies (Macleroy 2016: 74), it appears helpful for multilingual pedagogies in the primary school to ask how the three perspectives of *multiliteracies* (Cazden et al. 1996), *multilingualism*, and *critical literacy* (Janks 2010), which interconnect in the multilingual digital storytelling project, might be brought together in other formats and approaches too. Comber and Nixon (2004: 115-118) emphasise that critical literacy, which explores with children how texts work to certain effects and how they are linked to power relations, is a highly situated pedagogical practice. They identify as principles of critical literacy among others: engagement with local realities; mobilizing the knowledge and practices of children; (re)design of texts with political/social intention and real-

world use; focus on the cultural texts which children use and an examination of how power is exercised and by whom. Comber and Nixon illustrate these principles with a project, in which emergent bilingual students combine the filmmaking (an 'Afghani style cooking show') with an exploration of an urban neighbourhood (exploring hidden immigrant cultures). They describe "these children's work as *re*-design, *re*-write and *re*-imagine to emphasise that such tasks give children the opportunity to *re*-vise, to *re*-work and to change the way things usually are" (2004: 121). Many of these critical literacy principles are integrated in the projects of identity texts and multilingual digital storytelling described before. However, to avoid misunderstandings, I would add that the comprehensive approaches mentioned here are situated in various settings with their specific social and linguistic resources, and also with various different ways to legitimise the children's use of their plurilingual repertoires in the classroom. This is extremely relevant for an exploration of teacher agency in the superdiverse primary school. In fact, I would like to argue that, while the pedagogical principles mentioned in this section have all implications for superdiverse primary schools, it might be seen as the pedagogical challenge to link them to the conditions of these schools.

Finally, I want to refer to two more studies. Duarte and Günter-van der Meij (2018) describe what they call a holistic approach to multilingualism in schools in the officially bilingual region of Fryslân in the Netherlands. From their ongoing research, they report examples of how teachers develop meta-linguistic awareness by comparing cognates across languages and fostering language transfer by translanguaging, for example, in a Science lesson, in which the activity includes Polish and Arabic. Little and Kirwan (2019) describe an integrated approach to language education in a superdiverse primary school in Dublin. Their study illustrates that if the foundations are laid and nurtured in Early Years and Key Stage 1, the pupils' language awareness and plurilingual literacy skills develop over the years until the end of primary school. Moreover, the scholars emphasise the importance of the learners' autonomy and their attentiveness to their peers' languages as important aspects, e.g. in joint multilingual writing projects. Overall, Irish is seen as "the common L2 glue that bonds together the various languages in each pupil's plurilingual repertoire" (ibid.: 165), and it could be said that the two official languages, Frisian and Irish, that exist in these approaches alongside the main language of instruction – Dutch and English respectively – serve as catalysts that help to legitimise the pupils' entire linguistic repertoires in the classroom.

All the approaches mentioned here include and develop the pupils' plurilingual repertoires in different yet overlapping ways, thus underscoring the assertion quoted at the beginning of this chapter: speaking of multilingual pedagogies needs always to be done in the plural.

3.2 Teacher agency

In the sections that follow, I will first mention briefly recent studies that have examined teacher agency in various contexts (3.2.1) before I describe the subject-centred sociocultural perspective on professional agency (3.2.2) and the ecological approach to teacher agency (3.2.3) as the two conceptualisations employed in this study, and finally how I use them (3.2.4).

My focus on teacher agency is based on two assumptions: first, multilingual pedagogies, with their multifaceted practices and rationales, have not materialized yet into a well-established body of approaches that is recognized by the curriculum or related texts of education policy. In this situation, considerable creativity, and some willingness to make decisions when planning and implementing activities, is required from teachers in the field of multilingual pedagogies. Second, the nexus between language ideologies and the surrounding – and changing – discourses on language use, immigration, and the general education policy indicate that any issues of multilingualism in the institutions of formal education cannot be addressed without including aspects of society's power relations. Thus, the ways in which this nexus affects schools can be seen as the *structure* that frames the context, against and within which teacher *agency* in multilingual pedagogies might develop. Jim Cummins's intervention framework for collaborative empowerment – originally developed in the context of bilingual learners' educational achievement (1996: 14-20; 2000: 40-50; Cummins et al. 2011a: 23-27) – is relevant in this regard, as it conceptualizes the teacher's position neither as independent from societal power relations between linguistically diverse groups and the consequences these relations have for the structures of schooling, nor as merely determined by them. Cummins, Early, and Stille maintain that

“[e]ducational structures, together with educator role definitions, determine the patterns of interactions between educators, students, and communities. These interactions form an interpersonal space within which the acquisition of knowledge and formation of identity are negotiated” (2011a: 25).

Neither Cummins (2000) nor Cummins, Early, and Stille (2011a) use the notion of agency in this context, while the scholars include the agency of educators in their concluding chapter on ‘identity texts’ (see 3.1.3) to point out the teachers' opportunities to make choices in their teaching (Cummins et al. 2011b: 156). The ‘framework for collaborative empowerment’ is important for the research focus because it addresses the teacher's role explicitly in the context of school and multilingualism. This allows conceptually for a location of agency that is worthwhile to be explored in its own right. Moreover, it could be argued that – without stating this link explicitly – Cummins uses ‘power’ in a Foucauldian sense as both repressive and productive (e.g. Foucault 1971) and therefore generating identities and subjectivities. Framing the context for multilingual students and their teachers in such

a way provides a helpful background against which issues around teacher agency, multilingualism, and pedagogy can be explored.

3.2.1 Recent studies on teacher agency

In 2015, a special issue on teacher agency in *Teachers and Teaching* and, in the same year, the elaboration of the ecological approach to teacher agency (Priestley et al. 2015), brought research together and instigated new initiatives to explore more educational contexts through such a lens, often focusing on curriculum reform or pedagogical innovations. Eteläpelto, Vähäsantanen, and Hökkä (2015) have examined how novice teachers perceive their professional agency on the levels of classroom practices, school community, and school organisation, drawing on the subject-centred sociocultural framework for professional agency (Eteläpelto et al. 2013). Pantić and Florian (2015) have developed a concept for teacher education that conjoins inclusive pedagogy and teacher agency, drawing on a model of teacher agency for social justice which identifies purpose, competence, autonomy and reflexivity as its units of analysis (Pantić 2015). Priestley, Biesta, and Robinson (2015) have developed an ecological approach for the study of teacher agency in the context of the implementation of the 'Curriculum for Excellence' in Scotland. King and Nomikou (2018) employed teacher agency as conceptual tool for evaluating the implementation of an innovative secondary Science teaching approach in the English context, and Dubiner, Deeb, and Schwartz (2018) used teacher agency to examine change in a bilingual preschool in Israel. Other research, such as a socioculturally oriented study on teacher identity, agency, and professional vulnerability in the circumstances of secondary school reform in Canada (Lasky 2005), had already shown earlier the significance of focusing on the ways in which change in the institution school and teachers' subjectivities interact. More recently, an edited volume has focused on language teacher agency in various institutional and different geographical contexts, with many studies, however, focusing on the US (Kayi-Aydar et al. 2019). It includes one contribution on primary school teachers, which addresses the agency of two teachers in English/Spanish dual language immersion programmes. Based on life history interviews, Venegas-Weber (2019) identifies a 'bi/multilingual pedagogical noticing' on the part of the teachers. Their own experiences of bilingualism and reflections on linguistic power relations increased the teachers' agency to 'notice' possibilities for developing equity-oriented practices in their classrooms.

3.2.2 The subject-centred sociocultural perspective on professional agency

The scholars of both conceptualisations of agency, on which I draw theoretically in the study, emphasize the need to elucidate the notion and its core meaning, because a “lack of clarity has led to confusion surrounding the whole concept [...]” (Eteläpelto et al. 2013: 46) and “[t]here can be no doubt that agency is a slippery and much contested term, even to the extent that some people may wonder why we need such a concept in educational and social research in the first place” (Priestley et al. 2015: 19). At the same time, however, the question of agency might be best seen as pointing straight to central concerns of social and educational sciences. Thus, Eteläpelto et al. (2013) examine in their review a range of social science and post-structural traditions as well as sociocultural and life-course approaches, before proposing a conceptualisation of professional agency within a *subject-centred sociocultural framework*. Here is not the space to trace these traditions and their respective discussions, yet it is helpful to mention a few cornerstones of the review in order to understand how the authors forge their concept.

Within the sociological structure-agency debate, for Anthony Giddens, agency is bound up with *intentionality*. Moreover, for an action to be understood as agentic, two other conditions have to be fulfilled: the person needs to be capable of turning their intentions into *an action* (Giddens 1986: 9), and to have the *power to evoke an event* or intervene in it. Giddens’s approach has been criticized for not making an analytical distinction between the individual and the social, therefore failing to address the relationship between an individual and their social circumstances (Archer 2000). However, a strength of his approach is the contention that the individual’s power to bring something about is a necessary prerequisite for agency. For research on professional agency, this facilitates a perspective where the different manifestations of power are closely connected with agency: ‘official power’ relations as manifest in workplace structures or managerial practices and ‘unofficial power’ displayed in workplace games and passive resistance are, for instance, both considered as professional agency in the workplace (Eteläpelto et al. 2013: 50).

Eteläpelto et al. argue that for an understanding of professional and workplace agency, as well as related aspects of professional learning and identity negotiations, it is crucial to go beyond the sociological structure-agency debate and to include post-structural feminist perspectives, that allow for aspects of discourses, subject positions, and subjectivities (ibid.: 51). They maintain that

“professional identities and subjectivities [...] are central for professional learning; this is especially the case in domains such as education, health care, and creative work, where employees need to act as whole human persons, containing emotions and ethical commitments” (ibid.).

Anneli Eteläpelto and her colleagues refer to debates in gender studies to address issues of *reflexivity* and *experience*. This notion of experience is not only relevant for the conceptualization of agency but also for the status of experience in the interviews with the teachers (see 4.3). Lois McNay points out that agency emerges from the subject and subject positions, and includes central features such as *intention* and *reflexivity* as well as, importantly, *lived experiences* which are needed to understand actions (2004: 179). McNay draws on Bourdieu's (1990) idea of a phenomenology of social space as relational and sees this as providing "a way of placing experience at the centre of social analysis without attributing to it some kind of apodictic or essential status [...] To explain agency, it is not possible to bypass an analysis of experience" (ibid.: 184). For developing what they call a 'subject-centred analysis of professional agency' as component of their framework, Eteläpelto et al. draw on this perspective when asserting

"it provides a way of placing a socially and culturally relational subject at the center of any elaboration of agency, without attributing to agency some kind of naïve personalist or 'substantialist illusion' – something that would reduce agency to nothing more than the representation of individual actors" (2013: 54).

Thus, agency emerges out of people's lived experience within their social relations as well as their capacity for action, while these actions include self-reflection and self-evaluation. Furthermore, to thematise the individual's sense of self, and hence of identity, in such a way allows Eteläpelto et al. to infer that agency needs to be considered from a subject-centred perspective while incorporating – referring to Archer – the multi-layered relations to the world (ibid.).

The scholars, then, explore the sociocultural component of their agency model, and – as they intend to conceptualise *professional agency at work* – they start by reporting strands within the broad spectrum of sociocultural approaches of learning in work contexts. Eteläpelto et al. describe how these strands have originated from different foundations and research foci of Vygotsky's perspective on development, culture, and learning, and of Leontjev's focus on practical activities and work in industrial contexts (2013: 55-56). There is no space here for a detailed exploration of the object-oriented strand, but it is important to emphasise Eteläpelto et al.'s point of departure in order to understand how they arrive at the double term *subject-centred sociocultural* as denotation for their framework. This is relevant for a study that focuses on school and multilingualism, and thus includes facets of various areas in which sociocultural perspectives are prominently employed, e.g. learning in multilingual or faith settings (e.g. Gregory 2008; Lytra et al. 2016), second language learning (e.g. Lantolf/Thorne 2006), or literacy studies/research (e.g. Lewis et al. 2012). Eteläpelto et al. argue that, in traditional object-oriented approaches, the main focus is on the mediation of activities and "the

role of individual agentic action is not much considered, or indeed is explicitly denied” (2013: 55). Yet they follow a strand of sociocultural perspectives that focuses on workplace learning as a social practice, and acknowledges the relevance of individual agency and the individual’s beliefs and actions. As a prominent proponent of this strand of inquiry, Stephen Billet describes a *relational interdependence* between the social practice and the individual’s contribution, which he sees displayed in the negotiations between two sets of continuities (2006: 61):

“Social practices such as workplaces, educational institutions, and community groupings provide opportunities directed toward advancing their goals and practices or interests within them [...] However, individuals’ participation in social practice is also mediated by their intentions for continuity and development, albeit shaped by subjectivities about cultural and occupational identity” (61-62).

It is the interplay between these two sets of continuities, as well as the degree of their consonance or contestation, that underpins such a relational interdependence and constitutes the parameters for the reproduction of the respective social practice. Billet illustrates this with an example from a study where a counsellor who was able to transform key practices of his workplace is contrasted with another worker who was restrained by consensus-based work arrangements and thus denied a similar scope for change (ibid.: 62). To investigate professional agency, it is therefore important to consider the person’s interests, identities, and subjectivities together with the aims and continuities of the respective social practice – which then includes the option to adopt an active role in modifying or reshaping that practice. It is in this context that individuals practice their agency when they decide which problems they will engage with and which degree of engagement they will invest (Eteläpelto et al.: 56-57).

The fourth element that Eteläpelto et al. incorporate in their concept is the life-course dimension that emphasises the need

“to include both the context *and* the temporal dimension in the analysis [...] an understanding of changes and differences in agentic orientations against the background of biography and life[-]course [...]” (Biesta/Tedder 2007: 138, emphasis in orig.).

The dimension of the life-course – e.g. how people act during transitions of their adult learning or working life – is important for a subject-centred approach because it goes beyond momentary activities and sees them in the context of a time continuum. In doing so, the life-course agency also considers identity commitments of the subject as well as how they influence decisions and are intertwined with practicing agency (Eteläpelto et al. 2013: 58). I will return in more detail to the temporal aspect below, as it is a salient feature in the ecological approach to teacher agency.

Building on these four broad research traditions that address agency – the sociological structure-agency debate; the post-structural feminist perspective, as shown in McNay's (2004) discussion of agency and experience referred to above; the strand of what they describe as sociocultural developmental subject-oriented approaches; and the life-course approach – the scholars form their framework

“to investigate professional agency in working life contexts we need to understand how agency is practiced, and how it is resourced, constrained, and bounded by contextual factors, including power relations and discourses, and further by the material conditions and cultures of social interaction in work communities” (ibid.: 61).

They propose then

[i] “a definition of professional agency as exercised when professional subjects and/or communities influence, make choices, and take stances on their work and professional identities” (ibid.).

Furthermore, the conceptualization of professional agency within *a subject-centred sociocultural framework* includes the following aspects: (ii) it is exercised for particular purposes and within particular sociocultural and *material circumstances*, while being constrained and resourced by those conditions; (iii) it is closely entangled with work related identities (*professional commitments, ideals, motivations, interests, and goals*); (iv) (*work*) *experiences, knowledge, and competencies* function as developmental affordances and resources for agency; (v) professional agency, individuals, and social entities are analytically separate yet mutually constitutive; (vi) subjects have discursive, practical, and embodied relations to their work, which are temporally constructed within the conditions of the work; and (vii) agency is needed particularly for developing one's work and work communities, for taking creative initiatives, for professional learning, and for renegotiating identities in changing work practices (Eteläpelto et al. 2013: 62). In a study on how novice primary teachers in Finland perceive their agency (Eteläpelto et. al. 2015), the researchers relate some of those aspects to the context school. They consider the classroom as the first level, where teacher agency is manifested in teaching practices. Other levels where the novice teachers perceived a sense of agency were the staff community and the organizational level of school development. The study identified, for the Finish primary school context, a strong sense of agency on the level of classroom teaching, while the novice teachers felt a weaker sense of agency in the social management of the classroom due to a lack of multi-professional support for pupils' well-being, e.g. of children with additional needs. Those teachers described the power of the respective headteacher and material resources as important elements that either resource or constrain their agency. Moreover, regarding the school community and the organizational level, these teachers described themselves as having agency in terms of

contributions to and participation in the school development. However, significant differences in this area emerged from the role of the headteacher (ibid.: 670-671). Following their agency concept, Eteläpelto et al. describe *professional identity*

“as a work history-based constellation of teachers’ perceptions of themselves as professional actors – perceptions that encompass the teacher’s current professional ideals, goals, interests, and values (including their views on teaching and on the students’ learning), their ethical standards and commitments, and their own future prospects” (ibid.: 664).

In this respect, their study showed that novice teachers had to renegotiate their professional identities considerably in the first years of teaching, including a re-assessment of their ideals and their responses to pupils with additional needs. They reported being able to implement their competencies and interests in their teaching. On the whole, the headteacher is seen as an important factor in the way the teachers were able to negotiate their professional identities (ibid.: 673).

The intervention framework for collaborative empowerment by Jim Cummins (2000), outlined at the beginning of this chapter, can be usefully related to the subject-centred sociocultural approach to professional agency. His description of the teachers’ role (definitions) both as influenced by educational structures and as influencing educators’ micro-interactions with students, which in turn also reflect various orientations in educational settings regarding the linguistically and culturally diverse society, points to a space in which teachers may or may not practice their agency. Thus, to draw on the framework of professional agency proposed by Eteläpelto et al. (2013) enables me to explore a teacher’s agency in relation to multilingual pedagogies as facilitated and conditioned by the sociocultural circumstances of the *context school* and by *professional subjectivities*. The context school includes the material circumstances, artefacts, power relations and work cultures, discourses, and subject positions, while professional subjectivities involve professional identity, such as commitments, ideals, motivations, interests, and goals, professional knowledge and competencies, work history, and experience (ibid.: 61). Yet, in the context of my study and in line with Cummins’s analytical framework, teachers must be considered not only as *professional subjects* – the subheading Eteläpelto et al. (2013, 2015) use – but also as positioned, or potentially taking up positions, in relation to the linguistically and culturally (super)diverse society. Therefore, their professional agency must also be understood as (potentially) influenced by subjectivities outside of the profession, i.e. by their own life history, educational experiences, and positions in relation to society’s lines of difference such as class, gender, ethnicity, or others. For this reason, I have chosen the broader category *subjectivities* instead of *professional subjects* (see p. 37).

3.2.3 The ecological approach to teacher agency

The ecological approach to teacher agency has been developed in a research context that focused on how teachers enact the Scottish ‘Curriculum for Excellence’ (Priestley et al. 2015), building on the *life-course perspective* mentioned before. Biesta and Tedder examine the relationship between agency and learning in the life-course, and see agency as achieved through an individual’s engagement with aspects of their contexts-for-action (2007: 132). Thus, the term ‘ecological’ is used here to highlight “that actors always act *by means* of an environment rather than simply in an environment” (ibid.: 137, emphasis in orig.) and that

“the achievement of agency will always result from the interplay of individual efforts, available resources and contextual and structural ‘factors’ as they come together in particular and, in a sense, always unique situations” (ibid.).

In the context of teacher agency, the ecological perspective conceptualises such agency as an *emergent phenomenon* that is *relational*, in that teachers operate by means of the social and material environment school, as well as *temporal* because it is anchored in previous experiences, oriented to a future and located in the contingencies of the here and now (Priestley et al. 2012; 2015).

Priestley, Biesta, and Robinson (2015) differentiate their approach to teacher agency explicitly from other educational debates in which the term is used. They argue that it should not be confused with the ‘teachers matter’ discourse that is part of the school effectiveness and improvement paradigm and perceives the teacher as the most important ‘factor’ within an input-output orientation, which neglects both the teacher as “a thinking, judging and acting professional” (ibid.: 4) and the wider scope of educational perspectives and students’ achievements. Nor should teacher agency be equated with ‘teacher leadership’, as the latter focuses on the special role educators take on when, e.g. leading colleagues for certain projects. Priestley, Biesta, and Robinson distinguish their concept also from teacher autonomy. They suggest that advocacy for more autonomy is very plausible under the current circumstances dominated by top-down education policy that has addressed teachers merely as executors of governments’ agendas. However, it needs to be acknowledged, as described in chapter 2, that education always works within complex socio-political constellations, where various stakeholders can legitimately claim their ‘stake’, and where the challenge exists to strike a balance between them, namely students, parents, the state, employers, and organisations from the public sphere (ibid.: 4-5). Thus, Priestley and his colleagues argue that the elaboration of teacher agency foregrounds “that teachers are stakeholders as well [...], not least because they possess unique professional expertise and experience of the everyday realities of education” (2015: 5). Contrary to seeing teachers as merely delivering the agenda of others, an exploration of teacher agency “seeks to position teachers as active

agents within this wider complex, where their professional voice and their professional judgement matter” (ibid.).

Conceptually, the ecological approach to teacher agency has its roots in pragmatism (ibid.: 22) and draws primarily on the seminal work of Emirbayer and Mische (1998). I would like to outline their perspective on agency first, before describing how Priestley, Biesta, and Robinson conceptualise teacher agency with reference to this concept. Mustafa Emirbayer and Ann Mische define agency as

“the temporally constructed engagement by actors of different structural environments – the temporal-relational contexts of action – which, through the interplay of habit, imagination, and judgement, both reproduces and transforms those structures in interactive response to the problems posed by changing historical situations” (1998: 970).

Here, other dimensions that have been traditionally emphasised around agency, such as routine, purpose, and judgement, are incorporated, but the scholars caution against conflating a single dimension with agency itself as this results in losing sight of the interplay between various dimensions and of how this interplay varies within different structural contexts (ibid.: 963). That is, this perspective conceptualises

“human agency as temporally embedded process of social engagement, informed by the past (in its habitual aspect), but also oriented toward the future (as a capacity to imagine alternative possibilities) and toward the present (as a capacity to contextualize past habits and future projects with the contingencies of the moment). The agentic dimension of social action can only be captured in its full complexity [...] if it is analytically situated within the flow of time” (ibid.).

Thus, they distinguish analytically between three dimensions: first the *iterational* dimension, i.e. actors selectively reactivate past pattern of thought or action and include them as routines, thus providing stability and sustaining identities and institutions over time. Second, the *projective* dimension, which includes “the imaginative generation by actors of possible future trajectories of action, in which received structures of thought and action may be creatively reconfigured in relation to actors’ hopes, fears, and desires for the future” (ibid.: 971). Third, the *practical evaluative* element, which involves the person’s capacity to make practical and normative judgements and choices between alternative potential trajectories of action, responding to emerging dilemmas, demands, or ambiguities of current situations.

Against this background, Priestley, Biesta, and Robinson understand teacher agency not as a capacity *possessed* by an individual teacher, but as an *achievement* situated in the respective educational context *and* resulting from the interplay of all three dimensions. They propose this approach as

providing a methodological and a theoretical framework for empirical inquiries into how teachers achieve agency in their professional environments (2015: 29), and describe the central elements of the three dimensions in relation to teacher's work: the *iterational dimension* consists of the *life histories* of educators and their *professional histories*, the latter including their teacher education and accumulated experiences in the profession. While teacher agency should, on the whole, not be equated with individual capacity, its specific facet of *having the capacity to act* is enhanced if teachers have a wider repertoire of possibilities to draw from (ibid.: 31). Thus, iterational elements, which can contribute to teacher agency, are personal capacity (*skills and knowledge*), *beliefs* (professional and personal), and *values*. What all these elements have in common is that they are rooted in previous experiences. Therefore, Priestley, Biesta, and Robinson maintain – in the context of the Scottish curriculum that was implemented in 2010/2011 replacing the previous top-down approach with a perspective in which teachers are granted a more central role as developing agents – that “programmes of professional development should focus on developing this capacity, to interrupt habitual ways of thinking about schooling and to encourage an innovative and questioning mindset” (2015: 31). Regarding potential inferences for a more specific domain of school such as multilingual pedagogies, it is in my view relevant to note the potential dynamics of this iterational dimension of teacher agency: “While the iterational is often concerned with habit [...], it is also characterized by individuals’ ability to choose and manoeuvre between repertoires” (ibid.: 130). In other words, those habits and routines sustain identities, interactions, and institutional settings over time (Emirbayer/Mische 1998: 971), while the professional habitus also frames how educators might actively or flexibly react to difficulties and opportunities in their work (Priestley et al. 2015: 130).

Regarding the *projective dimension* of teacher agency, the researchers describe a variety of motivations and aspirations that can lead to actions of agency. Those can relate to pupils’ development and wellbeing, often with long-term perspectives and strongly anchored in educators’ values and beliefs. However, other might be more instrumental, e.g. upholding the ‘normal’ workings of a classroom. Priestley, Biesta, and Robinson suggest that all these forms of agency “are invariably largely rooted in teachers’ prior experiences” (2015: 32). On the one hand, a negative school inspection may result in teachers who want to avoid any risks, thus limiting their agency; on the other hand, beliefs and motivations – e.g. about what should be the character of a particular school subject, or to do the best for the pupils – must be seen as influential in shaping a teacher’s aspirations and thus the projective dimension of agency (ibid.).

“[A]gency is always motivated, and the range of responses (and the degree to which teachers are able to achieve agency) is at least in part dependent on their ability to develop aspirations around their professional working” (ibid.: 130-131).

Accordingly, the projective dimension of teacher agency can consist of or be influenced by short-, medium or long-term aspirations, and the scope of envisioned future ways of action and change can vary.

Finally, the *practical evaluative dimension* concerns the day-to-day workings of classroom and school, and how educators navigate these contexts for their actions. It is here where agency is achieved, *and* at the same time shaped by those environments, and this dimension has a major influence on teacher agency “powerfully shaping (and often distorting) decision making and action, offering both possibilities for agency (for example, by making available resources) and inhibiting it (for example, by creating perceptions of unacceptable risks)” (ibid.: 33). In this sense, the term ‘practical evaluative’ draws attention to the *practical*, i.e. what is possible and feasible in the respective context, and to the *evaluative*, i.e. the teacher evaluates what the ‘issues’ are in the first place and what the possibilities to act (ibid.: 34). Within the *practical evaluative dimension*, the ecological approach distinguishes between *cultural*, *structural*, and *material* aspects. *Cultural aspects* relate to “ways of speaking and thinking, of values, beliefs and aspirations, and encompass both inner and outer dialogue” (ibid.: 30). The notion of outer dialogue and the description that teacher education contributes only a small part to the formation of a teacher’s professional experiences alongside daily experiences, the dialogue with colleagues, and the school culture as other influential parts (ibid.: 31), parallel the subject-centred sociocultural concept that understands ideals and values as part of a teacher’s professional identity (see p. 30). Both approaches emphasise the *mediated* – and thus sociocultural – character of the values and beliefs of a teacher. In fact, beliefs and values, the ways in which they are articulated and their relation to the discourses provided by education policy or school cultures, are inevitably a contested terrain that can either enhance or hinder teacher agency. Beliefs and values “are themselves the result of the range of influences, demands and pressures that structure the settings – the particular ecologies – within which teachers think and act” (Priestley et al. 2015: 54). Yet, discourses on the part of the teachers are relevant for the achievement of agency in that they may allow them to take alternative stances or act differently, and thus more in line with their values and beliefs (ibid.: 83). The second category, *structural aspects*, are those that have to do with social structures, e.g. relationships and different roles within the school as workplace including aspects such as power or trust that can all influence the achievement of agency. Finally, *material aspects* refer to various resources and physical aspects of the environment (ibid.: 30).

Priestley, Biesta, and Robinson see the theme of teacher agency as embedded in the broader discussion about the purpose of education and argue that by addressing this agency it becomes possible to thematise “the question of good education from the bottom-up, seeking to enhance the

intelligence [in the sense of Dewey] of the overall operation of the system at all levels [...]” (2015: 149). They offer the following definition:

“Rather than saying that agency is about the *potential to take action* – which is part of the definition but not the whole – we would say that teachers *achieve agency* when they are able to choose between different options in any given situation and are able to judge which option is the most desirable in the light of the wider purposes of the practice in and through which they act. *Agency is restricted* if those options are limited. *Agency is not present* if there are no options for action or if the teacher simply follows routinized patterns of habitual behaviour with no consideration of alternatives” (ibid.: 141, emphasis added).

I would like to mention two aspects – on very different levels – that emerge implicitly here with some relevance for teacher agency in multilingual pedagogies: first, the significance of teachers having the possibility to draw on a *repertoire* of teaching/learning approaches to choose from (as opposed to prescribed methods or debates on teaching framed by dichotomies). This has been emphasised in English primary pedagogy in general (Alexander et al. 1992; Alexander 2008: 72-91), and also with regard to dialogic teaching: “This commitment to repertoire combined with teacher and student agency is fundamental” (Alexander 2018: 563).

The second aspect concerns teacher agency in relation to society’s wider power relations. Emirbayer and Mische (1998: 1002-1003) provide two explanations for the *variable character of the interplay* between structure and agency, and I want to relate them to society’s linguistic power relations. The scholars contend that actors can shift between their agentic orientations, i.e. they can reconstruct – through processes of dialogue and interaction – the internal configuration of the triad of iteration, projectivity, and practical evaluation. In doing so, “they may increase or decrease their capacity for invention, choice, and transformative impact in relation to the situational contexts [...]” (ibid: 1003). Referring to Cummins’s framework, in which educational structures and teachers’ role definitions are seen as determining the interaction patterns between teachers, students, and communities (see p. 24), it could be said that such shifts within a teacher’s agentic orientations react, on the school level, to society’s linguistic power relations. However, it is, of course, also possible *not* to react to them. In fact, actors may feel creative and deliberative although they are often very reproductive of the received context. Emirbayer and Mische emphasise “that actors are always simultaneously located in a variety of temporal-relational contexts at once” (ibid.: 1008). Therefore, it is possible to exercise a high degree of personal agency, being future oriented and solving problems at the workplace, while unhesitatingly reproducing broader schemas and patterns that help to keep societal contexts in place, even if those might be perceived as problematic from a broader perspective (ibid.: 1008-1009). For reasons of space, I can refer here only to this small extract from a much broader discussion. Yet, such

explanations appear to be conceptually significant for teacher agency in multilingual pedagogies because they point to the relevance of exploring the *small aspects* and *tensions* around teachers' work in this domain. Such orientation towards small aspects is particularly relevant in a pedagogical area that is not acknowledged and officially legitimised by the school curriculum, and in which the aforementioned shifts, which enhance or reduce a teacher's capacity to transform, might therefore be all the more important.

3.2.4 Using the two agency models in the study

I draw on the subject-centred sociocultural framework to professional agency and the ecological approach to teacher agency, which I see as congruent regarding many of their elements and the overall understanding of agency, first, as emerging from the interplay between the professional subject and the social/institutional context and, second, as characterised by the individual's practice of making choices in their work. My research diverges from Priestley, Biesta, and Robinson (2015) and Eteläpelto, Vähäsantanen, and Hökkä's (2015) study on the agency of the novice teachers in that I take the classroom – through participant observation – as point of departure. Both concepts provide different accentuations that are helpful in this respect: the subject-centred sociocultural framework allows me to conceptualize in more detail the classroom as *sociocultural context* for teacher agency, and I will do this at the beginning of chapter 5. The ecological approach provides an additional lens for identifying factors that support the achievement of agency in the classroom. Regarding the Scottish curriculum, Priestley, Biesta, and Robinson distinguish between *macro, meso and micro levels* and relate them to *policy formation, its interpretation, and its enactment* (2015: 152-153). I adapt these levels for multilingual pedagogies in the following way: societal conditions around mono- and multilingualism as manifested in language ideologies and resulting in a lack of policy formation are seen as *macro level*. Notwithstanding this absence, it is helpful to conceptualize – following Priestley, Biesta, and Robinson – a *meso level* that can provide guidance, which *defines, resources, and supports* processes around multilingual pedagogies and thus increases teachers' potential to achieve agency in this domain. What has been described regarding the curriculum innovation as 'additional guidance' (ibid.: 157) might be seen for multilingual pedagogies as 'conceptual guidance' and resourcing. Such function may be assigned to knowledgeable meso level actors like educational organisations and institutions, or to actors at the school level. In this study, I understand the classroom and the individual school as *micro level*, yet it is not always possible to distinguish neatly between meso and micro level, e.g. when a knowledgeable meso actor is part of the individual school. The following diagram shows how the two models are brought together:

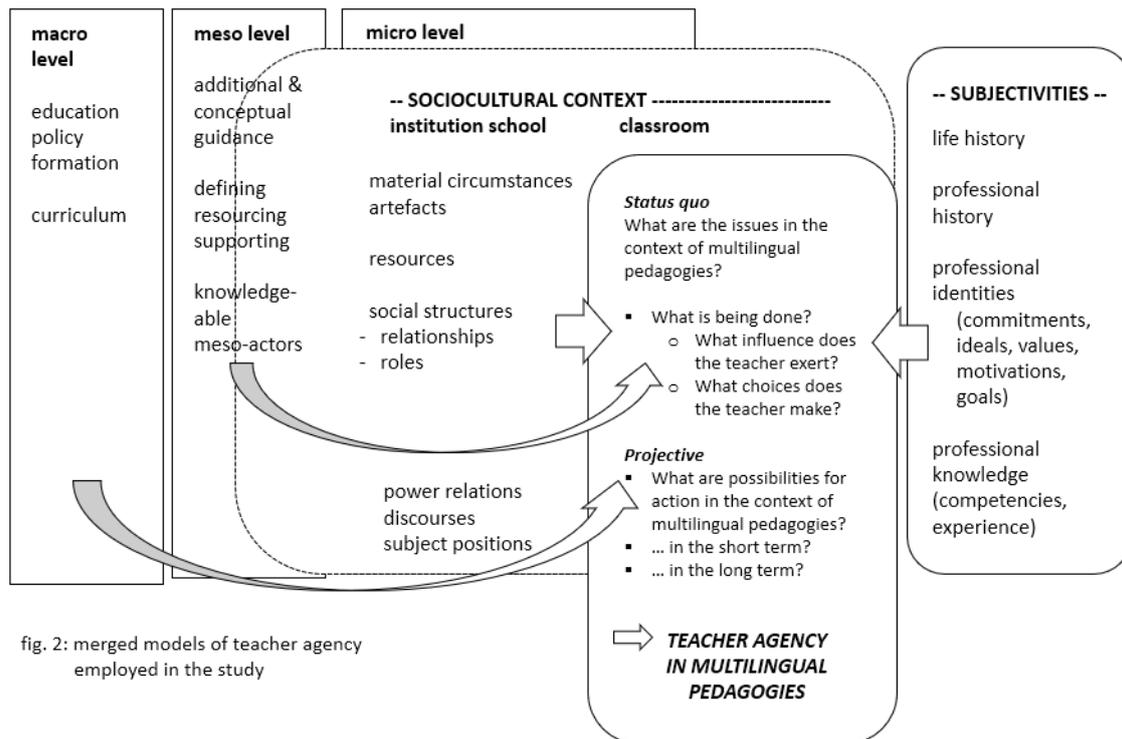


fig. 2: merged models of teacher agency employed in the study

Given the current status of multilingual pedagogies, I would argue that my study differs somewhat from the aforementioned studies. In contrast to agency in the context of a new curriculum (Priestley et al. 2015), at the beginning of the teaching career (Eteläpelto et al. 2015), or regarding new approaches within established curricular settings (e.g. Lasky 2005; King/Nomikou 2018; Dubiner et al. 2018), my research needs to explore the conditions for, and possibilities of, multilingual pedagogies as the point of reference for teacher agency at the same time as the phenomenon of teacher agency itself. Since multilingual pedagogies and teacher agency can be both understood as 'emerging', they need to be explored in parallel and in relation to each other, and I will address in the next chapter how this constellation has been incorporated in the research design.

To conclude this section, I would like to clarify how the merged models of teacher agency are reflected in the research questions. The main question *What constitutes, facilitates and hinders teacher agency in multilingual pedagogies?* follows the core of the subject-centred sociocultural framework that understands elements of the sociocultural/material circumstances and of professional identities as *resourcing* or *constraining* teacher agency. The following question is modelled on Eteläpelto et al.'s (2013) assertion that experiences, knowledge, and competencies can function as developmental affordances for agency (see p. 29): *how can teachers' professional knowledge, experiences, and attitudes function as affordances for multilingual pedagogies?* (RQ 2) This question also points to a

(possible) link between a teacher's general agency and agency in multilingual pedagogies, referring to the constellation described above, in which teacher agency and possibilities for multilingual pedagogies need to be explored simultaneously. Accordingly, the next questions – *how can teacher agency be enhanced in multilingual pedagogies?* (RQ 3), *how can possibilities for multilingual pedagogies in mainstream schools emerge?* (RQ 4) and *how could teacher agency be achieved in multilingual pedagogies* (RQ5) – foreground, in the terminology of the ecological approach, the projective dimension of teacher agency as related to possible developments in this pedagogical domain. In addition, the wording of the last question – *how could teacher agency be achieved in multilingual pedagogies?* – draws on the ecological approach with its emphasis on 'agency as achievement'.

4. Methodology and design of study

In this chapter, I will first describe the *ethnographic approach* taken and how this methodological choice has been inferred from the theoretical frameworks for multilingual pedagogies and teacher agency (4.1). In 4.2, I outline how this has been transferred into a *research design*. In the two following sections I address the *methods of data collection* (4.3) and *data analysis* (4.4), and I describe how I have handled the three main methods employed – participant observations, semi-structured teacher interviews, and participatory activities with the children – and the respective data obtained. This is followed by the *research trajectory* (4.5), *issues of ethics* (4.6) and a *reflection* on my positionality (4.7).

4.1 Methodology

The theoretical frameworks for teacher agency and multilingual pedagogies in this study require an exploration of contexts as well as of teachers' practices and subjectivities, and the study's methodology needs to allow for their interdependency. Ethnographic approaches are appropriate to examine individual and social actions "as closely interdependent and mutually constitutive processes [...] in real work contexts", as Eteläpelto et al. have shown (2013: 59). In their own later study on teacher agency (2015), they did not employ ethnography, however; meanwhile, Priestley, Biesta, and Robertson (2015: 12) mention the use of such an approach, including observations and interviews, but do not offer details about the type of observations employed. My choice of ethnography as methodology for this study draws on these initial approaches, but was also underpinned by what I have outlined in 3.4 as the necessity to explore the domain of multilingual pedagogies *at the same time* as the phenomenon of teacher agency. "Viewed internally", agency is "always agency *toward* something, by means of which actors enter into [a] relationship with surrounding persons, places, meanings and events" (Emirbayer/Mische 1998: 973, emphasis in orig.), while seen 'externally', an emphasis needs to be placed on the importance of intersubjective, interactional, and communicative aspects as central elements of processes of agency (ibid: 973-974). Therefore, the choice of methodology might be usefully oriented by three interrelated questions: what methodology best facilitates an exploration of *the interplay* between context, teachers' practices, and their (professional) subjectivities? What approach would be most conducive to an understanding of *the intersubjective, interactional, and communicative elements* of the processes involved? And finally, which methodology can explore *the daily workings* of classroom and school as necessary contextual points of reference to which both multilingual pedagogies and teacher agency are, or might be, related, i.e. the context in which teachers make their choices and take their stances on work and professional identities, and which forms the present practical-evaluative dimension of this agency?

Responding to these prerequisites, I have adopted what Green and Bloome (1997: 183) call an *ethnographic perspective*. This study is, in other words, neither a comprehensive ethnography nor do I simply use ethnographic tools commonly associated with fieldwork. Following their classification, my research takes “a more focused approach [...] to study particular aspects” (ibid.) of the everyday practices of teachers and pupils in the sociocultural institution primary school, and I employ ethnographic methods such as observations, teacher interviews, participatory activities with children, and references to both photographs of schoolscapes and schools’ policy texts. Green and Bloome describe the use of theories of culture and research practices taken from sociology or anthropology as a key feature of an *ethnographic perspective* (ibid.), and the models used here for the analysis of teacher agency are, indeed, grounded in such cultural and sociological frameworks. The adoption of an ethnographic perspective vis-à-vis the theme of multilingual pedagogies also reflects the epistemological shift over the last two decades in the sociolinguistics of multilingualism toward ethnographic and critical approaches (Martin-Jones/Martin 2017b). This is perhaps most noticeable in the use of the language portrait activity with children from each class where fieldwork was conducted (see 4.3).

For the ethnographic perspective employed here, it is characteristic that its point of departure was the classroom in its entirety – both theoretically regarding the classroom as sociocultural context for teacher agency (see 5.1) and practically in terms of the fieldwork. Therefore, my ethnographic perspective is located primarily in the realm of ethnographic research in educational settings (Gordon et al. 2001) and not in linguistic ethnography in educational settings (Maybin/Tusting 2013: 518-520). The research design would not have generated data for the latter approach as I had decided against the use of audio or video recordings during classroom observations, because I anticipated that it would not be easy to gain access to schools (see 4.5) and did not want to make it too difficult for headteachers and class teachers to support my inquiry, given there was no benefit on offer for busy schools.

Two further aspects characterize the kind of ethnographic approach I have chosen for this study. The first concerns the *process* of ethnographic work. Writing on anthropology’s legacy for ethnography, Blommaert (2018: 7) foregrounds the importance of the dynamic ways in which knowledge is gathered, and how the researcher is *very* actively involved in ethnographic work. This, he argues, results in its distinctive, dynamic, and dialectical epistemology, in which both the ignorance of the ethnographer as crucial point of departure as well as the inclusion of the data’s history are significant features. Blommaert maintains that “the whole process of gathering and molding knowledge is part of that knowledge; knowledge construction *is* knowledge [...]” (ibid., emphasis in orig.). The second aspect is the capacity of ethnography “to challenge established views, not only of language but also

of symbolic capital in societies in general [...]” (ibid.). This reference to Pierre Bourdieu’s terminology indicates the potential of ethnographic work to thematise wider power relations – a perspective that is also important in the domain of critical ethnography with its concern for what and whose knowledge counts in school and the curriculum (Gordon et al. 2001: 193-194). Similarly, Martin-Jones and Martin describe critical perspectives in sociolinguistic developments as situated at the juncture of ethnographic observations, analyses of interactions and poststructuralist perspectives on social processes, institutions, and wider historical developments. In their eyes, ethnography is well placed to capture social and ideological processes over time and linguistic practices as they happen (2017b: 3-5). I mention these two aspects here, because both underscore the importance to pay close attention to my own positionality throughout the various stages of the research process. This reflexivity appears all the more relevant as there exists and, in my view, inevitably remains some tension between what has been called above the ‘ignorance’ of the researcher as point of departure and my familiarity with the theoretical framework of multilingual pedagogies as outlined in chapter 3 – a framework that draws, on the whole, on critical perspectives. My use of this framework – especially what I called in 3.1 the three aspects of the school as a place for multilingual pedagogies – has been evolving alongside the fieldwork in the first two schools.

4.2. Research design

To clarify the research design before approaching the first school and during the first weeks of fieldwork, I derived from the theoretical frameworks on multilingual pedagogies and teacher agency four elements that might potentially contribute to the achievement of teacher agency in the domain of multilingual pedagogies: *the classroom as part of the school*, *the teachers’ professional subjectivities*, *the children’s linguistic repertoires and voices*, and multilingual pedagogies. Each element could be seen as the specific ‘starting focus’ for one of the three main methods employed: the classroom for the participant observations, the teachers’ professional subjectivities for the interviews, and the children’s repertoires/voices for the participatory activities. At the same time, these elements were also interwoven throughout the data collection and the data analysis, as I will describe in 4.3 and 4.4. The fourth element, *multilingual pedagogies*, represents here, as Emirbayer and Mische phrase it, the ‘something’ toward which the teacher agency is or might be oriented (see fig. 3):

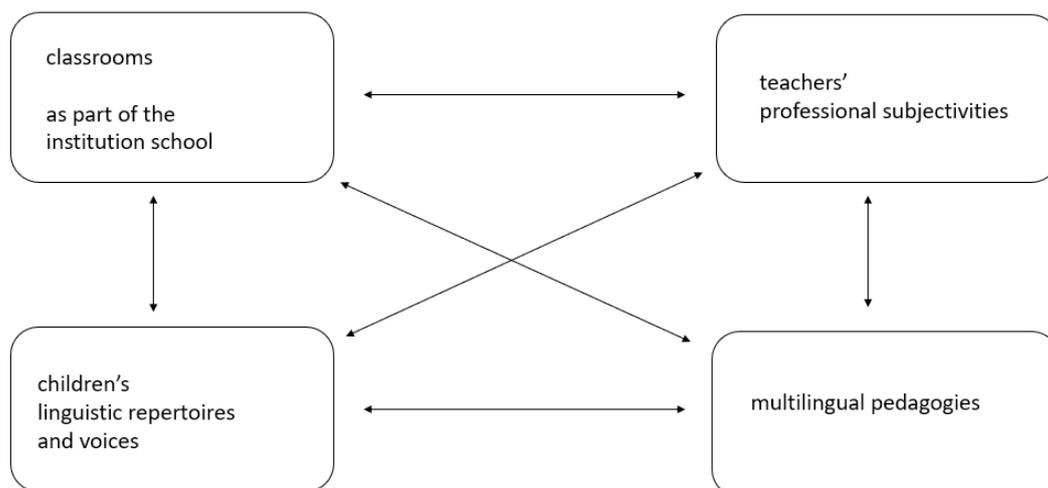


fig. 3: interrelated elements that (potentially) contribute to teacher agency in multilingual pedagogies

The study was conducted in three maintained inner-city primary schools in London and the East of England with five teachers in whose classrooms I spent one day per week over different periods of time. In Castle Primary² those days stretched over one school term, in Victoria Primary over a half term and in Bird Primary over two terms (see table 1 and 4.5 for more details on the research trajectory).

<i>school</i>	<i>Castle Primary</i>		<i>Victoria Primary</i>	<i>Bird Primary</i>	
teacher	Y 4 Ellie	Y 5 Mike	Y 3 Hira	Y 3 Kelly	Y 3 Heather
participant observation	20 days over one term		12 days of one half term	35 days over two terms	
other fieldnotes	assemblies, MFL lessons, conversations with EAL coordinator; visits to two complementary schools		assemblies, MFL lesson, conversation with EAL coordinator	assemblies, MFL lessons, conversations with EAL coordinator, showcase and other seasonal events	
1 st interview	60 min	30 min	45 min	60 min	40 min
2 nd interview	60 min	30 min	20 min	70 min	70 min
participatory activity with children 1	group of 6 children 45 min	group of 6 children 45 min	group of 6 children 45 min	two groups of 5 children 45 min each	two groups of 5 children 45 min each
participatory activity with children 2	group of 6 children 45 min	group of 6 children 45 min	group of 6 children 45 min	two groups of 5 children 45 min each	two groups of 5 children 45 min each
photographs of the linguistic schoolscape	17		10	36	
documents	Teaching and learning policy, EAL policy, MFL policy		Teaching and learning policy	EAL policy, MFL policy	

table 1: data collected

² All schools', teachers' and children's names are pseudonyms. As names can be often associated with linguistic or cultural affiliations, the pseudonyms have been chosen accordingly.

In each class, the components of participant observations, interviews, and participatory activities followed a similar chronology: after some weeks of observations, which would continue throughout the research in the respective class, the first teacher interview took place. This was followed by the two sessions of participatory activities with a focus group of children from each class or, at Bird Primary, with two groups of pupils from each class. The activities took place in two successive weeks, before, finally, the second teacher interview was conducted towards the end of the respective half term. Thus, each component of the research process in the classroom was linked to the previous one. The first interview addressed issues of the teacher's professional identity, of general practices in the classroom, of their role in school, and of plurilingual children, whereas the second interview took place after the participatory activities and focused mainly on activities or possible activities around multilingual pedagogies.

4.3 Methods of data collection

I will now explain the ways in which I collected the data through observations, teacher interviews, participatory activities, photographs, and school policy documents.

Participant observations

Participant observation is one of the standard methods in educational ethnography (Eisenhart 2001: 18). In my research sequence, it was the very starting point, and I wrote fieldnotes in the classrooms largely as "a running description of events, people, things, heard and overheard, conversations among people, conversations with people" (Lofland/Lofland 1995: 93). Walking into a teacher's classroom as a researcher must be seen as a privilege, not least because I could focus on aspects chosen for the study's purpose while leaving aside many other facets of a class teacher's task of running a vibrant primary classroom. Thus, my attention was necessarily selective, noticing and writing down "certain things that seem 'significant', ignoring and hence 'leaving out' other matters that do not seem significant" (Emerson et al. 2011: 4). My fieldnotes were oriented in three ways: first, toward classroom communication, interactions, teaching/learning approaches, and the general atmosphere and dynamics of the classroom; second, toward the questions formulated in the teacher agency model (fig. 2, p. 37) under 'status quo': *what are the issues in the context of multilingual pedagogies? What is being done? What influence does the teacher exert? What choices does the teacher make?* And third, my fieldnotes covered aspects of the school as workplace, e.g. interactions with year group colleagues, LSAs, or the headteacher. Those aspects are listed as relationships and roles in figure 2. These three orientations covered a wide range of small events, and I started to write short notes as a running

description of the school day, which I extended at break times, during lessons, or when developing them into full notes. Sometimes my focus shifted, e.g. when the atmosphere of the classroom emerged clearly from the notes or when, within the complexity of the classroom, I began to focus a little more on children who had been new arrivals some months before. However, I always followed the teaching/learning activities.

During the participant observations, I sat on a chair or the carpet or moved between tables, following what the children or the teacher did. Sometimes, I initiated a short conversation with pupils about their work. Yet, of course, once children in a Year 3 or 4 (less in Year 5) saw the additional adult around, they asked sometimes for help, which I was happy to give if it seemed appropriate. One teacher asked me occasionally to work with children who needed more support. In my interactions in the classroom, it was very important to me to address issues around multilingualism rarely and only in a rather offhand way, ensuring that I was not intrusive. In my study, the place for addressing language repertoires and experiences in school more directly with the children were the participatory activities. An exception from this generally adopted approach were the first days in a class, when I asked, "Do you speak another language than English?" in brief informal chats because I wanted to hear from the children themselves how they described their language repertoires. Moreover, the participant observations provided an opportunity to secure ongoing access in that alongside an understanding of the classroom routines, I established a rapport and trust with the teachers and pupils, which were all a precondition for the interviews and participatory activities. With the teachers this was mainly achieved through short chats, normally in the morning before the first lesson. Time is a very precious asset in schools, and in the interaction with teachers and learning support assistants I sought to avoid disturbing their working routines in their non-teaching time. "In order to maintain access relationships in the field, researchers need to perform identity work" (Grant 2017: 1), and in this sense it could be said that I adopted an identity in my participant observations that showed interest in the daily workings of the classroom and was based on having a certain understanding of a primary classroom, given that I am a teacher myself. However, my conversations with the teachers were short and usually related to issues around children's responses to lesson activities etc. I had decided not to address the theme of multilingualism in such situations because I intended to understand the classroom 'as a whole', on the basis of its routines, and I did not want to forestall the more focused approach in the interviews. Apart from the fieldnotes in the classroom, some additional fieldnotes were taken in the playground (before/after school and at break times), in assemblies, and in conversations with EAL coordinators (see also table 1).

Semi-structured interviews

The following part of a letter for potential participant teachers, written after a meeting with the headteacher, captures how I introduced my research focus and the interviews:

“The project focuses on the roles and agency of teachers in multilingual pedagogies. My study aims at exploring, what the role and agency of teachers is and how it develops in classrooms, where many children bring with them more than one language. [...] there would be an interview of approx. 60 min and in the second half of the term another. This kind of interview is meant as a conversation and as listening to the teacher” (email to Castle Primary 6.12.2016, emphasis in orig.).

The emphasis on the interview as *a conversation* and on *listening* was the perspective that I communicated to the teachers. However, to avoid misunderstandings, I want to mention the critique that has been put forward of the traditional research interview. Martin Packer points to the contradiction that the use of the semi-structured interview attempts to seek a kind of ‘objective study of subjectivity’ (Packer 2011: 52). If interview talk is seen, he argues, as a collaborative activity or ‘joint production’, then it is important not to lose sight of this interactive perspective when claiming that the interview gives insights into the interviewee’s subjectivity (ibid.: 52-56). In my understanding, this tension must be acknowledged in a study on teacher agency that works with a model of agency which explicitly includes professional subjectivity as a significant component. The critique can serve as a reminder to bear in mind that a semi-structured interview yields knowledge that has been characterised as produced, relational, conversational (i.e. relying on conversation and the negotiation of meaning), and contextual (i.e. requiring a description of its situatedness (Brinkmann/Kvale 2015: 63-65). The ethnographic framework, in which the interviews are embedded and in which the interviewer and the interviewee interact, underscores these features. I describe now first the status of the interviews in the research, and second how I conducted them.

The interviews were designed to explore how elements of a teacher’s professional subjectivity may contribute to teacher agency in multilingual pedagogies. They did not aim to produce what has been critiqued above as an ‘objective’ understanding of ‘subjectivity’, nor did they have the scope to explore the many elements of a teacher’s subjectivity. Such a comprehensive undertaking would have required different interview questions and more time for each interview. Instead, the teacher interviews provided an opportunity to listen to the teachers in order to ‘make (more) sense’ of the participant observations. This included listening to their reflections on their professional history, identities and knowledge and on the socio-cultural context that is not or only partially observable through participant observations (e.g. relationships in the workplace). Thus, the interview “attempts to understand themes of the lived everyday world from the subjects’ own perspectives” (Brinkmann/Kvale 2015: 31), while it focuses, in this study, on experiences that relate to the

professional setting 'school'. Since the interviewees are positioned within the institution and their position and interactions are, therefore, influenced by society's power relations and corresponding conditions of schooling (Cummins 2000: 43-49), it is a significant part of exploring teacher agency in multilingual pedagogies to examine their position and interactions in the classrooms vis-à-vis multilingualism, and to explore how they thematise the fact that, as phrased in the letter quoted above, "many children bring with them more than one language."

Thus, the interview questions for the semi-structured interviews addressed two central thematic areas: teacher agency and children's multilingualism. Overall, these two themes were kept separate in the first interview, in which the main set of questions focused on professional identities and the workplace. The questions were worded in an open and colloquial way, e.g. *tell me about what is important to you in your work, your teaching, and your classroom practices; how do you see the scope of your influence in school, e.g. regarding teaching practices, developments, organisational procedures?* The second set of questions addressed multilingualism, e.g. *many of the children you teach are bi- or multilingual. What does this mean for you? – What do you know about the languages the children speak... in the sense, do you know which languages they speak?* Such open questions gave the teachers more liberty to respond and facilitated a more dialogical approach, where the teachers spoke about their experiences and I contributed sometimes impressions from my observations. The questions also allowed teachers to enunciate aspects of their subjectivities and society's lines of difference, recognising "that we all speak from a particular place, out of a particular history, out of a particular experience, a particular culture" (Hall 1992b: 258) without inserting into the interview specific categories and imposing them onto the teachers.

In the second interview, the thematic areas of teacher agency and children's multilingualism merged. Usually, I started the interview with some keywords referring to aspects the teachers had mentioned in the first interview, followed by, e.g. *are there areas of classroom practices where you feel you really bring your own ideas [...] your own identity as the teacher you are?* (interview Ellie, Castle Primary, 24.3.2017, 35-37). Later, I indicated a thematic shift toward multilingualism and pointed out that the interview's character might move towards a kind of 'joint reflection' as a marker that the interview might reach at this point beyond the status quo. The teachers were asked when they would acknowledge the fact that a child speaks more than one language or when they would include or use those languages in the classroom. Finally, the interview moved on to the question of if they like to include the children's languages, and if so, which ideas they had for such inclusion. In this interview section, I also occasionally mentioned examples from the participatory activities with the children, if it seemed thematically appropriate or helpful for the flow of the interview.

Participatory activities

The research sequence in each class included two participatory activities with children, which I conducted in two consecutive weeks with a group of six pupils from each of the three classes at Castle and Victoria Primary and with two groups of five from the two classes at Bird Primary. The children were chosen, on the whole, somewhat randomly, but I tried to bring together in each group children who had mentioned before various different aspects of being bi- or multilingual, e.g. (not) having literacy skills in their 'other' language(s) or having previously been schooled in another country. I also aimed at a balanced 'presence' of different languages and a gender balance. I neither included children with a monolingual English family socialisation, nor pupils who were emergent bilinguals, i.e. still in a phase in which their English skills would prevent them from participating equally in the group talk.

The first session was a language portrait activity, and the second a focus group interview that included a mind map activity. Each session lasted for circa 45 minutes and was audio-recorded. None of the children had done the language portrait activity before.

In the portrait activity, the children were asked to colour a silhouette (OESZ 2012: 59). I presented the activity to the children in a relatively open way – “one colour for one language, a language you speak, a language that is important for you” (e.g. prompt act. 1, Victoria Primary, 29.6.2017, 6). This allowed them to decide for themselves which languages they wanted to include and which meanings they wanted to assign to the different components of their repertoire. Furthermore, I did not ask the pupils explicitly to consider issues of representation, i.e. which colour to use for a certain language, to quantify its use, or how to place colour/language in a specific section of the figure. After the colouring, the children were asked to present their drawings and to explain which language they included in their portrait, how they learnt it, where and with whom they speak it; I also encouraged them to ask each other questions. I adopted what I see as an age appropriate approach with the main purpose to elicit children's voices, using an instrument that has been widely employed in educational settings within a language awareness perspective (Busch 2018: 2). In more elaborate ways, the language portrait silhouette is also used as a multimodal method in biographically oriented research on multilingualism (Busch 2017). In my study, the activity had the status of a *participatory activity* with the purpose to explore how individual children describe their repertoires and their lived experience of multilingualism. That is, the principal interest was to shed some light on the children's language repertoires as an important precondition for situated multilingual pedagogies in the respective classroom.

The second participatory activity consisted of two main parts. It had arisen out of talking with the children about their language experiences and out of the perspective that they should be seen as

experts for their own multilingualism. Originally planned with a larger focus on multilingual practices that might be encountered in the classroom, the questions were amended toward children's experiences as plurilingual speakers in and out of school, e.g. *do you speak this language ... in school? Do you use the language sometimes in a lesson? Have you ever translated a text/story in school or at home? Do you use your language for learning at home? Are you reading with your parents at home in a language which is not English?* This was followed by *would you like to do more with your languages in school? Would that be a good idea?* In the last part of the session, I asked the children to "write what you think you could be doing with your languages (...) in school" (prompt Bird Primary Y 3/2, 31.1.2018, 51-52). For this purpose, a copy of the same silhouette as for the language portrait was used as a kind of mind map. By phrasing the question in such a relatively open way, I intended to acknowledge the children as experts for their plurilingual repertoires without expecting them to be 'experts of multilingual pedagogies'. If some children were initially uncertain about the task, I provided one or two examples. Finally, after the children had written their mind maps, they explained some of their ideas.

I chose the setting of group interviews for these activities, because it can increase the confidence of individual children and allow them to decide parts of the agenda (Greig et al. 2013: 238). The participating children, however, missed 90 minutes of lesson time, and certain time constraints – and my decision – prevented us from genuinely changing the agenda. Nevertheless, I aimed at giving the children considerable leeway to interact during their work on the silhouettes and their presentations. Throughout the activities, it was crucial to ensure that the underlying understanding of a normalcy of multilingualism on the part of the children was not disrupted by any supposition on my part about the meaning a child assigns to speaking a certain language. Therefore, while some children mentioned their biographical trajectories and/or the migration of their parents, I avoided questions which ran a risk of coercing a child into a certain affiliation or could potentially have had discriminatory effects.

Photographs and documents

In Castle and Bird Primary, I took photographs of the linguistic schoolscape of the classrooms involved in the study, as well as of corridors and assembly halls; in Victoria Primary, such photographs were taken in the classroom. Moreover, I accessed the school policies that were potentially relevant for the area of languages, i.e. Teaching and Learning policy, English-as-an-additional language policy, and Modern Foreign Language policy.

4.4 Methods of data analysis

In the following sections, I describe how I have analysed the fieldnotes, transcripts and resources from the participatory activities as well as the photographs and school policies. While I will address here the analysis for each type of data in turn, the analysis has, of course, not developed in such neatly divided, linear ways. In fact, the “iterative process in which ideas are used to make sense of data, and data are used to change or develop our descriptive and explanatory ideas” (Hammersley/Atkinson 2019: 168) took place as I was moving back and forth between such sense-making and emerging themes, as well as between the different types of data and the data sets from the five classrooms. However, by using the same sequence as in the previous section, I intend to make the processes of analysis more transparent and traceable. At the end of the section, I describe the triangulations used in the process.

Fieldnotes

For the fieldnotes, I followed a thematic analysis. While this is a common approach for analysing qualitative data (Bryman 2016: 584), it is also somewhat contested due to a certain procedural vagueness (Bazeley 2013: 191). Taking this into account, I describe my approach to the analysis of the fieldnotes in four steps. First, I coded the fieldnotes from the classroom and annotated them in line with the three orientations that had guided the observations: (1) classroom communication/interaction, teaching/learning approaches, classroom atmosphere/dynamics; (2) instances of multilingualism; and (3) workplace related (inter)actions. This resulted in a multitude of codes, and it became necessary to channel them further in order to identify regularities and patterns that would enable me to describe (facets of) the respective classroom as the context to which the teacher’s agency could be related and in which it might be achieved.

For this purpose, in a second step I used ‘teaching/learning routines’ and ‘voices being heard’ as two broad key features. When introducing the classrooms in chapter 5, I will explain in more detail how I arrived at ‘voices being heard’, and so it may suffice here to mention that I used this feature to draw together aspects of communication/interaction and multilingualism in order to describe the classroom through a more coherent lens. Moreover, it is relevant regarding the iterative process that I took perceptions from the participant observations/fieldnotes into the interviews with the teachers, sharing impressions from the classroom when appropriate in the dialogical flow of the interview. In terms of the process of analysis, it has been at a later point, when the data from the interviews was included, that I started to identify themes that were significant for the respective teacher’s general agency. For the analysis of ‘themes’, I draw on the understanding that “[a] theme captures something important about the data in relation to the research question, and represents some level of *patterned*

response or meaning within the data set” (Braun/Clarke 2006: 82, emphasis in orig.); this is the main focus of chapter 5.

In a third step, I focused on instances, in which multilingualism had become audible or relevant. The coding, annotating, and identification of patterns in this area required its own distinctive approach. On the one hand, a ‘larger pattern’ of prevalent monolingualism emerged, and, on the other hand, there were a small number of instances when multilingualism became audible or had been observed. This kind of data and, crucially, the relation between the ‘larger pattern’ and a small number of specific situations required an analytical approach that would enable me to look in depth into instances that I considered as critical incidents within the ‘large pattern’ of the prevalence of monolingualism in the classroom.

I used the lens of stancetaking, as developed in an interactional sociolinguistic perspective (Jaffe 2007a), for this more detailed analysis. ‘Stancetaking’ refers to the possibility for a speaker to take up a position with regard to the form or the content of their utterance and acknowledges that this positionality is built into the act of communication (Jaffe 2007b: 3). The stancetaker has been defined as someone who is “simultaneously evaluating objects, positioning subjects (self and others), and aligning with other subjects, with respect to any salient dimension of the sociocultural field” (Du Bois 2007: 163). I will employ this analytical lens in chapter 7. Here, it is important to emphasise that the stancetaking perspective is in line with the broader frameworks mentioned in chapter 3 in the contexts of language ideologies and discourses on language use that translate into one’s own perception as speaker (Busch 2017: 52), and in the contexts of the processes of subjectification in which plurilingual pupils are involved in school (García/Li 2014: 15). While scholars in education, educational linguistics, and sociolinguistics work with a range of concepts of both ‘ideology’ and ‘discourse’, and therefore refer regarding ‘subjectification’ to Althusser’s (1984) notion of ideology, Foucault’s discourse (e.g. 1971), or to Butler’s ‘subjectivation’ (e.g. Davies 2006; Youdell 2006), stancetaking can be seen as part of these wider epistemological and ontological perspectives: “Stancetaking [...] plays a complex role with respect to the naturalization of social and linguistic ideologies and the social structures they legitimate” (Jaffe 2007b: 22). It can play a naturalising role because it activates ideologies indirectly, yet, Jaffe argues, some acts of stancetaking might also have denaturalising effects due to their performative character (ibid.). While she speaks of ideologies here, Harré and van Langenhove, (1991: 395), whose earlier conceptualisations of ‘positioning’ are important for stancetaking, refer explicitly to discourses as making positions available for subjects to take up (Hollway 1984: 236). I mention these cross-references as they allow for coherence in relation to the conceptualisations outlined in chapter 3 on multilingual pedagogies, and thus I consider them important for the overall epistemological coherence of the study.

Other fieldnotes data regarding multilingualism was coded and annotated more descriptively, and linked to categories like the small situations and circumstances in which children spoke a language other than English, or to descriptions children gave when talking about their linguistic repertoires when I asked them on the first two days of the participant observations. Furthermore, those notes were used for choosing the focus groups for the participatory activities.

Finally, as a fourth step, the data regarding the workplace and workplace interactions were annotated and provided background for the teacher interviews. As described in the second step, the themes regarding the workplace components of teacher agency emerged more clearly, when the data from the interviews could be taken into consideration. On the whole, the analysis in this area was based primarily on the teacher interviews, whereas the fieldnotes provided a more general opportunity to compare, e.g. what teachers said about the atmosphere of the workplace.

Semi-structured interviews

To analyse the teacher interviews, I drew on Braun's and Clarke's guidance for a thematic analysis. They suggest that the thematic analysis should be seen as a method in its own right that "provides a flexible and useful research tool, which can potentially provide a rich and detailed, yet complex account of data" (2006: 78). Their elaboration has been used both more widely in accounts on thematic analysis (Bryman 2016) and also in studies on teacher agency mentioned in 3.2.1 (Eteläpelto et al. 2015; Dubiner et al. 2018). I followed it broadly, and I would like to describe my steps here. Even though they may seem more schematic than they actually were in the course of an ethnographic work, such a description can, in my view, shed some light on what is meant in the analysis by 'emerging themes'. Thus, I went through the following phases with the interview transcripts:

(1) I *transcribed* the teacher interviews. (2) For the *initial coding*, I used three layers, annotating one after another: first, I coded for content; second, I linked the respective extract to categories related to the elements of the teacher agency model (e.g. 'professional identity', 'professional competencies', 'professional development') or other topics mentioned (e.g. 'critique of education policy'); in a third step, I annotated the interview passages with brief comments, highlighting aspects that seemed of particular interest (e.g. 'multilingual children as EAL learners'). In a sense, in this phase, I worked on the assumption that "data must be treated as materials to think with" (Hammersley/Atkinson 2019: 167). (3) Then, in what Braun and Clarke describe as *searching for themes*, I followed up those codes that might combine and shape into themes (Braun/Clarke 2006: 89). For this purpose, I collated data from other passages of the same interview, from other interviews or from other data sources; e.g. in the case of 'multilingual children as EAL learners', I would look at how 'EAL' and 'multilingual learners' were thematised in other interviews and in school policies. (4) In the first part of the next phase of

reviewing themes, I looked at the data gathered around a theme, considering whether it formed a ‘coherent pattern’ and created what the scholars call a candidate ‘thematic map’. Braun and Clarke also suggest that, in a further step, the researcher should run through a similar process looking at the soundness of individual themes in relation to the *whole* data set (ibid.: 91). In this phase, it became also clearer how I might bring the data for analysing teacher agency and the data for examining multilingual pedagogies together. (5) This led finally to decisions about the names and descriptions of themes and how they would be shaped in the final *written analysis*.

Another aspect of the thematic analysis of the teacher interviews concerns the level at which themes are identified. Braun and Clarke distinguish between a thematic analysis that identifies themes within the explicit or surface meanings of the data (2006: 84), and a thematic analysis that refers to what they call the latent level beyond the semantic content: this analysis begins “to identify or examine the *underlying* ideas, assumptions, and conceptualizations – and ideologies – that are theorized as shaping or informing the semantic content of the data” (ibid., emphasis in orig.). While Braun and Clarke point out that often a thematic analysis focuses on just one of those levels, it was clear to me that because I could draw on broader ethnographic work, namely the fieldnotes, yet had only a small number of interviews, my analysis of these interviews should and could work on both levels. I approached many interview passages about elements of the teacher agency model on the level of explicit meanings by analysing *what* a teacher said about, e.g. their pedagogical priorities or conditions at the workplace school. This was an obvious necessity, given that the exploration of teacher agency is grounded in the assumption that teachers should be seen as active agents in the wider context of education and that their professional voice matters (Priestley et al. 2015: 5). Moreover, it was also possible to proceed like this because the interviews were part of the ethnographic work, and I could, therefore, compare or match a teacher’s account on a certain aspect with the participant observations/fieldnotes. If, for instance, an account would run counter to an observation, it would have been thematised in the interview itself. At other points of the analysis, however, it became important to look at the ‘latent’ level and to include in the analysis *how* a teacher talked, for example, about plurilingual children or a certain situation. I made such decisions about the level of analysis during the process itself, when the interest to explore *how* an aspect was thematised emerged out of the reading of one particular interview, yet such an aspect would evolve toward a theme or subtheme only when occurring in other interviews or another data item as well.

Resources from the participatory activities with children

The data from the participatory activities with the children consisted of audio-recordings and drawings from the language portrait activity in the first session, and of audio-recordings and mind maps from the second session. The purpose of the two activities had been twofold: to explore how individual children describe their linguistic repertoires and their experience of multilingualism, and to examine how *children's repertoires and voices* might be understood as one of the four elements that potentially contribute to teacher agency in multilingual pedagogies. The analysis was oriented toward this twofold purpose, and its scope was, therefore, not so much a detailed exploration of a child's linguistic repertoire in its own right (which would not have been feasible within the timeframe of the activity setting) but rather to provide insights into children's linguistic repertoires and also into aspects that might be more generally or conceptually relevant for multilingual pedagogies.

For the analysis of the language portrait activity, it was of interest to look at *what* the children said and also at *how* they talked about their multilingualism, since both aspects could shed light on their language experiences. During the activity, the children mentioned a multitude of language practices, and I approached the analysis by trying to identify patterns and overarching aspects across all seven activity groups. This approach can be seen as an attempt to describe linguistic superdiversity as a feature of the primary classroom, while starting with the speakers' perspectives and the linguistic repertoires, thus avoiding assumptions or classifications linked to the notion of 'first' or 'second' languages (Busch 2017: 56). The language practices which the children described pointed to a *range of meanings* that speaking a language or having a language in the linguistic repertoire have for them. Their descriptions allowed me to identify three facets of diversity – diversity of meanings which language practices have for children; diversity of interactional and/or geographical contexts to which those meanings are related; and diversity of literacy skills that children acquire in their languages – onto which their various language practices could be mapped. Furthermore, from the children's talk during the language portrait activity, two further overarching features emerged that I describe as *normalcy of lived multilingualism* and *children as experts*. I will focus on these facets in 7.2, but would like to mention here that, in terms of methods of analysis, I do not attribute to them the status of themes that require the same systematic approach taken with the fieldnotes and the interviews. Within the ethnographic work, these facets highlight aspects that, while not, or not readily, observable or audible in the classrooms, are very relevant for thematising the linguistic superdiversity in the classrooms and the experiences of plurilingual children as prerequisite for multilingual pedagogies.

The data from the second participatory activities were analysed from a similar perspective. Children's answers to some questions, e.g. whether they use their languages in lessons, were included in the reporting of language practices, as described above. The analysis of other answers, e.g. to the question

whether their parents would support them with multilingual homework/-project tasks, was guided by the interest to identify aspects of their experiences as plurilingual speakers that might be relevant for multilingual activities in the respective classroom and could be linked conceptually to the development of multilingual pedagogies in general. Finally, for the analysis of the last part of the second participatory activities, where the pupils were asked to write in a mind map their ideas for what they would like to do or could do with their languages in school, I sorted the ideas and suggestions into four groups – ‘interactive activities’, ‘explicitly literacy related learning’, ‘multiliteracies’, and ‘others’ – which will be reported in chapter 9.

Photographs and documents

When analysing the photographs I had taken of the linguistic schoolsapes, I considered the purpose of the particular item, how it uses a language other than English, and what its origin or source was, e.g. whether it had been made by pupils or had been downloaded from an online publisher. The Teaching and Learning, EAL-, and MFL policies were analysed for how they mention and thematise multilingualism.

Triangulation

To conclude this section, I would like to describe the triangulations used in the analysis of data. Working with more than one method or type of data for the exploration of the research focus and to check interpretations from one type by comparing them with another data source (Hammersley/Atkinson 2019: 195) is common in ethnography, for example when researchers check their observations with questions in interviews (Bryman 2016: 386). As ethnographic work frequently involves various methods, “it may be possible to assess the validity of inferences between indicators and concepts by examining data relating to the same concept from participant observation, interviewing, and/or documents” (Hammersley/Atkinson 2019: 196). While here, triangulation is associated with ‘sophisticated rigour’, other developments foreground the aim to obtain a deeper, more comprehensive understanding of the research topic, e.g. by including contradictions or tensions, thus offering the chance to gain ‘extra knowledge’ instead of confirming already existing findings (Flick 2017: 53).

In my analysis, I followed the distinction made between two levels of triangulation in qualitative research (Flick 2018: 455). Triangulation can be used for a single case, i.e. the person interviewed is also the one who is being observed. Alternatively, or in addition, triangulation can be applied over the whole sample, i.e. the interviews and the observations of the entire sample are compared for similarities and common themes. The research design and focus of the study offered the opportunity

to triangulate on both levels. When conducting the interviews, I drew on my observations to assess, on the level of the single classroom, my perceptions. This assessment was not primarily concerned with ‘cross-checking’ inferences and their validity (as described by Hammersley and Atkinson above), but with gaining insights into the teacher’s understandings (in the sense of an emic view) of the processes in the classroom and thus, as it was called before, ‘extra knowledge’. These were the moments, as described in the section on the analysis of the fieldnotes above, when it became possible to identify themes regarding the respective teacher’s general agency in the classroom or the school as a workplace. In relation to multilingualism, however, triangulation was predominantly used across the whole sample of the five classrooms and teachers, and also by including other data items, such as school policies and photographs from the linguistic schoolscapes. This triangulation facilitated the identification of similarities between classrooms and of comparable passages in the interviews, which might then acquire in the process the status of a theme. On this level, however, and within the small sample, it was also possible to thematise discrepancies between the five teachers.

4.5 Trajectory of research: the schools and the teachers

In this section, I will provide information about the schools and the teachers involved in the study. I have decided against a description of the children in the five classes because, in my opinion, they are best introduced in the respective episodes and extracts from their classrooms and the participatory activities.

The three schools

The study was conducted in three maintained inner-city primary schools in London and the East of England, which I call here Castle Primary, Victoria Primary, and Bird Primary. The three schools had a high percentage of children who have as a ‘first language’ a language other than English (the phrasing follows here the terminology used in the schools’ statistical system).

Castle Primary is located in an inner London borough which is traditionally associated with a very diverse population, and the children in the school speak approximately 40 languages apart from English. While there is not one large language group, Polish, Lithuanian, and Romanian are spoken by many children in school. The school is a three-form entry school and about a third of its students is eligible for pupil premium. Castle Primary had been classified as ‘requires improvement’ in the previous Ofsted inspection and a new senior management team had been appointed since then.

Victoria Primary, a large four-form entry school, is located in the same borough. The language count on the school’s statistical system lists 45 different languages as pupils’ ‘first language’. Around a

quarter of the children speak Urdu and almost a quarter Bengali, while 17% of the students are listed with English as their first language. Approximately a quarter of the pupils at Victoria Primary are eligible for pupil premium.

The third school in the study, Bird Primary, is located in the East of England. It is a two-form entry school where circa 80% of the children are listed as pupils with English as an additional language. These children speak approximately 50 languages, but there is not one large language group represented in school; the count of pupils' home languages shows for the most commonly spoken languages that about a tenth of children speak Polish, a tenth Urdu, and 4% are listed with Akan/Twi-Fante. The number of children at Bird Primary who are eligible for pupil premium is, in the wording of Ofsted, low, although the headteacher pointed out that this description would not adequately capture the economic situation of many families (conversation 11.7.2018).

I approached the headteachers of Castle and Victoria Primary via email. In both schools I had worked as a daily supply teacher in the past, but without meeting any of the participating teachers. On the whole, it could be said that I had a basic knowledge of the schools' catchment areas as I live in the same borough, even if this can only lead to a superficial understanding given the size of London boroughs. The third school, Bird Primary, was found accidentally through their school website that explicitly mentioned the multilingualism of its community.

Originally, I intended to have a larger sample of schools and teachers, but I reduced the sample size when it became clear that, on the one hand, it would be difficult to gain access to more schools, and that, on the other hand, the data collected in the three schools would enable me to respond to the research questions in a meaningful way.

The five teachers

In my conversations with the headteachers, we had agreed that they would ask all teachers whether they would want to volunteer except the Year 1 and Year 6 teachers (and in one school the Year 4s as they were split in the afternoon). Thus, the final sample of teachers was random, and since the teachers were found through the process described above, I had no influence on their selection. Yet I would argue that it worked well to have four Lower Key Stage 2 classes and one Year 5 involved, because these age groups can be seen broadly as located in the middle of the primary phase.

Among the teachers, there was a range of length of teaching careers and of positions held. At Castle Primary, *Ellie* was class teacher in Year 4. She had the role of Year 4 group leader and was currently on a school management course. Ellie herself had attended a small primary school in the North of England and, as she described it, "always wanted to be a teacher" (int. 8.2.2017, 95). Now she was in

her ninth year of teaching; after her induction year in the North, she had worked for seven years in a large primary school in the same borough as she teaches now, having joined Castle Primary at the start of the school year.

Mike was class teacher in Year 5. He was also in his ninth year of teaching and had taken on the role of assistant head, with responsibility for teaching and learning. He said about his own education, “I experienced every type of school which at the time was a bit unsettling but probably made me who I am” (int. 30.1.2017, 146-147), mentioning a small school, a boarding school, and a university in the US. Mike had worked at a large newspaper for a year, and also for some months as an English teacher in South America and in a poor neighbourhood in India. He was very busy in his assistant head role and often had another teacher covering his class in the afternoon.

In Victoria Primary, *Hira* was class teacher in Year 3, a role she had taken on already the year before, which had been her induction year. She had attended primary and secondary school in London, and also studied there for her PGCE. Hira was subject leader for music.

In Bird Primary, *Heather* was class teacher in Year 3, Lower Key Stage 2 leader, and lead for Well-being, which consists in her school of the domains of personal, social, health and economic education (PSHE), and learning behaviour. Heather started to work at Bird Primary when she was on the last placement for her BA Ed. and was now in her fifth year of teaching. About her own years as a pupil she said “I had an amazing experience in primary and secondary school” (int. 12.1.2018, 104-105).

Finally, *Kelly* was the other Year 3 class teacher at Bird Primary. After a career as childminder, she had been trained here as teacher within the School Direct Scheme and was now in her second year of teaching. Talking about her own learning, Kelly said, “I am still really into learning things because I did my degree when I was very old” (int. 7.12.2017, 145-146). At her school, Kelly shared the Computing lead with another colleague.

As outlined before, I did not have any influence on the make-up of the group of participating teachers. While the three schools had, on the whole, diverse staff, all the headteachers, with the exception of one deputy head, were white, and of the five teachers in my study, only Hira had a BAME background. In the small group of participants, this happened randomly; however, it somewhat accidentally reflects statistics which indicate that 85.9% of all teachers in state-funded schools in England identified as White British in 2018 (DfE 2020a). Moreover, I have not included the teachers’ description of their linguistic repertoires here, as I will turn in more detail to how they talked about their own language experience in chapter 9.

4.6 Ethical issues

For my study, the following ethical aspects are particularly relevant: (1) the formal procedures that have been followed; (2) the negotiation of access; (3) the informed consent by teachers and children; (4) aspects regarding the teacher interviews; and (5) issues concerning the study of children's linguistic repertoires. Questions around the ethical issues of positionality and reflexivity will be addressed in 4.7.

(1) I followed the procedures for ethical approval of the Department of Educational Studies at Goldsmiths, University of London, and, as part of this process, consulted the 'Ethical Guidelines for Educational Research' (BERA 2011/2018) and the 'Framework for Research Ethics' of the ESRC. The data have been stored securely and anonymized at the point of transcription.

(2) Access was negotiated in all three schools via the headteacher. After an initial email, in which I described the research, I met with the headteacher or the deputy and explained the study. In one school, I was also asked for a written research design. After these meetings, I sent a one-page description to the headteachers to inform their staff about my inquiry. In these conversations and texts, I used both the term 'teacher agency' and, realising that this was easily considered jargon, also 'teachers' roles in multilingual pedagogies' as a synonym. At this point, there is a risk of tension if individual teachers feel pressured by the headteacher to participate (Brooks et al. 2014: 157), but I saw no indication of this. Before beginning observations in the classroom, I met with the teachers and explained the research aim and the nature of the participant observations and interviews. It was important to me to ensure that these methods were not perceived as similar to other forms of observation in school or job interviews. Furthermore, I asked the teachers to introduce me to the pupils in a general way, i.e. as someone who would be interested in their learning.

(3) During this initial meeting with the class teachers, I also addressed confidentiality, anonymity, and their right to withdraw at any point. Overall, voluntary informed consent on the part of the participating teachers was established in the meeting. While the general consent for access was given by the headteacher as gatekeeper, and by extension by the respective class teacher, the children and their parents were also asked for their consent before the participatory activities. I told the children who I had chosen for the groups that the activity session would include some talk and drawing about their languages. I asked the pupils whether they would like to join and explained that their parents' consent was required because the sessions would be audio-recorded, and I was not a teacher at their school. At one school, the children's signature was included in the form. If a form had not been returned, I inquired usually once; two parents declined their consent, and for one parent I provided a translated consent form.

(4) All qualitative research carries potentially the risk of crossing boundaries into privacy, given its common “commitment to understand people’s perspectives, attitudes, and feelings *in depth*” (Hammersley/Traianou 2012: 106, emphasis in orig.). Thus, interviews with teachers that include questions about their professional subjectivity as an important component of agency might touch on sensitive issues. In fact, teachers’ agency itself can be closely linked to their professional vulnerability: teachers, who are committed and involved with their values, show a multidimensional emotional investment, as Lasky (2005) has shown in the context of the secondary school reform in Canada. In my study, I used open questions to offer teachers sufficient room to navigate the boundary between professional and private. As mentioned before, the open questions also enabled me to avoid language that would require the teachers to position themselves in line with pre-established categories. The understanding of the interview knowledge as produced, relational, and conversational involved a dialogical and non-confrontational style with many on-the-spot decisions where I tried to use what Brinkmann and Kvale describe as researchers’ desirable “ability to perceive and judge ‘thickly’ (i.e., using their practical wisdom) in order to be ethically proficient” (2015: 90).

(5) To conduct research with children is usually seen as ethically more sensitive and more complex, because children are often regarded as less powerful and more vulnerable than adults. It is equally important to be aware that ethical issues such as their free choice of participation, avoidance of harm through this participation, and the right to fair and respectful treatment are the same as with adults and part of the essential set of ethical questions to be considered (Brooks et al. 2014: 102).

I would like to report here two short episodes that show how vulnerability can surface instantaneously when researching multilingualism with children: a pupil told me that she speaks Lithuanian and a bit of Russian, and asked me what I speak. When I answered German, she told me that her auntie speaks German too, and, when asked whether she writes and reads in Lithuanian, she replied, “a bit, my mums wants me ... because she says I don’t know where I will live”. Thus, I asked her whether she attends the complementary school: “No... when I grow up, I want to live in England or America” (fieldnotes Y 4, Castle Primary, 24.1.2017, 67-76). A boy had told me that he speaks some Tamil besides English and Portuguese. When I asked about a certain word in Tamil and he was not sure, I suggested that he might ask his dad. The child responded by saying that he did not see him very often (fieldnotes Y 3/2, Bird Primary 16.11.2017, 65-71). I might be criticised for my approach in the second situation, although it does not necessarily seem misguided in such a communicative situation to signal interest by asking for a word. The situations point to the fact that “we cannot underestimate the unpredictability factor of working with children” (Greig et al. 2013: 246). In the context of researching children’s multilingualism more specifically, they show how closely ‘speaking a language’ can be interwoven with essential experiences of belonging and emotional bonds. The ethical dilemma that

transpires in these encounters is produced by the power differential between the adult-researcher and the child whose language repertoire is being studied, i.e. between me who asks questions that inevitably intrude the child's private sphere and the child who may feel that he or she has to answer and cannot choose to decline. Moreover, the situations themselves resulted from a decision within the research process: I had deliberately chosen not to consult the schools' statistical system for the pupils' 'first languages', since, rather than predefining 'multilingualism' in a certain way, I wanted to explore it through the participant observations and in the participatory activities. Usually, I did not address 'languages' in the brief chats with the pupils on the side because, first, they were on task of their learning and, second, I was cautious not to exoticise multilingualism by foregrounding it in an artificial way or out of context. I made exceptions during the first days in a class to gain some basic understanding of the children's linguistic repertoires, and this was when the two dialogues occurred. At the same time, the two situations can also be seen to confirm the slightly different character of the participatory activities, where the power differential was certainly not suspended, but where the children had more options to decide what they wanted to share and how they wanted to interact with each other.

Another issue emerged at the intersection of the participatory activities and the teacher interviews. Originally, I had planned to link the second participatory activities more strongly to practices around multilingualism potentially encountered in the classroom. When it became evident that monolingualism was prevailing and that the second activity assumed, at least partially, a more projective character, the question emerged whether to include in the second teacher interview aspects mentioned by the children in the second activity, or whether that would be inappropriate. I decided to use a few details from the activities in the interviews, if they were significant for the content of the interview, e.g. a child's interest from the mind map activity or another's description of a language practice during their homework projects. I judged this to be appropriate because it was communicated to the teachers as input from children in their class as opposed to, say, examples from outside their pedagogical domain. I did not include, however, explicitly private aspects, e.g. when a child had spoken about using a language with a friend to make sure that no one understands them in a lesson, or when a pupil said that his family was preparing to move soon to another country.

4.7 A reflection on the researcher's positionality

At the end of this chapter, I want to focus on the ethics of positionality in my research project: my own overall positionality, how my researcher identity was performed, and how my positionality might have influenced the data analysis.

A helpful starting point for thinking about positionality is offered by Norman Denzin: “[T]he qualitative researcher is not an objective, politically neutral observer who stands outside and above the study of the social world. Rather, the researcher, is historically and locally, situated within the very processes being studied” (2017: 12). Indeed, it was not possible to arrive at my research interest without having certain thematic positions both regarding teacher agency and multilingualism. Thus, I understand my choice of the theoretical frameworks described in chapter 3 as a positioning, in that it is linked to the overall perspective that teachers’ agency matters and that children’s multilingualism matters. My point of departure – my original positioning – was, in fact, the interest to bring these two ‘matters’ together and to explore them in superdiverse urban primary schools as a context with which I am familiar from my experiences as a teacher. My phrasing – that teacher agency and children’s multilingualism ‘matter’ – is deliberately vague, as this allowed me to adopt for my ethnographic work a certain ‘ignorance as point of departure’, as suggested by Blommaert (2018: 7; see p. 40) and a deliberate ‘bracketing’ of presuppositions in the semi-structured interviews (Brinkmann/Kvale 2015: 33-34).

Regarding my researcher identity, I would like to foreground the intersectionality of positionalities. Reyes (2020: 225) has called them an ‘ethnographic toolkit’, on which researchers draw strategically when gaining access to, and understanding, a field. She describes a variety of tools, such as the researcher’s social capital, identities, and backgrounds, e.g. racial/ethnic and gender identities, citizenship, education, and others; which of them becomes relevant depends on the research context. Gaining access to teachers and pupils in a classroom is clearly far easier than accessing many other sites where ethnographic work is conducted. But the concept is helpful for differentiating between various types of teacher-as-researcher and leads beyond an insider-outsider dichotomy. While it is ultimately impossible to know how teachers and children perceived my social characteristics – male, middle class, EU-white, teacher, German accent, mid-fifties – and which of them they found relevant, I still drew in different ways on the toolkit: I foregrounded a teacher positionality to gain access to schools. Within the classrooms, my identity could be seen as a combination of a notetaking researcher and sometimes helpful additional adult, who was aware that he should not interrupt the lesson and out-of-lesson time of teachers.

In the interviews, I adopted the identity of a researcher who asks questions from an interview guide, yet also responds dialogically, drawing on small observations from the classroom. In doing so, I sometimes referred implicitly (and very rarely also explicitly) to my own understanding that comes from being a teacher. Thus, my teacher positionality and a certain insider status were brought to the interviews alongside my researcher identity, while I was aiming for an 'atmosphere of dialogue'. The interview, however, is not a genuine dialogue: it is characterized by power asymmetries between researcher and interviewee, a certain unidirectionality, and an instrumentalization, because the researcher uses the conversation as data (Brinkmann/Kvale 2015: 37-38).

In the interviews, I handled the 'bracketing' of presuppositions differently for the two thematic areas of 'teacher agency' and 'multilingualism'. This was a result of the overall constellation encountered in the classrooms. Whereas questions around *teacher agency* referred to aspects of a teacher's work that were usually observable as practices in the classroom, questions around *multilingualism*, and by extension *multilingual pedagogies*, referred to an area that did not normally become observable through practices in the official classroom. This situation rendered it more complex to address multilingualism and multilingual pedagogies in the interviews. It was necessary to bracket my theoretical perspectives and presuppositions in order to derive an understanding of the status quo from the logics of the classroom and the emic perspectives of teachers. If I had developed the interviews differently by drawing, for instance, explicitly on theoretical stances or by (in light of the research ethics, hypothetically) using a challenging style, I would have increased the power asymmetry between interviewer and teacher, which would have been unjustifiable and run counter to the research purpose, or I would have needed to change the research's character toward an intervention study. However, the sequencing of the two interviews allowed for a certain progression towards addressing possibilities of multilingual pedagogies.

In the participatory activities with the children, my identity as plurilingual speaker was relevant, yet in a matter-of-course way. The children had heard my accent from the first day and it was occasionally addressed in passing as in the exchange reported before where the girl said that her auntie speaks German too. In the first activity, I drew and presented my own language portrait, and in the second activity, I built on this when introducing the session, e.g. "We will have a chat and you are the experts because you told me that you speak more than one language, and we all do..." (act. 2, Bird Primary Y 3/2, 12-13, 31.1.2018).

At the beginning of this chapter, I quoted Jan Blommaert, because he acknowledges the active involvement of the researcher – and that it is always inescapably part of the research. The description of the ways in which I approached the components of the data collection and analysis was, in this

sense, also intended to make my involvement traceable. Here, I would like to address further how my own positionality might have influenced the analysis. In 4.1, I have outlined the rationale for the methodology, which, among other aspects, responded to the necessity to explore multilingual pedagogies *in parallel* to teacher agency. However, as the dominant role of monolingualism in the classrooms became evident, the accentuation within this twofold inquiry shifted. To make sense of the status quo, it became necessary to look at small aspects of the current situation in the classrooms and certain tensions within it. Such an attention to ‘small matters’ was facilitated by the ethnographic approach – not least due to its back-and-forth between observations, interviews, and participatory activities. At the same time, my active involvement as researcher expanded when I needed to decide what would be considered a theme, which interview passages would be analysed on the ‘latent’ level (see p. 52), and what would be considered as a ‘critical incident’ in the fieldnotes and a ‘critical passage’ in the interviews. These decisions meant that there was more room for interpretation, where my positionality (in terms of social characteristics and research interest) could potentially play a role. Simultaneously, this kind of decisions was also strongly driven by theoretical understandings. Overall, they can be understood as part of the moulding of knowledge that the study strives to produce, and I see it as my task in the following chapters to provide sufficient information to render these processes transparent in an analysis that is managed in rigorous ways.

Finally, a further aspect of my positionality in the research process is relevant here. Cameron et al. (1992/2019) differentiate between research ‘*on*’, ‘*on and for*’, and ‘*on, for and with*’ the community being researched. As my study was not a participatory ethnography, it can be best understood as an ethnographic work *on and for* a community. This community includes educators *and* children, and the orientation ‘for a community’ involves, therefore, the attempt to consider the entirety of the classroom community in relation to multilingualism and multilingual pedagogies. That this is meaningful for pedagogical developments in the mainstream primary school, is doubtlessly to a considerable extent the result of my positionality as teacher.

5. Classrooms in schools: contexts for teacher agency

In this chapter, I start to report data analysis and findings by presenting the overall picture of the five classrooms. As was to be expected in light of the literature on the status quo of multilingual pedagogies in mainstream schools, the field of multilingual pedagogies cannot be considered as a given but rather requires an exploration of its underlying conditions and prerequisites. For this purpose, I present here findings from the classrooms to outline aspects of the general learning and teaching environment found in each of them. The chapter is based on the assumption that any study of *teacher agency in multilingual pedagogies* needs to start with an exploration of the teacher's *general agency* in the context of his or her classroom. It lays the groundwork for exploring the main research question of what constitutes, facilitates, and hinders teacher agency in multilingual pedagogies.

5.1 The classroom as context for teacher agency

Since it is not possible, of course, to do justice to the complexities which characterize all five classrooms, I will describe here typical features that show how the teachers run their classrooms and which also point to facets of their general teacher agency (*'general'* used in this study in contrast to *'teacher agency in multilingual pedagogies'*). Starting to present my findings in this way mirrors what I have looked at when beginning the participant observations, and I would like to describe briefly the view of the relationship between 'classroom' and teacher's 'general agency' that underlies my descriptions.

Following the subject-centred sociocultural framework to agency, I understand general teacher agency as being practiced when professionals influence routines, make choices, and take stances on their work and professional role (Eteläpelto et al. 2013: 61). Within the ecological approach to teacher agency, the classroom constitutes a crucial part of the specific situation in which teacher agency is presently achieved and where its practical-evaluative dimension becomes relevant, i.e. where alternative options for the demands, continuities, and dilemmas must be chosen (Priestley et al. 2015: 33-34). Thus, the classroom becomes the *sociocultural context* for teacher agency on the micro level and is embedded in the school as institution that functions as context on the micro or meso level. It seems useful to point out here two aspects that are, according to Wertsch, Tulviste, and Hagstrom (1993), fundamental to a sociocultural approach to agency. First, agency needs to go beyond an understanding of it as a property of an individual and should be seen as socially distributed or shared (ibid.: 352). If teacher's agency "is highly relational and thus embedded in professional interactions

between teachers, pupils and their parents as well as with other members of the school community” (Pyhäntö et al. 2014: 307), then the *classroom* is the salient sphere where interactions between teachers and pupils take place. The second aspect follows from Vygotsky’s (1981) central tenet that human action is *mediated* by tools or signs:

“[T]he appropriate unit of analysis for understanding agency is an individual or individuals functioning *together with mediational means*. In this view the individual(s) involved certainly continues to bear the major responsibility for initiating and carrying out an action, but the possibilities for formulating certain problems, let alone the possibilities for following certain paths of action are shaped by the mediational means employed” (Wertsch et al. 1993: 342, my emphasis).

This perspective of agency as ‘individual(s)-operating-with-mediational-means’ – or ‘mediated agency’ (ibid.) – is helpful for understanding *conceptually* the relationship between the classroom and teacher’s general agency. It allows us to see the classroom not only as a space where teacher agency is practiced but also as a means that mediates this agency in the first place, while it is also situated within wider sociocultural contexts.

I want to sketch very briefly how I see *the classroom as a mediational means* for teacher’s general agency. Following the cultural-historical school and socioculturally orientated perspectives, a classroom consists of artefacts³: primary artefacts are, for example, pencils and small or interactive whiteboards, and secondary artefacts, which “play a central role in preserving and transmitting modes of action and belief” (Cole 1996: 121), may include, in my understanding, for example, educational concepts and teaching approaches. The third type of mediators are the people (Kozulin 1998: 64-65) in the classroom, with their linguistic and other semiotic repertoires used to make meaning and interact in teaching/learning processes. All these elements of ‘the classroom’ can play a mediating role, and at least two aspects of this mediation seem relevant in relation to teacher agency. First, the elements might mediate what the teacher sees as ‘the classroom’, and how it is equipped materially and shaped conceptually as a place of pedagogical practice. In this sense, the classroom is a *means* that is both material and ideal. Second, its artefacts/elements *mediate* how the teacher understands teaching and the broader activity of ‘running a classroom’. Those mediated actions and activities⁴ of teaching and running a classroom can be understood, in turn, as principal points of reference for

³ Here is not the space to discuss the different terms of ‘material tools’ and ‘psychological tools’ (Vygotsky 1981: 136-137) further. Instead, I follow Michael Cole’s approach which treats ‘tool’ as a subcategory of ‘artefact’ (1996: 117). Artefacts are seen as simultaneously ideal/conceptual and material, and “their material form has been shaped by their participation in the interactions of which they were previously a part and which they mediate in the present” (ibid.).

⁴ For the purpose of this very short description of *classroom as mediational means*, I do not refer in detail to activity theory’s differentiation between operations, actions, and activities (e.g. Daniels 2001: 83-94).

teacher's general agency. In other words, the teacher who achieves or practices such agency is responding to routines of, and making choices in relation to, a certain classroom – even if, through the lens of the ecological approach to teacher agency, this situated practice may also be influenced by previous or prospective classrooms. Moreover, the wider contexts in which a classroom is located are shaped by an extremely large variety of factors, such as education policy, curriculum, pedagogy, or, say, the staff situation in a school, or the last Ofsted report. All these factors can play a role in mediating teacher agency – in fact, they were mentioned by the teachers during my fieldwork or in their interviews.

It was the classroom, however, that I took as a starting point, and, as I analysed my fieldnotes, I was looking for recurring features of *teaching and learning routines* and *'voices being heard'*. I chose to focus on these relatively broad aspects, because they allow for a description that includes teaching/learning processes as well as elements of the classroom's interactional dynamics and atmosphere. I consider the extracts presented in this chapter as representative in this regard while they also offer some indications for teacher agency. I identified typical procedures the teachers had in place to organize teaching and learning, yet the focus is here on a *description* of the classroom rather than a detailed analysis of teaching practices and the concepts that shape them. This is due to this chapter's scope, and also to the fact that many of the salient terms around teaching are defined in various different ways. Some scholars have argued, for example, that a concept like 'scaffolding' is used so broadly that it runs the risk of shedding the necessary clarity (e.g. Michell/Sharpe 2005: 31), while others have emphasized that instead of pursuing 'one correct way', it is important for teachers to develop a broad repertoire of approaches (Alexander et al. 1992; Alexander 2018: 563-564).

I have chosen 'voices being heard' as the second feature because it can provide a link between the classroom routines and multilingualism in the individual classroom as well as in a whole school. Yet, it also runs through the next chapters, and I want to locate 'voices being heard' briefly in the debate on education and multilingualism. On the one hand, the aspect can be linked to various pedagogical approaches discussed in 3.1.3 and to debates around dialogic teaching (Alexander 2017). On the other hand, the lens of 'being heard as a legitimate and authorized speaker' is vital in research on linguistic difference in educational settings that draws significantly on Bourdieu's frameworks of the economy of linguistic exchanges (1977; 1991) and forms of capital (1986) (e.g. Miller 1999, 2003; Norton 2013; Heller/Martin-Jones 2001a; Darvin/Norton 2016). In the context of adults' learning of English as an additional language in Canada, it has been documented how plurilingual speakers have to take up identities that enable them "to claim the right to speak" (Norton 2013: 179) and to become a 'legitimate speaker' in English. Similarly, in the context of Australian high schools, the concept of

audibility and the importance of *'becoming audible'* have proven productive to capture the constant interplay between English language learning and participation in mainstream settings, both socially and academically (Miller 1999; 2003). While being initially restricted to the learning of a second language, this perspective has been extended into the realm of learners' plurilingual repertoires. Referring to 'symbolic capital' as "the form the different types of capital take once they are perceived and recognized as legitimate" (Bourdieu 1987: 4), Darvin and Norton argue:

"To what extent teachers recognize the linguistic or cultural capital of learners – their prior knowledge, home literacies, and mother tongues – as symbolic capital can impact the extent to which learners will invest in the language and literacy practices of a given classroom" (2016: 24-25).

The understanding of multilingual pedagogies outlined as the first plane in 3.1.1, draws, on the whole, on Bourdieu's frameworks because formal education is a key site where *legitimate language* is defined (Heller/Martin-Jones 2001b: 3) and where those definitions are reproduced. Against this background there are two reasons that the lens 'voices being heard' – claiming the right to speak and becoming audible – is important for multilingual pedagogies and teacher agency within them: first, it allows for the exploration of the classroom in which pupils negotiate this audibility and, in doing so, also of the meanings of their linguistic repertoire. Second, and from a pedagogical perspective, the feature 'voices being heard' does not emerge only regarding the use of different languages but is also part of a classroom's teaching/learning routines and pedagogy that define who is in what situations a legitimate speaker and what is a legitimate language practice – even irrespective of whether plurilingual speakers are involved or not. In this sense, I see 'voices being heard' as a valuable lens for the classroom descriptions precisely because this aspect is located at the intersection of teaching/learning routines, pedagogy, and sociolinguistics of multilingualism.

5.2 The five classrooms

I will turn now to the five classrooms one by one; the presentation of the first being longer than the others.

Ellie's classroom

The following vignettes from a Literacy lesson capture some of the features that are typical of Ellie's Year 4 classroom:

- 124 Ellie is on playground duty, walking slowly around on the spacious Key stage 2 playground that
125 surrounds the single-storey buildings. Some girls are practicing a dance, three boys are using

126 the wall as goal. Older children chat in pairs or small groups, while some younger ones are busy with
 127 counting-out games. It looks all very relaxed given that there are approximately 350 Key stage 2
 128 pupils out there, and the large size of the playground seems to contribute to this peaceful
 129 atmosphere. On a separate pitch, children play football. Ellie is approached by several children,
 130 talking with them [...]
 131 When the bell is going, the children line up, more or less everyone stops talking,
 132 before Ellie's class and another Year 4 move to their classrooms, teachers talking to each
 133 other in front of the lines and the pupils of the two classes mixing on the way.

135 The children put up their coats. It is lively in the corner with the pegs, but, while the children make
 136 their way to the carpet, the chatting dies down.
 137 Ellie briefly explains the handwriting and 'next step' for English. [...]
 139 everyone is going back to the table and starts to complete the tasks [...]
 140 Some children go to the teacher to ask about the 'next step' task; she is moving from table to table.
 141 "okay, two more minutes"
 142 Ellie asks the children to return to the carpet.

(fieldnotes Y 4, Castle Primary 10.1.2017)

The smooth, swift transition the children make from playtime and chatting while hanging up their coats to sitting on the carpet (135-136) signals the importance of 'the carpet' as a space for teaching and learning in Ellie's classroom (137). This transition usually happens effortlessly without any interference from the teacher, and seems to work symbolically like a rapid recap of what has been called the 'working consensus', established in the interaction between teachers and pupils, usually at the start of a school year, by mutually negotiating "interdependent ways of coping in classrooms" (Pollard 1985: 158). Smaller routines – like the handwriting task and the work on the 'next step' (137 & 139), where pupils complete a short task that the teacher has set in the books either as a feedback or in order to extend previous learning – reduce the need for lengthy explanations and supports the daily teaching-learning interaction by providing structure. Ellie sends the children off to the handwriting and 'next step' (139) and asks them back about ten minutes later, after completion of those routines (142). It is indicative of the atmosphere that both movements occur almost without delay, before the actual lesson begins:

144 All children on the carpet, one boy keeps talking.
 145 Ellie is asking him for a reason, explaining clearly that "this is a waste of time" ... "think about it".
 146 She introduces children to today's task: Diary entry for Bill (from: Anne Fine, *Bill's New Frock*)
 147 With IWB, the teacher explains the task, followed by a quick recap of the features of a diary entry.
 148 Ewan explains features; three other children had their hands up.
 149 Children are asked to take notes on their small whiteboards from three video clips. [...]

152 Ellie asks children to share their notes; many children put their hands up. They read from the
 153 whiteboards and Ellie comments: “good idea”, “I like that...”,
 154 on the flipchart, she writes down children’s ideas for suitable words and phrases as ideas
 155 for the diary entry, sometimes repeating and/or recasting phrases.
 156 She talks expressively when picking up examples with facial expression and some small gestures.
 157 Then the children move to their tables and start writing in their Literacy books.
 158 Ellie goes around, looking at children’s work and answering questions.

(fieldnotes Y 4, Castle Primary 10.1.2017)

The calm and clear way in which Ellie responds to the boy who continues to talk (144-145) – it can be interpreted as a mixture of genuine and rhetoric questioning, an implicit reminder of the rules, and a firm statement of her expectation – is characteristic of her approach to running the classroom. When the children sit as a whole group on the carpet, Ellie expects them to listen and pay full attention. Yet, this is balanced against other lesson parts, where there is more room for children’s voices and where the pupils are allowed to communicate (I will return to this later).

In (146-154) Ellie introduces the lesson, and its main teaching is broadly conducted within what has been called ‘interactive whole class teaching’, as endorsed by the National Literacy and Numeracy Strategies (DfEE 1998, 1999), and still influential in British primary schools even after those initiatives officially ceased in 2011 (DfE 2011). However, the interpretation of *interactivity* in this approach has been contested both as a concept and in practice (e.g. Smith et al. 2004; Black 2007), and, in all probability, still is, not least because of the inherent contradiction between, on one hand, a learner-centred, socioculturally-orientated focus of interactive teaching, with its emphasis on dialogue and teacher-pupil collaboration, and the objective-led pedagogical orientation of standard-based education, which has been the dominant paradigm in British education in the last decades, on the other hand (ibid.: 279).

The teaching and learning routines in this episode from a Literacy lesson can be seen as typical of Ellie’s classroom in several respects:

(1) The introduction is short and, in this case, builds on the children’s familiarity both with the story of *Bill’s New Frock* as an ongoing Literacy sequence throughout the week, and with the text genre of ‘diary’ that is very accessible for children in a Year 4 because of its usage of informal language (146).

(2) Ellie uses the interactive whiteboard to visualize theme, learning objective, and success criteria (147). In other lessons, and to increase the interactive element, she uses ‘jumbled’ success criteria,

where the children must choose, out of four or five options, three criteria that they need for achieving the learning objective (e.g. fieldnotes 7.2.2017, 59).

(3) Ewan, who explains the features of a diary (148), is one of several pupils who are regularly putting up their hands, when the teacher directs questions at the whole class. While it could be said that pace and flow of the whole class teaching benefit from a small group of very articulate pupils, this also results in an overall situation where the other children's voices are significantly less audible because they participate in the classroom talk much less frequently or with shorter utterances.

(4) Work with small whiteboards – or in other lessons with Think-Pair-Share phases (e.g. fieldnotes 8.2.2017, 78-79) – responds to this tension and includes all children actively in the task (149 & 152).

(5) This is supported by a change of the medium: here the video clips are used to elicit notes for writing the diary entry later. In relation to 'voice', and drawing on the sociocultural framework, the episode shows how using teaching resources/artefacts can be described as supporting the teacher's voice by providing written text on the interactive whiteboard (147); as making children's 'voices being heard' by using small whiteboards (149 & 152); and, on a different plane, as bringing the characters' voices from the book into the classroom by showing the video clips (149). Together with the concept of 'interactive whole class teaching' as secondary artefact, these resources mediate Ellie's teaching routines, while she chooses to combine the resources in a specific way.

(6) The use of the carpet, as a spatial and a communicative device, is important in this Year 4. For Ellie, this setting means to have the children's attention from a close range and to control the interaction and learning processes: "I like where they all-- not many people keep them on the carpet and do sort of the main teaching with them there. But I think that works. You have all of their attention, you can easily see what they are doing. When they have got whiteboards, you can, you know, you are looking at them, 'right, yeah, you are doing this...'" (interview Ellie 24.3.2017, 42-46). For the observer, the teacher appears the focal point and the 'central voice' in the carpet setting, while the power differential between her and the pupils is being reduced – at least symbolically and for some time. The exchange takes a more dialogical form than in the prototypical traditional initiation-response-feedback (I-R-F) version (Sinclair/Coulthard 1975), or, for example, if the teacher displayed a written text as model. Although talk and knowledge construction are initiated and structured by Ellie, they are also co-constructed between teacher and children, as well as between children, since the setting allows for a bidirectional flow of knowledge, when Ellie writes down children's ideas of words and phrases which, in turn, can be used later by others in their writing (152-156). Furthermore, even though the teacher simply asks the pupils to share their ideas from the whiteboards, it can be

suggested that the carpet setting supports a somewhat more dialogical character of the talk, because it takes place in a space that is more intimate than the whole classroom. Thus, many children ‘claim to read’ and contribute from their notes (152); they ‘claim to speak’ while, and in all probability, also because the arrangement gives them time to prepare what they want to say. In other lessons on the carpet, the communication is sometimes even more casual or informal, as Ellie lets the children give short answers spontaneously without them having to put up hands (e.g. fieldnotes 17.1.2017, 70; 24.1.2017, 48).

The extract (144-158) illustrates three facets that are relevant for Ellie’s classroom: first, the teacher chooses a setting in which hers is the central voice, but where the children can experience teaching and learning as an interactional process. In a sense, they receive signals that their voices are being listened to and they have some time to write and voice their ideas. It could be objected that using ‘voices being heard’ here overstates the work with small whiteboards, a practice widely used in schools. Yet, the status of children’s voices in Ellie’s classroom becomes more evident in relation to the lesson’s main part (see below). Second, this lesson part shows that exploring a teacher’s general agency needs to include the small choices made within daily routines. Although the three teachers of her year group collaborate closely in planning and reflecting their lessons, which holds great significance for Ellie (interview 8.2.2017, 189-198; see 8.1), there exist many opportunities and necessities for small decisions, either consciously taken when teaching or built into the routines – to borrow from Alexander’s wording quoted before, “the many different kinds of decision of which teaching is constituted” (2008: 47). A third facet relevant in this Literacy lesson is the fact that the voices being heard here do not include a meaning of ‘voice’ as expressing children’s experiences, as could be the case, within the text genre of ‘diary’, if children wrote entries concerning their own personal experiences or narratives instead of those of the fiction book’s main character.

In (157-158) the pupils start writing the diary entry in their books. In terms of time, this is the lesson’s main section, and it is in those main parts of lessons, when the children work at their tables, that the ‘working consensus’ surfaces:

194 The atmosphere is comfortable and relaxed, i.e. children are allowed to communicate with
 195 each other while working on the tasks; each time, they are allowed a short while to settle in before
 196 starting a new task [...]

(fieldnotes Y 4, Castle Primary 10.1.2017)

164 My impression is that Ellie trusts the children and expects them to be responsible for
 165 their own work. This is my impression; Ellie says that yes, the children work
 166 independently (that was what I was saying to her) but some children are really slow.

(fieldnotes Y 4, 17.1.2017)

These arrangements can be seen as resulting from a ‘working consensus’ (Pollard 1985) between teacher and children, which provides stability and calm, and in these longer working phases with comparatively little intervention from the teacher, it gives children the opportunity to find and negotiate both work patterns and relationships with other children (Bourne 2001: 105). In this regard, Ellie’s classroom consists of two components complementing each other. While she is the ‘central voice’ in the phase of whole class teaching, this arrangement changes, when pupils are working at their tables. Their voices can be heard talking to each other (194-195). As the teacher put it,

67 I don’t enforce silence either because actually
 68 if you listen to them, they are talking about the work in most cases, so I think
 69 that that helps, because then you sort of you can dig it out of their
 70 conversation a bit, ‘oh you talked about this, why are you not trying to write it
 71 down?’

(interview Ellie 8.2.2017)

Apart from situations when she is working with a small group of children, or from discussions in Science, Ellie’s depiction here (69-71) comes closest to what has been described in the context of (EAL) language teaching and learning as micro level scaffolding and interactional scaffolding. In this approach, the teacher integrates content and language learning, using a variety of strategies, e.g. ‘talk about talk’ or recasting of pupil-initiated meanings in a register more appropriate to the respective genre (e.g. Gibbons 2006: 125-142). Ellie’s practice in (149-156) and her reasoning above are instructive for teacher agency as they show the kind of interplay in which teacher and learner agencies connect. It could be suggested that Ellie increases her agency to teach by facilitating learner agency (here the co-construction of knowledge when preparing the writing and accepting children’s talk while they work on their texts), because she can respond more flexibly to the pupils’ utterances and the writing process.

Moreover, the working consensus in her classroom emerges as part of her professional identity and knowledge, while it also does so in relation to the context of the school.

75 *Th.:* ... do you think the kind of
 76 *atmosphere you are creating in your class [...] is it a sort of general atmosphere*
 77 *you find in this school? [...]*
 79 *Ellie:* Hm, I think it depends on which class you are going into to be honest. Some
 80 teachers are incredibly strict ‘no, don’t speak, you just go on with it...’ But I
 81 had it always like that. If you are talking about your work and are getting on,
 82 you know, that’s that’s fine. And if people are talking about what they had for
 83 dinner or what they did during the weekend, they do need to go and turn

84 their cards. But they respond quite well to that and usually if they turned it,
 85 they are usually getting on. I think it's what I have always done, it is just as
 86 long as you are getting on, then you can have a chat and actually sharing is
 87 better than struggling on your own. Yeah.

(interview Ellie 8.2.2017)

Marking her personal evaluation with the phrases *to be honest* (79) and *But I had it always like that* (80-81), Ellie distances herself from *some teachers [who] are incredibly strict* and who de facto – ‘*don't speak, you just go on with it*’ (80) – silence children into being ‘writing pupils’. In my understanding, Ellie asserts here her ownership over the working consensus she has established with the children. She links it to her professional identity and experience by *But I had it always like that* (80-81), underlining it with the repetition *I think it's what I have always done* (85), and concluding with a kind of pedagogical maxim: *actually sharing is better than struggling on your own* (86-87). I would like to argue that the working consensus emerges here as a vital area of teacher agency. Although this might appear obvious, it needs to be pointed out and is instructive for discussing how agency is achieved and facilitated, as it can be assumed that teacher agency in running the classroom generally must be considered a pre-condition for agency in the context of multilingual pedagogies. Given that “a positive relationship, or working consensus, will not just appear” (Pollard 2008: 149), but is the result of a process that is largely initiated by the teacher and mutually negotiated by teacher and pupils (ibid.), and given that there is a range of organisational and interactional routines to choose from, this working consensus constitutes a key area, where teachers exert “influence, make choices and take stances on their work and professional identities” (Eteläpelto et al. 2013: 61).

However, for a description of Ellie's classroom, it is useful to mention that the working consensus outlined above is not without tensions; indeed, “through negotiating the working consensus, the children recognize the greater power of the teacher” (Pollard 2008: 149). Even though a consensus has been established, from the teacher's point of view this needs to be negotiated sometimes and with some children. Thus in (83-84) *they do need to go and turn their cards*, Ellie refers to the ‘It's good to be green’ behaviour monitoring chart that every class in Castle Primary has in place. It happens about three or four times during a day that she asks a child to ‘turn the card’ to a ‘yellow warning’ (e.g. fieldnotes 17.1.2017, 64-66; 7.2.2017, 162); this is very occasional and, towards the end of a half-term, the system is complemented by ‘chocolate bars’ stickers (as in *Charlie and the Chocolate Factory*), which the whole class can obtain, entitling them to ‘a video with popcorn’ before half term break (7.2.2017, 145-147).

Furthermore, it is relevant that many pupils are involved with Ellie in negotiating around work patterns and relationships on a daily basis, as the following extract illustrates:

- 86 Oliver from Year 5 is sent in on 'time out'; he sits on the floor behind
 87 the table where Khadija, Sonia and Florence work.
 88 At the end of the Maths lesson, the three girls are writing a reflection about what
 89 they have done today. As usual, they can choose from a short writing frame.
 90 Khadija, Sonia and Florence look to Oliver, turn around and discuss whether Oliver is a boy.
 91 ((due to hairstyle and earring))
 92 The three girls discuss whether boys can have earrings, giggling a bit.
 93 It ends with Khadija saying, "a boy can have an earring"; she smiles.
 94 They complete their reflection task.

(fieldnotes Y 4, 7.2.2017)

The children interweave their talk with the written task, which slows down their work a little but does not completely interrupt it during the short conversation (90-93). Since Khadija, Sonia, and Florence are used to working together in Maths lessons, they appear to have some experience in doing so. Towards the end of the lesson, this gives them the opportunity to ease off a little, while they also live their friendship by talking about a topic of interest to them. Through the lens of the working consensus in the classroom, situations like this show that while the children are modifying their work pattern and enjoying their relationship, it is also the pupil's relationship with their teacher which is implicitly involved. Ellie is either consciously accepting the talk, or the children have the opportunity to talk about things without being noticed by the teacher, e.g. about each other's shoe size (7.2.2017, 140-141) or birthday invitations (8.2.2017, 56-59). Regarding the various kinds of talk taking place in a classroom, it has been suggested that where children are 'on-task' it is hard to observe, or be aware of, 'unofficial', i.e. not task-related, talk (Bourne 2001: 104), and teachers or participant observers may find themselves in a similar position in this regard. Yet from the perspective of the children, and for an overall picture of what constitutes a classroom, such talk or literacy practices which are not, or are only partially, curriculum-related form an important aspect of classroom life (Maybin 2006, 2007). Ellie's pedagogical approach and the working consensus she has established provide a learning environment where the children have the opportunity – to a certain extent – to take and to experience responsibility for their learning. I would like to argue that Ellie's classroom illustrates how the teaching/learning routines, which she organizes, can be seen partially as a manifestation of her general teacher agency, while reciprocally this environment contributes to her teaching and the overall productive and relaxed atmosphere in her classroom.

This relationship between running a classroom, teaching, and teacher's general agency does not come as a surprise and it is, of course, not unique to Ellie's classroom. However, I intended to trace this nexus for one classroom before presenting the others now more briefly.

Mike's classroom

The next extracts are from a Literacy lesson in Mike's Year 5:

- 94 After break, children are coming in from the playground.
 95 Mike counts down to ensure that everyone is focusing. He explains organizational details about an
 96 upcoming trip [...].
 97 "If you don't behave, you won't be coming on the trip."

(fieldnotes Y 5, Castle Primary 23.1.2017)

At the start of many lessons in Mike's classroom, the pace signals some urgency, and the counting down and quick use of a boundary, or here even a sanction marker (95 & 97), are characteristic in this respect. "I have done quite a few years with supporting NQTs and I think that a lot of people they do think that behaviour isn't hugely important" (interview Mike 30.1.2017: 27-29); "[the children] know it is all because I want them to do well, every single one of them. And I think that is what people-- teachers sometimes get wrong, is the fact that they don't have that sense of compassion along with the strict rules" (ibid.: 126-129). The way Mike describes his working consensus by including a comparison with other teachers, resembles Ellie's description, even though the two working agreements themselves differ considerably. With the following lesson part, I want to illustrate a related feature that is characteristic of the way Mike runs the classroom:

- 98 The teacher displays the learning objective: to write a 'grieving paragraph'
 99 about a character in a longer story they had read the previous week.
 100 Children are asked to write, how the disappearance of one character affects the story's
 101 main character Johnny. Several children start writing, others or most wait.
 102 Mike gives examples of emotional language, linking it to the frightening setting of an abandoned
 103 warehouse. He talks in a very engaged way, adding expression by acting out some movements a bit
 104 and by facial expressions.
 105 "... to evoke this in the reader" ... He explains that each description will get a 'tear ranking' out of five.
 106 Mike reads a text from the IWB as modelling, clarifying some of its words and phrases.
 107 [...] he explains the success criteria.

(fieldnotes Y 5, 23.1.2017)

The overall pattern of the lesson's main teaching follows the interactive whole-class teaching as described for the other classroom before. However, the interactive components are designed

differently and result in another form of relationship between the teacher's and the children's voices. Mike begins to give examples in a notably engaging way (102-103), before displaying the longer paragraph he has written as model text (105), in which he draws on some of the ideas used in those examples. In his words, "we try in Year 5 to model every time and not just model the right thing but model how we think of putting stuff together" (interview Mike 30.1.2017, 330-331).

Mike's teacher's voice is a more central point of reference than Ellie's, both in terms of presence and 'physical' audibility (in a much smaller space where the group tables cover the whole classroom except a tiny reading corner and the teacher's desk), and in terms of the teaching arrangement itself, which *begins* by giving the children examples and a model text (102 & 106). It could be suggested therefore that aspects of co-construction of knowledge on the part of the children and a dialogical principle in teaching/learning are less evident. However, it is significant that Mike's teaching arrangement seems to create a certain atmosphere:

- 111 The atmosphere is somewhere between a Literacy lesson and a writing workshop. The teacher
 112 keeps asking three, four more questions about the main character's experiences and emotions;
 113 eight or nine children put their hands up.
 114 More children seem to start writing on their small whiteboards.
 115 All write now, while Mike carries on asking stimulating, guiding questions
 116 without children answering, "Why has the mission become more challenging without Toule?" [...]
 118 After approximately ten minutes, Mike asks children to read out sentences from their whiteboards.
- 128 The teacher gives feedback, praising and encouraging. He is very lively and energetic,
 129 *as an aside to me "you can't teach that by 'adjectives etc.', you can only spread it".*
 [...]

 134 *Mike explains with another aside "... that is the hardest bit now, to be quiet, not to be intrusive."*
 (fieldnotes Y 5, 23.1.2017)

Significantly, there is some flexibility in the transition between the teacher's instructions and his use of the modelling text (106), on the one hand, and the children's start of writing on the other hand. Different children seem to decide for themselves at which point they begin with their writing; some respond right away with first notes (101), others join in later (114), before all children are working on their paragraphs (115). As in Ellie's lesson, there is a bidirectional flow of ideas, where the teacher is asking questions to stimulate ideas (111-112 & 115-116) and the number of pupils who put their hands up each time is relatively high, with almost one third responding (113). Yet, the children's ideas are presented *after* the model text and are not written down by the teacher; in this sense they have a

different function for the writing process than in the other classroom, where Ellie had written down the contributions in the main teaching phase.

The overall character of this Literacy lesson as that between a lesson and a workshop (111) seems to result from the flexibility of transitions between the lesson phases and, foremost, from the lively, encouraging feedback Mike gives the children (128). During the lesson, there is no situation in which he addresses behaviour, which mirrors the intensive and very focused writing atmosphere in the classroom. Mike has been involved in this lesson with his own writing skills by presenting the model text and the story about Johnny and Toule, which was his own work. Therefore, I would argue that his two comments (129 & 134) must be seen in the context of this investment, while they also highlight his own positioning along a ‘teacher-writer/writer-teacher’ continuum where a teacher might experience some tensions when moving between these roles and the institutional and personal expectations they involve (Cremin/Baker 2010). Mike offers clear views on teaching writing – his aside in (129) on the status of grammar teaching being an expression of this. For understanding teacher agency, it is helpful to include the teacher’s professional interest and personal involvement around writing. The active atmosphere that Mike evokes around the children’s writing by organizing a (partially) workshop-like setting, which he maintains by praising and encouraging the pupils throughout, must be seen as an important component of Mike’s general teacher agency. As with the working consensus in Ellie’s Year 4, this agency is mediated by the classroom routines, which are partially, albeit not exclusively, influenced by the teacher’s choices and decisions around this writing setting. In addition, Mike’s second aside, commenting somehow self-ironically *that is the hardest bit now, to be quiet, not to be intrusive* (134), can be seen as indicating an awareness that in order to be successful, this setting depends on a certain balance between his voice as teacher-writer and the children’s voices.

Hira’s classroom

Whereas Ellie’s and Mike’s classes just need to come in from around the corner of the playground, the massive Victorian building of Hira’s school requires the children to take longer ways to arrive in the classroom:

- 9 Monday morning, children line up loosely, in front of the three-storey Victorian building that
 10 stands in the middle of a huge playground. Most parents leaving the playground, others just
 11 retreating to chat with other parents. [...]
 14 The classes start moving in single files, children chatting, teachers ensuring that everyone is
 15 moving, while latecomers hasten towards the queues. The teachers navigate their classes
 16 into the different doors and up the narrow staircases. [...]

- 18 Hira gives the children time to settle in for the early morning work. [...]
 19 “there shouldn’t be such noise”. She tells the children to sit next to someone
 20 they have not sat next to before.
 21 Then she counts down and takes the register [...], while the children answer multiplication problems.

(fieldnotes Y 3, Victoria Primary 12.6.2017)

Arguably, the small institutional routine of the register is as much practical (for attendance and in case of an evacuation of the building) as it is symbolic. On the one hand, it brings the child’s name and voice together by acknowledging their presence where the name is being called out and a mutual greeting between teacher and child takes place. Hira mentions this aspect of daily recognition, greeting and voice in relation to children who are new to the English language: “you know, I ask them ‘How do you say hello?’ and things and then when taking the register, they get familiar-- little things that matter to them. It puts a smile on their face” (interview Hira 27.6.2017, 414-416). On the other hand, the fact that the register is taken, where greetings overlap with the expectation that the children are already working (21), points to the working consensus and positions the children as pupils, i.e. as members of a group that comes together for learning. Yet, at the same time, Hira’s Monday morning routine of letting children choose where they sit during the week, acknowledges the social aspect of children’s relationships as a salient feature of the classroom. It could be suggested that the pedagogical tenet that each child needs to find their voice in the group of children for their learning to succeed, is palpable here and symbolically addressed in such moments. In a sense, the variety of different voices children answer with, when their name is being called, can be understood as a literal reminder of voices being heard.

The following fieldnotes are from a Maths lesson, where children worked on the multiplication of two- and three-digit numbers by a one-digit number:

- 41 The Maths task is differentiated for four different groups [...]
 44 The teacher sits next to the flipchart and works with the ‘Pebbles’ group. Daniel comes over from
 45 his table with a worksheet, stands next to Hira and asks for clarification.
 46 She appears to speak with him and works at the same time with the ‘Pebbles’ group.
 47 Daniel returns and Hira continues with the small group on the carpet.
 48 After a while, she calls out, “I should not hear the voices of anyone except the investigation
 49 table.” She tells a boy off, “... or you go next door”.

(fieldnotes Y 3, 12.6.2017)

As in Ellie’s classroom, the teacher uses the carpet space for whole class teaching and – as in this situation – for work with a small group of children. However, length and interactive character of these phases of whole-class teaching vary considerably. The carpet phase is often short and its main focus

is more on explaining directly and modelling than on co-constructing meaning with a more interactive approach; small whiteboards are not used (e.g. fieldnotes 9.6.2017, 62-66). In other lessons, the carpet phase includes interactive elements like Think-Pair-Share (e.g. fieldnotes 12.6.2017, 76-79; 19.6.2017, 22-26). However, I have chosen this extract because it contains an aspect that is very significant for Hira's classroom, and therefore for her general teacher agency: while she is scaffolding the Pebbles-group of seven children through the grid method, she explains simultaneously something to Daniel who came from his table to the front (44-46). Moreover, when she is working with one group, she also supervises the other children and, thereby, controls the working consensus, about which she reminds all children here (48), before addressing one boy explicitly (49). On the everyday level of classroom routines, those phenomena might be seen within Jacob Kounin's classical framework of proactive classroom management (1970) as what he termed 'withitness' (teacher's awareness of what is happening in the entire classroom) and 'overlapping' (her ability to attend to two or more issues simultaneously), which has been compared more recently with 'multitasking' (Pollard 2008: 311). It might seem comparatively trivial to absorb such ordinary aspects of the profession into the concept of teacher's general agency, but in line with the fact that the existence of different needs is a condition of many primary school classes, the extract from the Maths lesson points to a more fundamental feature of 'multitasking', which is highly relevant in this classroom. Referring to a very brief conversation we have had before, I addressed this aspect:

- 48 *Th.:* *you were actually describing it as the children 'have so many*
 49 *needs', and I thought, I find it amazing for how many needs you actually –*
 50 *being one person – for how many needs you actually cater.*
- 51 *Hira:* Sometimes I feel
 52 I would need to rip myself in half to be there-- at the same time you have to
 53 challenge the Gifted and Talented and in one way you have to support the
 54 lowest and in another to support the EAL children who don't understand
 55 anything. And in another way you have to support the SEN children [...]
 56 I don't know whether you were there that
 57 day when Wakil was refusing to do anything.

(interview Hira, 27.6.2017)

The question of how to respond to these different needs, and how to arrange teaching without ripping the teacher in half as Hira put it (52), points to issues of the institutional context. In Ellie's and Hira's class respectively, there is a child who is on the autistic spectrum and has a Learning Support Assistant on a one-to-one basis, yet in Hira's Year 3 are other children, who need additional support: Wakil has

been statemented and shares an LSA with another pupil, but this LSA has been assigned to the child in another class.

252 I don't want him [Wakil] to
 253 get there where for one hour he doesn't do nothing, so I am taking the
 254 decision, you know, where I, I need to work with the boy, or someone works
 255 with him, but he has consistency (...)
 256 he likes to
 257 be familiar with the people, he either works with me or Marian [LSA].

(interview Hira, 27.6.2017)

Hira refers to another boy, Salim, "I really, really try and it upsets me that he can't access as much as I want him to and he really doesn't and I feel sad that he is not seen [...] straight away. It is so difficult to get children seen, you know, if something is wrong with them" (ibid., 240-244). The number of LSA hours allocated to Ellie's and Hira's classes have been reduced since the previous year; Ellie has now an LSA once a week in the morning (interview Ellie, 8.2.2017, 238) and Hira shares an LSA with another class instead of having one LSA-post assigned to hers as last year (interview Hira, 14.7.2017, 13-17). The situations that Hira describes would warrant further discussion. Yet, for considering her general teacher agency, as it emerges in the classroom, two aspects are relevant: first, Hira stresses her agency (253-254 *so I am taking the decision*) and expresses her emotional involvement (*it upsets me... and I feel sad that...*). Second, her description illustrates what I sketched in 4.3 as a researcher's privilege to choose *one* focus, while the teacher does not have this option and must respond instead to various needs of children and institutional requirements. Consequently, an understanding of teacher's general agency needs to include the small choices within teaching routines, as argued in Ellie's context, as well as the small decisions that are required to ensure the everyday management and smooth running of the classroom for all children. It is no coincidence that in Hira's classroom I ended up in the role of a TA several times – indeed, the very fact that she asked me to adopt this role might be interpreted as an expression of her agency to use the presence of an additional adult for the benefit of children's learning.

On the whole, Hira's Year 3 underlines the relationship between classroom and general teacher agency as conceptualized at the beginning of this chapter. While the classroom is a space where she practices and experiences her teacher agency, it is at the same time the context – or at least the immediate context – that *mediates* such an agency. This seems useful for a further exploration of teacher agency in multilingual pedagogies because it allows for considering conceptually the complexity of the classroom as mediational means for teacher's agency. That is, the conditions of the respective classroom – the material resources, the number of staff, the class size and many others –

can *facilitate* professional choices and stances but also *restrict* them. Foremost the classroom – understood, indeed, as part of broader sociocultural conditions – frames and configures a teacher’s priorities. Applying Wertsch, Tulviste, and Hagstrom’s sociocultural lens of agency to teacher agency and classroom, this includes the fact that “the possibilities for formulating certain problems, let alone the possibilities for following certain paths of action are shaped by the mediational means employed” (1993: 342).

Heather’s and Kelly’s classrooms

I turn now to Heather’s and Kelly’s Year 3 classes. Based in an adjoining building within an old school compound, the teachers’ very close cooperation might almost be seen as epitomized in the fact that their classrooms are located opposite each other on a narrow corridor. This enables them to communicate occasionally, even between breaks at lesson transitions (e.g. fieldnotes Y 3/1, 24.11.2017, 28-29). Still, it would be problematic to summarize two classrooms regarding an aspect like, say, the working consensus, thus I will focus, instead, on extracts that illustrate typical teaching routines, which are also relevant in the context of EAL-teaching, an area that has a prominent status in the school (see 6.2).

8 Monday morning, children and parents of the Y2 and Y3 classes gather in the small
 9 space next to the adjoining building. Year 2s are led in by their teachers,
 10 then the Year 3s going the short distance to their classrooms on the ground floor.
 11 The children come in very calmly and Kelly greets them. The room is very small
 12 but everyone seems to be used to it; children go straight to their tables
 13 where the books are already prepared [...]
 16 They start their handwriting task, while the teacher is taking the register [...]

21 They start to work on a spellings worksheet for the new week.
 22 Kelly asks, “Where do you put a prefix, at the front or at the end?”
 23 Six children put their hands up to answer.
 24 Then, they talk about the meaning of the prefix ‘dis’. [...]
 27 With all ten words, it is done in a similar order: the teacher reads the word, a child
 28 explains, teacher repeats or recasts the explanation and gives another example
 29 of the word used in a sentence. [...]
 34 Then all children start on the worksheet. [...]

(fieldnotes Y 3/1, Bird Primary, 20.11.2017)

The beginning of the day is tightly structured with this sequence of handwriting (16) and spelling (21-34) and, as in Ellie’s classroom before, such routines can be seen as supporting the everyday teaching-

learning interaction by offering structure. The activity sheet for spellings (21) is designed by the teachers for a whole week (in contrast to the commercial schemes or animation video schemes frequently used elsewhere), and aims to afford learning of word meanings which the children might not be familiar with (also e.g. fieldnotes Y 3/2, 16.11.2017, 20-29; Y 3/2, 12.12.2017, 18-26). The procedure in (27-29) – modelling pronunciation by the teacher, explanation by a child followed by the teacher’s repetition or a recast with more clarity and, finally, an additional explanation by contextualizing the word in another sentence – provides the pupils with the opportunity to hear the word several times and in various contexts.

644 Th.: [...]*I understood that you have also-- one of the intentions you also have*
 645 *apart from the spellings is to enhance their vocabulary at this point [...]*
 649 Kelly: Yeah I think because I want them to learn because the other thing is, if they
 650 understand more words, they can access a more complex text and then
 651 everything gets more interesting, you know, they need that and I think, if we
 652 just stick to learning simple, simple ample sample by rote, you know all those
 653 words, like if you go in some classes elsewhere, then you restrict them, they
 654 don’t learn about meaning [...]
 655 but then if they expand their vocabulary, their
 656 writing is amazing.

(interview Kelly, Bird Primary, 7.12.2017)

Kelly seems to explicitly claim her agency in regard to this integrated approach to teach spelling, grammar and vocabulary with *I want them to learn....* (649) and, as Ellie and Mike before, she uses a contrasting juxtaposition to underline her own position: *like if you go in some classes elsewhere, you restrict them, they don’t learn about meaning* (653-654), while linking her and Heather’s approach to children’s learning in Literacy more generally (650 & 656). Guided Reading – the daily 20-30 minutes set aside for teaching explicitly the various competences, of which reading comprehension consists – is usually the third part of this sequence, before or after the Literacy lesson:⁵

41 [...] Children are asked to write five words ‘how you feel as the dragon’
 42 and ‘how as the ‘Iron Man’ [Ted Hughes], before they read individually the next chapter.
 43 Kelly asks, which word works best to describe the feeling of the dragon.
 44 Children put their hands up and suggest ‘ashamed’, ‘bold’, ‘brave’.
 45 The teacher encourages children to compare words and to think if they fit character and situation.
 45 Someone suggests ‘surprised’.

⁵ At least once a week, the handwriting part is exchanged for a slightly longer work on grammar/syntax (e.g. fieldnotes Y 3/1, 27.11.2017, 50-59; Y 3/2, 29.11.2017, 64-68).

46 It is a relaxed, interactive discussion about the meanings of the words.

47 Arif suggests 'selfish' and gives a precise explanation.

(fieldnotes Y 3/1, Bird Primary, 20.11.2017)

This excerpt is based on a similar approach to integrate word meaning with the other activity involved, in this case, reading. Here the element of discussing meanings in an interactive way (one might also say of co-constructing them), which was characteristic for the spelling practice (27-29), resurfaces (46). It could be suggested that both aspects – how the task initiates the search for meanings (41-42) and how those meanings are discussed between teacher and children (43-47) – acknowledge that “[w]ords are learnt not as in a dictionary but as in a thesaurus, each one being progressively located in the expanding topological space by reference to the ‘others’ to which it is taxonomically related” (Halliday 1993: 99). The following extract is also from Kelly’s Year 3, and I have chosen it as representative for a Literacy lesson, as well as illustrating the context of teaching writing:

73 Kelly displays the learning objective on the IWB: ‘Can I understand the features of an

74 instruction text?’ and explains that they would look at instruction texts again today.

75 She points to the poster on the wall that lists features of instruction texts. [...]

78 The teacher gives the children three minutes to talk on the tables about what

79 they remember about instructions.

80 All children seem to be very motivated and start straightaway to talk with their partner.

81 Children are asked to write an equipment list for cleaning an animal of their choice

82 and a bullet point list of steps for the instruction. They would write the text tomorrow.

83 “If you cleaned a sabre-toothed tiger, what precautions would you take...?”

84 Children start to write.

85 In the first three, four minutes some children are talking about their ideas,

86 almost everyone seems to have an idea. [...]

89 Kelly is going around ensuring that all children understood the task and are working.

(fieldnotes Y 3/1, 27.11.2017)

The learning objective is worded in an accessible way, and with the 1st person pronoun (73), it seems to be aimed at voicing the learning objective from the children’s position. Like at the beginning of Ellie’s lesson (p. 68, 146-147), the teacher directs pupils’ attention to the *features* of the text. However, while Ellie’s Literacy unit was based on the book *Bill’s New Frock*, the unit to which this lesson belongs focuses on ‘instruction texts’, and the emphasis is on teaching/learning the language-related, structural, and thematic features of this genre. Thus, the lesson excerpt can be located within a genre approach to teaching writing, following requirements that were part of the National Literacy Strategy (DfEE 1998). Even though the New National Curriculum in 2014 has shifted the emphasis from genre/text type to ‘writing for purpose and audience’, the genre approach has not ceased to underpin

schools' medium and long term planning to ensure that pupils can access a wide range of texts and learn the features of different genres in order to use them in their own writing (NLT 2017).

The introductory reading text for the unit had been *How to wash an elephant*, and teachers and children worked on questions like 'What is the purpose?' and 'How does the text tell you what to do?', in order to find features of instructions (fieldnotes Y3/2, 21.11.2017, 41-55). For recapping the features, Kelly uses two routines which she and Heather employ frequently. First, she points – although only as gesture here – to the mini-poster (75), a device used for recording key vocabulary taken from the classroom talk while teaching (e.g. fieldnotes Y 3/2, 4.1.2018, 63-75), sometimes drawing visual organizers (a strategy opposed to, say, putting up prefabricated posters as is often the case in classrooms). Second, short group talk is used, even though it is not being shared – as in Think-Pair-Share – with the whole class afterwards (78-80). Arguably, Kelly signals her trust that the children ('s voices) learn from each other in such a situation. On the whole, the task in this lesson (81-82) is part of a typical Literacy sequence, which consists of reading and working with a model text, writing in response to it, some modelling by the teacher, detailed planning of own text, sometimes including text-mapping, writing, and editing of own text (e.g. fieldnotes Y3/1, 12.1.2018, 25-32). In this lesson, Kelly gives an example by way of illustration to emphasise that children can be imaginative in their instruction text (83), yet without any further details. Moreover, how pupils start writing here (85-86) is characteristic for the working consensus in her and, on the whole, also Heather's classroom for this kind of activities: pupils get a short time to settle into a new task or are encouraged to share ideas with a partner. Yet after a few minutes, they are expected to start working quietly in two very small classrooms whose size literally does not give teachers and children much space in phases of individual work to negotiate about the established quiet working consensus.

90 The atmosphere can be described as: all children working purposefully;
 91 this is more or less so –
 92 that is, some also talk a bit and once in a while. It is all done in a very relaxed manner,
 93 in a sort of self-controlling, but also somehow naturally flowing way.

(fieldnotes Y 3/1, Bird Primary, 20.11.2017)

Next, I want to ask how these teaching routines might relate to teacher's general agency. Teaching language and literacy based on text genres is an approach where teaching writing and EAL teaching informed by systemic functional linguistics (e.g. Gibbons 2002; Schleppegrell 2004; Martin/Rose 2008) overlap. In my understanding, it is Kelly's and Heather's use of the genre approach and EAL responsive elements as *integral parts* of other routines that contributes to their confidence when speaking of pupils who have newly arrived without previous knowledge of English.

499 we-- personally for me, I feel never nervous, I had so many times when
 500 [headteacher] said, 'Oh you have a new child starting tomorrow, no
 501 English' and I just say, 'Ah, I've done it before'. They learn so quickly, as well.
 502 You just have to-- It's just being dedicated and finding the time. This is why
 503 having an LSA in the classroom is so important as well. Because then you have
 504 two of you. One of you can really push that.
 [...]
 513 [...] whether the children have EAL, speak another language-- then yeah . .
 514 yeah and I think like just the way we teach sort of covers everyone really.
 515 I always say, like assume they don't know and then you always-- everyone is
 516 going up to understand [...]

(interview Heather, Bird Primary, 16.3.2018)

Heather articulates clearly her own professional experience - *personally for me...* (499), *'Ah, I have done it before'* (501) and *It's just being dedicated and finding time* (502) - but also points out the institutional context as a precondition for this professional confidence: *This is why having an LSA in the classroom is so important as well* (502-503). She describes the inclusive perspective of the teaching routines (514, *I think like just the way we teach sort of covers everyone really*) and explicitly states a maxim she acts upon for her teaching (515, *I always say, like ...*). I have argued that, for Mike's classroom, his professional interest and personal involvement around writing is a component of his general teacher agency, and for Hira's classroom that the small decisions taken to manage the everyday running of a classroom for all pupils are an important element of her agency. Regarding Heather's and Kelly's classrooms, an additional aspect emerges: the teaching routines described here can be understood as part of such an agency, where the teachers make choices and take stances on their professional work. However, what distinguishes Heather's and Kelly's agency from Mike's is the area to which it refers. That is, for Mike the area of *teaching writing* can be seen as point of reference, whereas for Heather and Kelly it seems to be more explicitly *teaching of writing to bilingual children* as mirrored in the genre approach with a more general orientation on the one hand, and with a more specific focus on bilingual children in what I have interpreted as 'EAL responsive approaches' to teaching spelling and reading on the other hand. Second language teaching has been described in 3.1.2 as one of four socio-educational contexts of multilingual pedagogies, and the theme 'EAL' will be addressed in the next chapters. Yet the two Year 3 classrooms offer an additional insight regarding teachers' general agency.

865 [...] But if
 866 you go to another school, it [as a pupil, to have EAL] can be a hindrance. They wouldn't-- When I was--
 867 being in other schools [...] I was covering a

868 Year 3 for a day [...]. And there was a boy in
 869 there and the teacher said to me 'oh, just to let you know, he doesn't do
 870 Maths [...]
 872 because he doesn't speak English and I was like, 'He can do Maths though!'

(interview Kelly, Bird Primary, 7.12.2017)

Kelly continued at some length with the description, pointing out how much the situation irritated her (ibid.: 873-915), while twice slipping in comments on her own school: "here it's different from other schools. Other schools (*mimicking, whispering*) 'Oh my god, we got some-- and they don't-- and they don't speak English'" (898-900), "So it depends, where you are. Here it's an asset, elsewhere it's being seen as-- you know, [the boy is seen as] a tool" (914-915). As before in (653), the teacher uses the contrast to another school to emphasise her professional investment into the teaching routines, while placing this agency explicitly in the context of her school and its ethos.

I have chosen the extracts from Heather's and Kelly's classrooms because they help to understand the specific way in which *teaching routines, English-as-an-additional language teaching* within its 'mainstreaming' paradigm (Costley 2014; Leung 2016), and *teachers' general agency* can be seen as interconnecting. For a further exploration of teacher agency in multilingual pedagogies, it is helpful to make a note of this nexus. The overall precarious status of EAL-teaching in the education system, as outlined in chapter 2, can lead to a situation, where routines around EAL-teaching approaches may develop as an area in which teachers achieve and exert agency. On the whole, they need to make choices regarding their teaching or organisational routines, due to a general lack of conceptional, curricular, and organisational clarity around EAL teaching and staff resources allocated. I would suggest, however, that such agency must be understood as precarious itself; that is, the way teachers' choices are framed by the classroom, and the context school can either *facilitate* or *constrain* this agency. A comparable constellation has been mentioned with regard to Hira's general teacher agency, which could be seen as both facilitated and restricted by the conditions and complexity of her classroom and the challenges it poses. Yet Heather's and Kelly's classrooms add another facet, as they show how approaches which are responsive to the fact that many children have more languages than English in their linguistic repertoire are integrated into teaching routines. Those modified routines can be seen then as both *a result* of the teacher's choices – in accordance with the status EAL-teaching has in their school – and *a factor that enhances* their agency in terms of running the classroom.

I would like to address, finally, an aspect of 'voices being heard' that was already mentioned very briefly regarding the diary entry in Ellie's lesson. While acknowledging the relevance of teaching genres, its practice has also been critiqued for following rather rigid and formulaic methods where

pupils are taught a set of conventions (Myhill 2001; Cremin/Myhill 2012: 11-14 & 58-60), neglecting the fact that they should not merely reproduce written genres but “use them to make sense of their life experiences and their literacy experiences. In this way, writing is an act of social meaning-making: learning to make meaning in texts is about learning to make meaning in contexts” (ibid.: 12). The last aspect refers to the same theoretical framework that teaching of text genres is based on (e.g. Martin/Rose 2008), whereas the former points to an issue of fundamental pedagogical relevance for teaching literacy in school, which would undoubtedly merit a detailed discussion. Yet for the question of teacher agency in multilingual pedagogies, it is important to note here that the questions whether and how schools could strive to create links to the experiences children make out of school and at home is not an aspect that emerges only regarding the language and literacy experiences of plurilingual children. Thus I would like to conclude this part with an extract from Heather’s interview. It follows a passage, where she had spoken of an LSA telling her about the time when education policy allowed teachers more flexibility in teaching writing:

963 But I
 964 find now we are so rigid in how we have to teach it [the writing] and then it’s [the own text] at the very
 965 end [of a unit]. Now we have modelled this, we have shown you how to do it, now
 966 choose your own animal or whatever it would be [...]
 968 we are not as like fluent with it and we sort
 969 of keep control more because we have to prove this and show that.

(interview Heather, 16.3.2018)

This may serve as a reminder that questions of teacher agency in a given classroom, and whose voice and experience become audible in the given timeframes, are inescapably embedded in wider contexts of education policy and societal power relations.

I intended in this chapter to describe routines of the classrooms in such a way as to also identify elements of the teachers’ general agency and, in doing so, to obtain points of orientation for exploring further what might constitute, or contribute to, teacher agency in multilingual pedagogies. This stems from the assumption that a teacher’s general agency is the prerequisite for agency in relation to a more specific pedagogical domain, while a direct transition from one to the other cannot be taken for granted. I have analysed the fieldnotes from the five classrooms one by one, but for a developmental outlook, as incorporated into my research questions 3, 4 and 5 on how teacher agency in multilingual pedagogies might be enhanced, how new possibilities for them may emerge and on how teacher agency in multilingual pedagogies could be achieved, I would like to add a further aspect here. Although elements of general teacher agency tend to be most characteristic of the respective teacher as described above, they can also apply across all five classrooms, albeit to a smaller extent, or they

can become relevant for a different classroom situation or subject area. Thus, the working consensus Ellie has established differs considerably from the agreements in Mike's, Kelly's, and Heather's classes, while it appears similar to the one in Hira's class. Yet for all five teachers, the aspect of *working consensus* can be seen as part of their agency. Moreover, a professional and personal interest in writing as shown by Mike did not feature in another classroom; yet the element of *professional investment* did emerge in relation to certain routines as seen in Kelly's classroom. The aspect of *small everyday decisions* to ensure the running of an inclusive classroom described as part of Hira's agency is mirrored in Heather's or Ellie's decisions to sit, during phases of individual work, often and for longer periods of time next to certain children who require more support. In this sense, it is helpful to draw on the specifics of each teacher's general agency as well as to use them as points of orientation when looking further at teacher agency in the domain of multilingual pedagogies.

In chapter 5, the working consensus in the classroom, teachers' professional and personal interests or investments, and small everyday decisions in the running of the classroom have been identified as facets of a teacher's general agency. As the teachers exercise their agency by influencing classroom routines, making certain choices, and taking stances on their work and professional roles, the classroom in its entirety emerges as *constituting* a means that mediates this agency. Thus, the conditions of the classroom as the context of a teacher's general agency can be conceptualised as both *facilitating* and *constraining* such agency.

6. Schools: contexts for multilingualism?

The findings presented in this chapter focus on various facets of how the teachers and the schools respond to the multilingualism of their pupils. First, I address multilingualism at the classroom level (6.1); then, I turn to the school as institutional context (6.2). In a third section, I present findings on what will be described as an EAL discourse that frames the schools' approach to multilingualism (6.3), before the representation of multilingualism is thematised in the last section (6.4). Thus, the chapter explores the sociocultural context of the institution school in relation to multilingualism, and provides insights related to the main research question of what constitutes, facilitates, and hinders teacher agency in the domain of multilingual pedagogies.

6.1. Multilingualism in the classrooms

In this section, I would like to present findings on how multilingualism features in the classroom. In all five classrooms, the participant observations showed a clear *prevalence of monolingualism*: languages other than English as the language of instruction were not audible in the 'official' classroom talk or visible in written tasks and resources provided by the teacher. The only exception during all lessons observed were MFL lessons and the following episode from a Literacy lesson in Hira's class. The situation occurred in a unit about 'fairy tales' and involved Daniel and Sanba. Daniel, who had attended school in Romania, had been completely new to English only about eight months earlier; Sanba, who speaks Sinhalese at home, had arrived around the same time, having been schooled previously in Italy (fieldnotes Y 3, Victoria Primary, 16.6.2017, 3-4).

56 Daniel sits at his table and Hira gives him a reading booklet in Romanian downloaded from
 57 the Twinkl resources. He reads the fairy tale 'Hansel and Gretel' in a Romanian version.
 58 Daniel does not have anyone to listen to him but is reading for himself with expression.
 59 It looks a bit like he would imagine someone listening. From his facial expression it is obvious
 60 that he is really enjoying it.
 61 Afterwards, he goes out to work with the teaching assistant.
 62 When coming back c. ten minutes before the end of the lesson, he sequences the pictures
 63 of the story.
 64 *I work with Sanba and Shahib.* Sanba reads a simple [English] version of the story with a slow but
 65 relatively reasonable and fluent pace. She reads with a very soft voice.

(fieldnotes Y 3, Victoria Primary, 20.6.2017)

I do not have more information about Daniel's work with Marian (LSA) on this day – she most likely read 'Hansel and Gretel' with him, using the same English version as I did with Sanba and Shahib. Marian works regularly on phonics and reading both with him and other children new to English, mostly in an adjacent room. In this lesson, I followed through with Sanba and Shahib reading and sequencing the story. There appears to be a stark contrast between Daniel, who visibly enjoys reading (58-60), and Sanba, when she participates in reading practice and preparation for sequencing the story (64-65). Daniel brings his voice to the classroom, at least for himself, which allows for the experience of self-efficacy, in the Bandura'ian sense (1982), and a lively *reading voice*, in which he has acquired, performed, and thus, importantly, experienced his reading skills before. While his activity is an example of using *language-as-a-resource* (Ruiz 1984/2017) in a translanguaging setting (preview in home language and reading the same text in English, e.g. Celic/Seltzer 2012: 68), the affective and empowering elements of the reading experience come to the fore along with an additional aspect which is relevant on a more general pedagogical plane: the Romanian text provided by Hira allows Daniel to read independently. Moreover, his enjoyment and the fact that his competent, expressive reading becomes audible in the classroom (58-60) seem to highlight that 'reading voice' and 'Romanian voice' are interrelated – or more precisely, are interrelated for Daniel at this point of being an emergent bilingual pupil. This understanding that Daniel's voice is simultaneously a 'reading voice' and a 'Romanian voice' appears important, since it underlines what I described in 3.1.2 as the necessity for multilingual pedagogies to create learning arrangements where pupils can experience the paradigm of 'language-as-a-resource' as *'doing something'* with the language in school (see p. 18-19). As mentioned before, 'voice' and linguistic repertoire have been brought together in the concept of 'the lived experience of language' (Busch 2015, 2017)⁶, and I have drawn on this perspective for the angle of 'school as a place of language experience' (see p. 12). In this regard, I would like to suggest that the excerpt from the lesson in Hira's Year 3 – with its status of an exception within the fieldnotes from the five classrooms – is instructive for exploring multilingual pedagogies, because it shows how aspects of *voice being heard*, *use of linguistic repertoire*, *learning*, and, last but not least, *enjoyment* come together as part of Daniel's language and learning experience.

Given that the monolingualism of the official classroom talk and learning tasks can be seen as omnipresent throughout the classroom observations, I choose here extracts from interviews with three teachers that show how they assess the current situation in their classrooms. They also reveal further aspects that are relevant for an exploration of teacher agency in multilingual pedagogies, if

⁶ It would be equally relevant to reference 'translanguaging' which draws on the same foundations of Bakhtin (1981) and Vološinov (1973) as the concept of 'the lived experience of language' does (García/Li 2014: 7 & 36). Yet the point to make here regarding multilingual pedagogies, is the relevance of a speaker-oriented perspective and an engagement in *doing something* with one's languages in the classroom.

analysed through the lens of Cummins' (2000: 44) 'interpersonal space', within which teachers and students interact, knowledge is developed, and identities are negotiated.

Being a bilingual English and Bengali speaker, Hira was asked whether she would use Bengali with the seven Bengali speaking children in her class.

532 I hm- I don't know, I don't really use Bengali with other children- although
 533 sometimes they speak to me in Bengali, they do speak to me in Bengali but
 534 I think on a day-to-day basis, I don't think I do . hm . anything with language,
 535 you know apart from that they learn French, we don't do anything with other
 536 languages.

(interview Hira, Victoria Primary, 27.6.2017)

After Ellie had said in the previous interview that she is aware of the languages the children speak, she is asked,

213 *What do you think are the moments or the situations or the parts of*
 214 *lessons or the lessons where you acknowledge their multilingualism, that they*
 215 *are speakers of more than one language?*

216 . Hm

217 *are there any, or...?*

218 Not particularly I don't think we do encourage it that much in lessons .

219 I can't say we do . like with our culture week that is our big thing where they

220 come in, they talk about their own culture, they dress up in their traditional

221 clothes, speak the language, they teach their friend that sort of thing. But it's

222 not all the time. That is one dedicated week [...]

226 *How did the children perceive it, did they enjoy it?*

227 Yeah, they do. They don't really get that much of a chance . to speak about their

228 home language within lessons. [...]

244 I mean they talk in their own language I saw them between them but not very

245 often. I don't think we encourage the use of their home language.

(interview Ellie, Castle Primary, 24.3.2017)

Finally, Heather:

445 I talk with them about their lives and

446 the different languages they speak and the countries they visit and their

447 families. And I do ask 'Do you speak to your...?' like 'Can you communicate

448 with your nan?' [...]

452 But I never talk to them about how-- like
 453 learning the language. I never I never feel like I am interested-- Like (*with emphasis*) I am
 454 interested but maybe the children don't think I am interested because I never
 455 say (*imitating*) 'How would I say that in Polish?' or 'How do you say that in
 456 Urdu?' or something.

(interview Heather, Bird Primary, 16.3.2018)

The extracts show the three teachers' evaluation of their classrooms regarding the use of languages other than English: Hira, '*but I think on a day-to-day basis, I don't think I do . hm . anything with language, (...) we don't do anything with other languages*' (534-536); Ellie, '*I don't think we encourage the use of their home language*' (245); and Heather, '*But I never talk to them about how-- like learning the language*' (452-453). In this respect, the teachers describe, first and foremost, what can be inferred from the observations as a monolingual status quo in the classroom.

However, another aspect that is instructive for questions around teacher agency seems also to emerge. In my understanding, the three teachers hint at a kind of tension or friction that exists in their interaction with the children described here. In Hira's case, it is a tension between children who speak occasionally to her in Bengali, whereas she interacts with them as part of a school described as '*we don't do anything with other languages*' (535-536). In Ellie's extract, there is a friction between, on the one hand, the one-off event of the school's 'culture week' as part of the school year and, on the other hand, the routines, where '*they don't really get that much of a chance to speak about their home language within lessons*' (227-228) and where the school does not '*encourage the use of their home language*' (245). Heather, finally, reflects on a tension between the fact that she talks with children about their languages but does not make their plurilingual voices heard in the classroom.

These tensions might be best understood as surfacing at the periphery of the official classroom – in the sense that they are neither part of the classroom routines nor do they belong entirely to the realm of language practices among pupils. In fact, they could be seen as an element of the interpersonal space between teachers and children, where both are enacting the phenomenon that has been described concisely as compartmentalization of the use of their languages on the part of the children and institutional silence on the part of the official school (Kenner/Ruby 2012: 2). The three teachers themselves did not use a term like 'tension'; this can be seen as relevant for understanding teacher agency in this context, as it points to the relatively small significance such tensions have for them in comparison to other aspects of their professional life. Yet, I would like to suggest that regarding the dominance of monolingualism in the classrooms and in relation to the institution school seen as a location where linguistic repertoires encounter official language ideologies, it is not only important *that* teachers mention these tensions but also *how* they express them. In all three extracts, the

teachers convey a short evaluative reflection on the use of the children's languages in school, and those reflections shift towards a more definite proposition: Hira reinforces '*I think on a day-to-day basis, I don't think I do...*' (534) to '*apart from that they learn French we don't do anything...*' (535-536), which broadens the references from the time aspect '*day-to-day basis*' and her own classroom into a more general assessment about the whole school (Hira uses '*we*' to indicate whole school approaches throughout her interviews). Ellie formulates rather hesitantly, with a long pause, at the beginning, '*not particularly. . . . I don't think we do encourage it that much in lessons*' (218). She then includes the perspective of the children by '*they don't really get that much of a chance...*' (227), before concluding and reinforcing her assessment with a repetition '*I don't think we encourage the use of their home language*' (245). In Heather's extract, the interpersonal character of the space, in which teacher and children talk about languages and in which plurilingual voices are potentially heard or not heard is even more noticeable, while she also includes explicitly the perspective of the children '*Like (...) I am interested but maybe the children don't think I am ...*' (453-454).

As the excerpts show, these teachers combine the description of the monolingual state of their teaching and 'official' classrooms with a reflective attitude, and this will be discussed further in 8.3. However, I have included these extracts at this point because I want to argue that for a study of teacher agency in multilingual pedagogies, it is less relevant whether such reflections – and the implicit acknowledgement of tensions around the monolingual status quo – are more or less extensive. What matters more is that they were articulated in relation to the teacher's own experiences and their interactions with their plurilingual pupils.

Another similarity across the five classrooms is the *multilingualism in the unofficial talk among children*. The distinction between 'official'/'unofficial' talk and spatial aspects of language use have been addressed in studies on plurilingual children in primary schools (Bourne 2001; Kenner/Ruby 2012) and in the concept of 'safe houses' put forward for the higher education classroom but easily transferable to the primary school. Canagarajah (2004: 121) understands 'safe houses' as spaces (and domains of time) that are comparatively free from surveillance by teachers, such as asides between students, passing of notes, small group and peer activities, and sites like the playground. My fieldnotes include examples of those different spaces: in the reading corner, Sonia and Adriana talking in Romanian (fieldnotes Y 4, Castle 10.1.2017, 229-234); sitting on the carpet, Adriana scribbling a note to her friend in Romanian on a whiteboard (ibid., 8.2.2017, 88-93); on the playground, Adriana and Bianca talking for a while in a space with some privacy (ibid., 17.1.2017, 99-105); or, in the corridor, Destiny speaking with her little sister in Twi (fieldnotes Y 3/2, Bird 4.1.2018, 129-136). In the participatory activities, the children talked about using their languages other than English 'off-task'

and also for learning purposes, and I will report the children's perspectives on their language repertoires in 7.2. For developments of multilingual pedagogies and teacher agency, however, it should be mentioned here that the distinction between official and unofficial talk⁷ and the related aspect of space is relevant for two reasons. First, it allows for a consideration of what kind of talk/use of texts – including different languages – is planned and provided for by the teacher. Second, it allows for an analysis of the classroom simultaneously as *one* space and as differentiated, consisting of various spaces, inviting us to distinguish between those various spaces as places where language repertoires and ideologies come in contact differently and where their meanings might be negotiated in diverse ways.

Beyond these parallels, differences that could be found between the five classrooms regarding the use of languages other than English were linked to different 'constellations' of children in those classes. This could be expected given that children have different languages in their repertoires and/or make different use of them in school. Yet, a consideration of these diverse constellations is significant for multilingual pedagogies. Linking these constellations to the nexus of *aspects of the school as a place for multilingual pedagogies* (see p. 11-13) allows for insights into the different ways in which children's linguistic repertoires come in contact with a school's language ideology and, consequently, how children and teachers may negotiate the meanings those repertoires and ideologies have for them. I will discuss insights regarding *negotiations* and *meanings* in chapter 7.

6.2 Multilingualism in the schools

In this section, the focus is on the three schools as the institutional contexts that frame the classrooms described above in relation to multilingualism: Castle Primary (Mike and Ellie), Victoria Primary (Hira), and Bird Primary (Kelly and Heather). As outlined in 3.2.4, I understand the societal conditions around mono- and multilingualism that result in a lack of policy formation in the domain of multilingual pedagogies as the *macro level*. The role of the *meso level* actor could be taken up by any educational institution that provides guidance for such pedagogies. Alternatively, the meso level might be assigned to a knowledgeable actor in a school. Yet, such a constellation, in which the school becomes a meso level actor, must be seen as the result of an education policy that, for decades, has weakened and dismantled the role and influence of Local Educational Authorities (Ball 2013a: 87-89). Saphira, the

⁷ It is difficult to *observe* pupils' unofficial talk when they work on-task, and the dichotomy 'official'/'unofficial' might mirror in itself the power relations between teachers and pupils (Bourne 2001: 104; see Maybin 2007 for a critical discussion of the dualism of official/unofficial literacy). I use the distinction because it allows me to differentiate between talk/use of texts initiated by the teacher for lesson learning purposes and 'other' talk/use of texts in the classroom.

EAL coordinator at Victoria Primary, for example, still remembers a local centre for teachers whose teams for various pedagogical domains provided very valuable support in the borough, which was, in her opinion, leading in the field of education for bilingual children at the time (fieldnotes, 22.6.2017, 22-23). However, on the whole, the school and the individual classroom are understood as the *micro level*, where teacher agency in multilingual pedagogies is enacted.

I will now report on the similarities of the responses in all three schools to the children's multilingualism in relation to five aspects: (1) multilingualism in the school environment; (2) provision and procedures for English as additional language learners; (3) multilingual resources and artefacts; (4) contacts to complementary schools; and (5) Modern Foreign Language teaching.

(1) All three schools mentioned the diversity of their community at the beginning of the introductory texts on their homepages. At Castle and Bird Primary, this was underscored by figures provided about languages: children speak about 40 and 50 languages respectively among them across the school. Correspondingly, multilingualism was prominently visualised on signs next to the entrances, which showed the word 'Welcome' together with translations in about a dozen languages and in different scripts. In Victoria Primary, a similarly designed poster was placed in the reception area. At Bird Primary, the reception area displayed handwritten *I speak ...* signs in various languages, with photographs of those staff members who spoke the respective language.

In the corridors and halls of the three schools, multilingualism was visible in *four types of displays*. First, there were displays and mini posters that referred to the 'Welcome' theme and had been downloaded from online publishers. Second, displays showcased children's work from *Modern Foreign Language learning* (children's letters from an exchange with a class in France at Castle Primary, and texts in response to a picture book and concrete poetry texts at Bird Primary) – these displays in the corridors had been designed with great care. A further kind of display belonged to the approach of 'Language of the Month' or '... of the Term', showing words and greetings of the respective language, sometimes together with a map, a flag, or other illustrations. 'Language of the Month' originates from Newbury Park Primary School in London that developed free accessible resources, among them an activity booklet (Debono n.y.), word cards, and videoclips, in which children introduce greetings, simple questions, and numbers in many languages. The teachers' handling of the 'Language of the Month' resources will be addressed in 6.4. Furthermore, mini posters with a simplified version of British Sign Language could be found in two schools: at Castle Primary a 'sign of the week' was used in assemblies and put up in the classroom, and at Bird Primary a template with greetings in BSL was supplemented by the current 'Language of the Term'. Finally, multilingualism was visible in *topic-related displays* that showcased artwork and texts by children and included labels with key words in

different languages. There was one example of such a display at Castle Primary, in accordance with its school policy. At Bird Primary, topic-displays in a reception class and a Year 1 class had been annotated by teachers with the languages they spoke, i.e. Arabic and Gujarati respectively, in line with the school's EAL Policy that mentions the inclusion of children's languages on displays.

(2) In all three schools, the role of the EAL coordinator was taken up by teachers who taught young children. In Castle Primary, the coordinator was a part-time teacher in Year 1, who also taught French in Key Stage 2; in Victoria Primary, the EAL coordinator was a teacher and phase leader in the Early Years; and in Bird Primary, the EAL coordinator was a class teacher and Key Stage 1 lead. At the school admission, the parents are usually asked about a child's 'first language', and this language is recorded in the statistical system, but there is only one option for the parents to fill in. The procedures for children who arrive with no or little English were organized in a similar way in all three schools. These children were assessed using the five-point scale for EAL proficiency (DfE 2017) that was an official requirement at the time of my fieldwork. Those children were taught in class with only the teaching of English phonics organized separately. In Castle Primary, the EAL coordinator worked with a group of twelve children every morning for 20-25 minutes on phonics and grammar. She saw the separate lesson as having an important complementary function to the children's learning in class, e.g. they can sound out by calling out in her lesson, an opportunity the children would not have in their classrooms (fieldnotes Castle, EAL, 7.2.2017, 30-31). Three children from Ellie's class took part in these lessons but the teacher explained that otherwise she had an LSA only one morning per week without other additional support (see 6.3, p. 101). In Victoria Primary, a learning support assistant worked with children in groups of two, from different classes across a year group, on phonics and reading. Daniel, from Hira's class (see 6.1, p. 89-90), was attending this small group, while Marian, the LSA, also occasionally took him to join a speech and communication session with another boy because he enjoyed the opportunity for interaction (fieldnotes Victoria 16.6.2017, 92-95). Marian described how the senior management team had asked her to work with Daniel and another child with special educational needs on a regular basis, and how she had rejected the suggestion as not adequate (ibid., 114-115). In Mike's class, and in the two classes at Bird Primary, there were no children at an early stage of EAL. At Bird Primary too, the phonics lessons for pupils new to English were taught separately (fieldnotes EAL coordinator 4.12.2017: 25-26).

The educators' description of how EAL and multilingualism had been addressed in their initial teacher education appeared to mirror the precarious situation described in chapter 2. Mike had been on a Teaching English as a Foreign Language course before working in South America (see 4.5) and also mentioned an INSET session run by the EAL coordinator in school. When asked more specifically about

training that thematised multilingualism, the teacher replied: “No, I suppose, hadn’t much throughout” (int. 30.1.2017, 477-483). Similarly, Ellie remembered that multilingualism did not feature in her training (int. 8.2.2017, 604-606). Hira’s teacher training did include multilingualism, but her description suggests that it had been addressed in a very limited way: “We did look at it in teacher training having all the different needs and obviously the bilingual learners are not the only needs” (int. 27.6.2017, 431-432). In her school, an EAL training organisation had run an INSET at the start of the school year.

The situation, however, was different for the two teachers at Bird Primary, as their school provided EAL in-service trainings for other schools. Kelly recalled how in one of the trainings she had the opportunity to experience what it was like to draw on her entire linguistic knowledge to work out a task (int. 7.12.2017, 1004-1013). Thus, Bird Primary operates as a meso level actor in regard to the EAL domain, and the EAL responsive approaches described in 5.2 can be seen as part of this meso level expertise. Other approaches that fall into the category of EAL responsiveness were the text-mapping method and differently shaped signs that symbolize the various parts of a sentence, and which were used often in Key Stage 1, sometimes in Year 3, and also in MFL lessons (e.g. fieldnotes Y 3/1 Bird 29.11.2017, 66-72). Thus, the EAL coordinator emphasised that the teachers are generally expected to teach in a way that is accessible for all pupils (fieldnotes Bird 4.12.2017, 37-38). The context of Bird Primary might be best seen as the school communicating explicitly an ethos of multilingualism, and in this sense the staff members’ *I speak...* signs in the reception area were meant both symbolically as a reflection of this ethos and practically for parents who need to communicate with someone who speaks their language. Moreover, the school drew on these linguistic resources in situations when a child who was new to school and to English had an informal chat with a staff member who spoke his/her language, in order to get a general understanding of the new pupil’s language and communication skills.

(3) During the observations, the children and teachers in the five classrooms did not use multilingual materials except in the episode described in 6.1 and the MFL lessons. As none of the schools had a school library room, they used bookshelves in the corridors instead, and those, as well as the bookshelves in the classrooms, contained only books in English. There were apparently only a few resources in languages other than English and they were either associated with younger children (e.g. at Bird Primary, a Reception Class teacher mentioned a trolley for the Early Years/Year 1, from which parents could borrow books including bilingual editions on Fridays; fieldnotes 6.6.2018, 25-27), or they were meant only for new arrivals with no or very little English (interview Heather 12.1.2018, 459-463). In Ellie’s class no dictionaries were used for the emergent bilinguals, a fact that Hira also mentioned

for her class. When she was asked whether she would use dictionaries for these children, she replied: “I haven’t. Sometimes it depends [...] but I need to use it more the dictionary” *you would like...?* “I would like to use it more because sometimes you get so engrossed in-- to get something in their books that it’s ‘Okay, let’s do it...’ then you forget about [the dictionary]” (int. 27.6.2017, 469-475). The teacher did, however, mention that she used tablets to look up words, or that the LSA would occasionally provide audio stories, but this was not part of the data from the observations.

Overall, the situation around multilingual resources and artefacts appears to be inconsistent regarding resources for newly arrived children and emergent bilingual pupils, while the use of such resources may also depend on the respective theme as with the tale episode in 6.1. This leads to a more general point: the fact that there was no regular or systematic provision within the context school meant that the use of multilingual resources was not developed into a regular practice or into more independent learning routines on the part of the emergent bilingual children.

(4) None of the three schools had contacts with the complementary schools that some of their pupils attend – a fact that would clearly deserve an inquiry in its own right. I visited two complementary schools⁸ that had been mentioned by children. Regarding the wider context of multilingualism, educational policy and linguistic power relations, I want to refer here to the headteacher of one of the complementary schools, whom I asked whether she considered it desirable to develop contacts with the school that was attended by a considerable number of her pupils. The headteacher explained that in lessons her pupils recognized content from their learning in the primary school and mentioned sometimes that they ‘could tell’ their teacher. Yet, any interest on her part in such contacts had ceased when some years before she had inquired about the possibility of an GCSE but was officially told that there were not a sufficient number of pupils to take it (fieldnotes 27.3.2017, 34-39).

(5) Modern Foreign Language teaching was organized in different ways at the three schools. At Castle Primary, the pupils learnt Chinese in Key Stage 1 taught by a student on a governmental scheme from China; in Key Stage 2, the children learnt French. At Victoria Primary, the pupils started to learn French in Year 3, taught by specialist teachers from an agency that also taught Physical Education and Dance at the school. At Bird Primary, French was taught from Year 3, while another MFL was taught from Year 1 up to Year 6. All doors in the school were labelled in English and these two languages. Although I took fieldnotes in some MFL lessons, this did not, for various reasons, happen with sufficient consistency. In Year 5 at Castle Primary, French was currently not being taught due to a lack of staff, and at Victoria Primary I had not obtained an informed consent by the external specialist teacher. Due

⁸ In this and the following paragraph, some languages are not ‘named’ to allow for anonymisation.

to these inconsistencies, and because the fieldnotes taken in MFL lessons had not shown the use of languages other than English and the MFL, while the study's focus is on the agency of the five class teachers, I have not included these MFL lessons in the analysis.

In conclusion, the findings presented in this section indicate that the three schools constitute sociocultural contexts which acknowledge multilingualism in their environment and support the learning of newly arrived EAL learners by providing additional staff resources within the possibilities of their current staffing situations. In Ellie's and Hira's classrooms, however, the schools did not, on the whole, provide bilingual resources to support emergent bilinguals. Moreover, the schools offered neither a meso level context that would provide guidance nor a micro-level context that would provide resources for teachers' activities within approaches of multilingual pedagogies that address *all* plurilingual pupils or, in fact, all children.

6.3 EAL discourse

From the outset, when contacting schools, I needed to handle the issue of terminology. To avoid jargon or channelling certain perspectives, I used phrasings such as: "My study aims at exploring what the role and agency of teachers is, and how it develops in classrooms, where many children bring with them more than one language." (email to teachers of Castle Primary, 6.12.2016). The relative clause was my attempt to outline roughly, and in everyday language, the perspective of the speaker and the linguistic repertoire in order to circumvent the usage of pre-established categories, such as first or second language (see p. 20). For the same reason, I had chosen an open question in the interview: "Many of the children you teach are bilingual or multilingual. What does it mean to you?" (e.g. interview Mike, Castle 30.1.2017, 289-290).

The phenomenon that I describe in this section, emerged in the interviews when teachers replied to my question, e.g. in Mike's response:

291 Well, it is inspirational to start with. You know when I am standing there and
 292 there are-- I mean it is one of my great regrets that-- not learning another
 293 language, I mean maybe one day I will but-- Standing there in front of the
 294 children where you know you have got seven, eight, nine different languages
 295 represented in the classroom. It is pretty inspiring, isn't it as an adult standing
 296 there. Ahm, in terms of the provision we provide, I think it is about modelling
 297 the right use of English, it is about ensuring that, if there are any patterns [...]
 298 from-- [...]

302 [...] so it is about picking up on those making sure that
 303 they get an immediate feedback whether it is verbal or whether it's written
 304 and again that is very important,
 305 but – ahm, EAL learners, so we are constantly turning around and looking, are
 306 they okay

(ibid.)

The teacher answers with an evaluation (291, *it is inspirational*; 295, *it's pretty inspiring*), in which he contrasts the children's language skills with his own language experience. In addressing this experience, Mike combines a physical description of the classroom (291, *I am standing there and there are--*; 293-294, *Standing there in front of the children...*) with a description of how he feels about his monolingualism. Mike mentions his language experience in other passages of the interviews as well (and I will look at this in more detail in section 8.3). For the analysis here, it is useful to note two aspects: first, the teacher chooses to refer to the children in a rather abstract way: *you have got seven, eight, nine different languages represented in the classroom* (294-295). The children as plurilingual speakers are somehow omitted here, a possibility that, arguably, had been offered in the question. Second, in (296), and chiming with this omission that almost seems to be marked by an hesitant *Ahm*, Mike shifts to speaking about teaching strategies, *in terms of the provision...*, before introducing the term 'EAL learners' together with the assertion that the children's learning needs are met (305-306). In the following interview section, he describes other teaching strategies such as modelling and think alouds, which are integral parts of his lesson routines (ibid., 326-339). It could be argued that this emphasis on an apparent *omission* is overstated. Yet it needs to be seen in conjunction with Mike's response when being asked, whether he knows which languages the children speak:

355 I should do . (*smiles*) I should do . no . . but I can find that out that . . I mean I
 356 know we have got R.-- three or four, I would say, speak Lithuanian. I
 357 would say, we got maybe four Polish . children ahm, a couple of Roman--,

(ibid.)

Mike appears to be aware that he 'should' know about the languages the pupils speak, although he does not specify where this expectation originates by referring, e.g. to school procedures or pedagogical purposes. It could be argued that in this way the children who speak English as well as other languages are not seen as plurilingual speakers but chiefly or exclusively as EAL learners.

While Mike referred to *all* multilingual children in his class, as this had been offered implicitly in the question, Ellie responds differently:

361 Challenges, definitely ahm, some of them arrive speaking no English at all and
 362 there is very little support for them. I mean [EAL coordinator] does her best to take them
 363 to the phonics. That's in the morning but then after, in every other lesson they
 364 are just in the classroom and there is no extra support. And sharing the TA,
 365 you know, having them once a week in the morning, it really means actually
 366 you can't provide that much support. So it is challenging [...]

371 [...] Just because like myself, I don't speak any foreign languages so--

(interview Ellie, 8.2.2017)

The teacher describes the situation in her classroom and what she sees as an unsatisfactory teaching/learning situation for herself and the three children, who are at an early stage of learning English as an additional language. In other words, when asked what the fact of her pupils' bi- or multilingualism would mean to her, Ellie does not address the multilingualism among 'many children' in her class either. Instead, she focuses on what is currently most pressing for her. At the end, after describing briefly experiences with parents who "don't speak English" (ibid., 366-370), she also mentions her own linguistic repertoire (371).

Hira also refers in her answer to children who arrived with no previous knowledge of English:

334 They have another language, they are from another culture, so obviously, they
 335 are not familiar with the school, they are not familiar with the language, you
 336 know, sometimes it is an alien place to be so that-- (*laughs*) I was, I was
 337 probably an EAL child, when I was in school, I was an EAL child. But it's quite
 338 hm scary. [...] it is not that you are not smart enough it is
 339 just not getting the language [...]

343 [...] sometimes you know you think
 344 of EAL-- they are not smart they don't have it all. But it's not that. It is about
 345 just the language, making sure that they understand the thing, or they can use
 346 their words, their language so that they can understand [...]

350 *Th.:* *So you were*

351 *using your Bangla with him? [referring to a child, the teacher had mentioned before]*

352 Hira: Sometimes, if he didn't understand, I did with him. [...]

(interview Hira, 27.6.2017)

Hira picks up the phrasing of 'bilingual and multilingual' pupils by referring to children without prior knowledge of English. She changes from a third person perspective – *They have another language...* (334-335) – to a first person angle, and includes her own experience in this shift: *I was probably an*

EAL child, when I was in school, I was an EAL child (336-337). In doing so, she appears to identify with this language experience (336, *sometimes it is an alien place to be*; 337-338, *but it is quite hm scary*), while she also might be seen as expressing, by laughing and using an adverb of probability, a certain ambivalence that she feels toward using the term ‘EAL child’. In (338-339 & 343-345), Hira points to the risk that the children’s learning potential is misjudged, before she returns to her perspective as a teacher who supports their learning, saying that *“they can use their words, their language”* (345-346) and mentioning her own practice to sometimes speak Bengali with a child who had just started to learn English (352).

I will now mention briefly how Heather and Kelly responded to the two questions, which included the term ‘bilingual or multilingual’ children: the first, quoted before, asking what it would mean for the teacher to teach those children, and the second, “How do you think, do bilingual children experience school?” (e.g. interview Heather, 12.1.2018, 485-486). Heather replied, “I think it’s fascinating for me and it has taught me so much” (ibid., 369), and referred to the INSET-sessions, which her school provides for others and from which she had benefitted herself, “learning how to teach EAL through visual-- I use my hands so much now I am like-- you know text-mapping things like that-- even if I would go into a school with only English children, I would do it that way” (ibid., 372-375). Similarly to Hira, the teacher described the experiences of children new to English as “probably quite terrifying at first” (ibid., 487), and remembered two boys from Syria some years ago: “they had no English whatsoever and they were absolutely terrified – but they were also terrified because of what they had experienced and they had been rushed across” (ibid., 495-498). She recounts how one of them told her, before moving to another town, “I was so scared, I knew nothing and I couldn’t explain anything. But I always remember that you were smil-- you used to smile at us and you said we were brilliant to my dad” (ibid., 502-505).

Her colleague Kelly also said, “I think we are talking with our hands quite a lot but I think I do anyway [...] I am guilty a bit of overexplaining things but I think if the teaching is vocabulary-- showing a new word and realizing that they might not have encountered that word [...] just thinking about that kind of how they are going to access it. [...] So that’s how the school approaches it” (interview, 7.12.2017, 597-605). Regarding multilingual children’s experience of school, she explains,

845 I think here it is more usual to be multilingual, everyone is different, everyone
 846 speaks another language, everyone apart from me. So they don’t think
 847 anything else, it’s just part of who they are. And I don’t think, there is--
 848 it doesn’t make you a second-class citizen in any way [...]
 859 [...] I think in this school [...]

860 it's really cool and it's just being part of this school. I think the children that
 861 only, 'only' speak English probably feel a bit left out. But you know the whole
 862 thing is, our academic language is English.

(ibid.)

Various aspects are mentioned here: Kelly refers to her own linguistic repertoire (846, *everyone apart from me*), and she thematises multilingual children's experience of normalcy in the school, while emphasising it as a particular feature of her school (845, *here it is more usual...*; 860, *it is just being part...*) before she asserts the exclusiveness of English as academic language (861-862). It might be suggested that an omission similar to that found in Mike's account, quoted above, occurs when the pupils' multilingualism is being acknowledged, even explicitly as *it's just part of who they are* (847), while they are not thematised as *speakers in the classroom*.

Across all interviews, it proved difficult to talk about multilingualism *in the classroom* among those children who were not at an early stage of learning English as an additional language. Either the teacher omitted them as plurilingual *speakers*, as seen in Mike's and Kelly's accounts, or teachers focused in their answers on those children who had relatively recently arrived without prior knowledge of the English language. Ellie's and Hira's extracts are cases in point, while Heather mentions text-mapping as one of the strategies that were called EAL responsive teaching routines in 5.2, before she also replied within the context of the early EAL learning of newly arrived refugee children.

I want to argue that it is helpful to understand this phenomenon as an 'EAL discourse'. Butcher et al. use the term 'EAL discourse' in their study of policies around initial teacher training and bilingualism (2007: 485)⁹. Although not explicating the notion itself further, the scholars see the dominance of 'EAL' in teacher education terminology as reiterating "a deficit view of bilingualism, equating it to or confusing it with EAL support" (ibid.: 486). The EAL discourse proves useful also for the analysis of what occurred throughout the interviews: an *omission of the linguistic repertoire of multilingual children* and a sort of *restriction of their multilingualism to EAL learning aspects*. It has been maintained that a discourse constructs its object in a certain way, thus limiting other ways, in which the topic could be constructed (Hall 1992a: 291) and that "[t]he knowledge which a discourse produces constitutes a kind of power, exercised over those who are 'known'" (ibid.: 294-295). This describes well the phenomenon illustrated by the extracts above, where plurilingual pupils are

⁹ It should be noted that 'EAL discourse' is also used for terminology in the professional field of EAL teaching (Creese 2010: 70). I am introducing the term here not to embark on a detailed discourse analysis, but rather because the term is heuristically useful.

constructed as children whose plurilingual repertoire can be neglected in school or limited to aspects of learning English as an additional language – and in this sense, the official classroom ‘knows’ about these children. In other words, more will be required than merely changing the terminology from ‘EAL children’ to, say, ‘multilingual children’. It will be necessary to ask how the dominant EAL discourse would need to be shifted to develop multilingual pedagogies further – a process, in which terminology, ‘knowing about’ as well as practices – and resources for these practices – cohere.

I would like to suggest that ‘EAL discourse’ is a helpful analytical lens, when, as above, employed with a view to the power/knowledge nexus explored by Foucault (e.g. 1971), where power is seen as having both an oppressive *and* a productive side. The *repressive* element of the EAL discourse might be seen in overlooking the linguistic repertoires of plurilingual children. For an exploration of teacher agency, however, it is relevant to consider also how *productive* the discourse is and, importantly, how it interrelates with other discourses in education. Thus, it can be asked what the EAL discourse accomplishes from a teacher’s point of view. Furthermore, the teachers’ responses can be linked to the materiality of the discourse, i.e. its institutional manifestations in form of organisations and practices (see also Ball 2013b: 21). The EAL discourse is then productive, in that it facilitates the procedures mentioned in 6.2, such as the assessment of newly arrived students and certain teaching practices, while also generating the categorisations and statistics which become part of it.

At least two aspects are significant in relation to teacher agency in multilingual pedagogies. First, EAL-related practices and procedures enable teachers to respond to the needs of children and to get some resources allocated. At the same time, teachers need to exercise agency in the provision of EAL teaching, not least because the provision is often precarious and contested, as described explicitly by Ellie in (361-366) and also by Hira when she said *Sometimes I feel I would need to rip myself in half...* (51-52, p. 79). Second, the provision for children who are at various stages of learning English, and of mastering more text genres as they progress through their schooling, is closely interwoven with the discourse of social justice in education. In various ways, the teachers mentioned aspects implicitly linked to equality in the extracts I have quoted in this section: *EAL learners, so we are constantly turning around and looking, are they okay?* (Mike, 305-306, p. 100); Ellie’s evaluation *that there is no extra support* (364); Hira’s description of the risk that pupils new to English may have their learning potential misjudged (338-344); *it doesn’t make you a second-class citizen in any way* (Kelly, 848); and finally Heather’s recollection of teaching two pupils who had fled war. The five teachers foregrounded their confidence to teach children new to English, to include EAL responsive approaches or, more generally, to use scaffolding/modelling strategies in teaching reading and writing (Mike, Heather and Kelly; see 5.2), while they also emphasized difficulties in supporting those pupils who arrived with no

previous knowledge of English (Ellie and Hira). Yet, I would like to argue that it is relevant for teacher agency in multilingual pedagogies that in all interviews ‘English as an additional language’ is *not seen as a deficit* on the part of the children or their families but understood as a normalcy in school and thus as a routine part of the professional task of a teacher.

Of course, this ‘EAL discourse’ as articulated in the interviews can be understood as an expression of second language teaching and its dominant orientation towards subtractive bilingualism (see chapter 3, p. 14). Correspondingly, the discourse can be found in the school policies of the three schools, where multilingualism is either mentioned under EAL provision for new arrivals or within sections on monitoring the learning environment and displays (see 6.2). The ‘EAL discourse’ encountered in the interviews can then be analysed as a similar omission of children’s multilingual repertoires and a reduction to EAL learning aspects that results from, and reproduces, the dominant monolingual lens through which students’ bilingualism has traditionally been seen. The inherent logic of the monolingual lens is such that once a child starts to be seen as more or less successful following the lessons, her or his bilingualism fades into the background. Therefore, the three instances mentioned in the extracts above – i.e. Mike’s ‘disclosure’ that he does not know which languages the pupils in his class speak and his reference to the statistics stored in the office (355), Kelly’s assertion that *the whole thing is, our academic language is English* (861-862), and Hira’s description of how she used their shared language Bengali with a newly arrived child *Sometimes, if he didn’t understand...* (352) – can all be seen as facets or effects of such an EAL discourse, although at first glance and considered separately, they seem to be located at very different planes.

I want to suggest that the ‘EAL discourse’ is also a *hindrance* for teacher agency in multilingual pedagogies in that it *preforms* how the linguistic repertoires of the children and language ideologies – and, as Busch phrases it, ‘discourses on language and language use’ (2017: 52) – come into contact with each other in school. Here, it is important to note that this discourse does not only regulate that contact in relation to children’s multilingualism; seeing it more comprehensively, as the notion of discourse would suggest, it involves the teachers and their agency as well. Various aspects, like the fact that their training had addressed – if at all – only EAL teaching approaches, and the lack of elements for multilingual pedagogies on a meso level (see 6.2), such as teacher guidance and provisions of teaching/learning resources, influence or impact on their choices and actions. On the whole, the ‘EAL discourse’ emerged when conducting the interviews and appeared to be a category in agreement with the status quo encountered in classrooms and school policies, and as such it clearly constitutes a hindrance to teacher agency in pedagogies that evolve around plurilingual children.

And yet, looking at the ‘EAL discourse’ – grounded in the current workings of how pupil’s repertoires and the logic of a monolingual lens are brought into contact in schools – might also be useful when asking what might facilitate teacher agency. Indeed, by including the aspect of ‘power’, and following Hall’s assertion mentioned before that a discourse “limits the other ways in which the topic can be constructed” (1992a: 291), it becomes possible to ask what may support a teacher in going beyond the current dominant knowledge about plurilingual children, while, importantly, seeing the quest for ‘knowing differently’ still in relation to their current classroom. It is very relevant that the EAL discourse considerably reduces the space available for achieving teacher agency in multilingual pedagogies, while it constitutes the status quo, against which teachers speak about children’s multilingualism, as illustrated with the interview extracts in 6.1 and in this section. I have described in 6.1 that the teachers hinted at a sort of tension or contradiction that can exist in their interaction with their plurilingual pupils. However, they did not use explicit terms like ‘tension’ or ‘contradiction’, and I have argued that this might be, first, because they occur at the periphery of the official classroom, and second, because such tensions or emerging contradictions have only little significance for teachers in comparison to other aspects of their professional life. Drawing on the perspective of the EAL discourse, I would like to argue that such ‘small spaces’ of tensions or frictions – and, importantly as suggested, reflections that teachers articulate around them – might be seen as opportunities for ‘knowing differently’ about plurilingual children in the classroom.

6.4 Representation of multilingualism

As described in section 6.2, multilingualism featured in the linguistic schoolscapes of the three schools, and, drawing mainly on the photographs taken, I want to look now in more detail at how multilingualism is represented, focusing on a book box at Castle Primary, on the use of ‘Language of the Month’ in Castle and Bird Primary, and on the representation of multilingualism in the three schools’ environment. I have chosen these examples because they point to a symbolic acknowledgement of multilingualism as a phenomenon present in all three schools.

At the beginning of a new term, the EAL coordinator at Castle Primary hands out a mini poster and a box with books that are tailored to each class. The A4 poster says, ‘Welcome to Year...’/‘In our class we speak...’, listing the languages as recorded in the school’s statistical system. The books are from an EAL resources pool, and the procedure is in line with a checklist in the school’s Teaching and Learning Policy that mentions dual language books. In Mike’s Year 5, half of the assortment were picture books, including three bilingual ones, some non-fiction books on countries, and narratives or traditional stories set in other countries. The books were arranged on the windowsill beneath the poster, whereas

in Ellie's Year 4, the box remained unpacked until the end of the term. However, neither pupils nor teachers mentioned these books when talking about the use (or non-use) of different languages in the classroom.



ill. 1: A4 poster in Mike's class

As described before, all three schools used the 'Language of the Month' (see p. 95). In Bird Primary, this approach was explicitly mentioned in the EAL Policy as part of valuing the languages a child speaks. The 'LoM' displays with word cards, including a transliteration into Latin script and a translation, could be found at different places and in different sizes in the classrooms. In Ellie's class, the doors of a cupboard were used for the word cards, whereas there was no such designated area in Mike's classroom. In Hira's Year 3, there was a large display with the current 'LoM', and similar A4 posters with two other languages. At Bird Primary, Kelly and Heather used the classroom doors for the mini posters. When asked how, in his opinion, multilingual children would experience school, Mike explained, "I think actually, it is celebrated here, you know, we got 'Language of the Month' and you know we are a hugely diverse school" (int. 30.1.2017, 414-415). As this approach is used in many schools, yet in different ways, I probed,

429 *What do you do with*

430 *'The Language of the Month'?*

431 It is a display that goes up in the classroom. I haven't actually seen it

432 recently, so it might be a question for [name of EAL coordinator]. I know [...] she is in Year 1

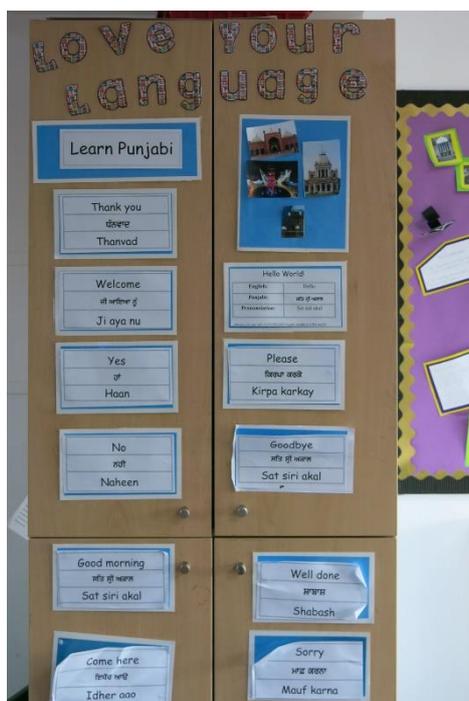
433 quite a lot. So maybe that's not been done that much this year. But last year

434 'Language of the Months' was mentioned in assemblies [...]

(ibid.)

Mike describes 'Language of the Month' as a practice in assemblies and not for the classroom (433-434). However, it is not only Mike who appears to express an uncertainty. Ellie described another

ambivalence regarding the usage of the resources: “we get the ‘Language of the Month’ and how do you say these words?-- we don’t know” (int., 24.3.2017, 496-497). It turned out that Ellie was not aware of the videoclip resources (int. 24.3.2017, 498-510), and both her and Mike’s excerpts point to issues of communication among the teachers involved, or the EAL coordinator’s workload as mentioned by Mike (432-433), although both class teachers expressed explicitly their satisfaction with the EAL coordinator’s work in the interviews (Mike 30.1.2017, 419-420 & Ellie 8.2.2017, 362-363).



ill. 2: ‘LoM’ display in Ellie’s class

Ellie’s ambivalence was shared by a teacher in Bird Primary, where Heather explains that she does not use the resources for teaching basic words in the given language either: “we have ‘Language of the Term’ which you probably haven’t [seen] because I am terrible-- But it’s on the door” (int. 16.3.2018, 306-307). Asked for the reason, Heather refers to her own experience:

- 321 “I don’t know [...] But you know
 322 one thing when I was at school, I hated learning language because I got told
 323 that my French accent was really bad and it put me off. And I get really
 324 scared that I am pronouncing things wrong [...]

(interview Heather, Bird Primary 16.3.2018)

It appears that in the three classrooms the ‘Language of the Month’ resources were not used, although for different reasons (the other two teachers did not mention the ‘LoM’ approach). That is, Mike appears not to be aware of the approach as a *classroom* practice; Ellie was not aware of the videoclips’ and their ‘audibility potential’; and Heather, whose school used different ‘Language of the Term’

material without audio resources, did not have the confidence to use it (323-324). However, I would suggest that the teachers' descriptions indicate a more general and conceptual issue. Mike's words *It is a display that goes up in the classroom* (431) and Heather's *But it's on the door* (307) can be said to epitomise the *symbolic take on multilingualism* that prevails in the schools. That is, the multilingual 'Welcome' signs, the unused boxes with books, and the 'Language of the Month' resources, which remain merely a display, are elements of a *symbolic* acknowledgement of the children's multilingualism that does not correspond to a practice in the classroom. Mike's and Heather's formulations capture literally how 'symbolic multilingualism' provides a place for the children's languages on the sidelines of the official classroom, because, contrary to other displays, which usually showcase children's work, displays around 'symbolic multilingualism' are *not* the outcome of activities in the classroom. This chimes with research that has regularly emphasised the merely superficial reference to the pupils' 'home languages' in primary schools (Bourne 2001; Welply 2017; Cunningham 2019). Welply (2017, 451), for example, problematises the tokenistic nature of a school's multilingual ethos, which celebrates diversity by making it visible through multilingual signs or by encouraging pupils to speak about 'differences', while it is framed by the school's implicit monolingualism.

Yet, as with the EAL discourse, it is useful for an exploration of teacher agency to ask what symbolic multilingualism might accomplish on the part of the teachers. Following Gajo's suggestion that visibility is a prerequisite for recognizing multilingualism first "as a fact, then as a value and, finally, as a possible added value" (2014: 116; see p. 19), it could be argued that symbolic multilingualism fulfils the function of making the languages 'visible'. It allows Mike to state that *it [multilingualism] is actually celebrated here, you know we got 'Language of the Month'...* (414-415), while at the same time concealing the fact that these languages do not have a 'value' for activities and learning in the official classroom. If, therefore, symbolic multilingualism succeeds in making the monolingual status quo less visible, and cushioning possible pedagogical tensions, this must be seen as a hindrance to the achievement of teacher agency in multilingual pedagogies.

Finally, I want to mention an aspect that is part of this symbolic multilingualism. Talking about experiences of newly arrived pupils, Hira explains,

408 [...] we are always
 409 being told, you know, try to make it a bit-- you know, the classroom a bit more
 410 familiar, put their flag up, you know, 'Hello' and-- like on my door I have 'Hello' [...]
 413 in different languages 'Hello', have little words, you know that remind
 414 them of their country [...]

(interview Hira, Castle Primary 27.6.2017)



ill. 3: door of Hira's Year 3 classroom

The teacher refers to a way of representing multilingualism that could be found in all three schools: the words 'Hello' and 'Welcome' were written on small national flags, or as Hira describes here, on flags in the shape of speech bubbles, which were placed on doors or in entrance areas. This chimes with findings from other linguistic schools (e.g. Laihonen/Szabó 2017) and reflects the dominant language ideology, which associates 'languages' with nation states. Hira describes this type of representation of languages in the context of welcoming new pupils. I have not explored this further, for instance by addressing it with teachers or children, but it is useful to note two points. First, with regard to the school as a context for multilingualism, it is a very contradictory gesture that aims to include plurilingual children, while simultaneously excluding them through the chosen type of representation. Representing multilingualism through national flags might be well-intended, but as used on Hira's classroom door and throughout the schools, it does not consider the many pupils who live their plurilingual normalcy without linking it to nation states: "[f]rom the bilingual child's perspective, the language they have belongs to them and not to the nation or the state" (García/Lin 2016: 10). Second, it appears to be relevant regarding teacher agency that these flags and 'Welcome' signs are printouts that have been downloaded from online publishers. This points to the question of

accessible resources and the issue of time that teachers have at their disposal. Moreover, I have argued above that symbolic multilingualism must be understood as a hindrance to the achievement of teacher agency in multilingual pedagogies, but the examples in this section might be used to move beyond the status quo and to ask how they could be developed further in ways that would facilitate such agency: which kind of books could the box contain, how could the ‘Language of the Month’ resources be used in more interactive ways that connect with the pupils’ and educators’ language experiences, and how could teachers and children represent multilingualism in ways that reflect those experiences?



ill. 4: display next to Kelly's classroom

This chapter addressed ways in which schools and educators respond to their pupils' multilingualism. The official classrooms were characterised by a prevalence of monolingualism, while the teachers also described frictions around the monolingual status quo, yet below a level where they would perceive them as relevant tensions. It is significant for the achievement of teacher agency in multilingual pedagogies that the reflections, which the teachers offered, were formulated in relation to the interactions with their pupils. Turning to the school as institutional context for such agency, I found that none of the schools took on a meso level role by providing bilingual resources in the two classrooms with emergent bilinguals, and/or by offering guidance and resources for multilingual activities that address all plurilingual pupils. According to Priestley, Biesta, and Robinson's definition (2015: 141), agency is achieved when teachers can choose between different options; it is restricted when the options are limited; and it is absent if there are no options available. Drawing on this definition, the teachers were *hindered* to achieve agency in multilingual pedagogies because the

context school did not provide conceptual and material resources, and thus they were unable to choose between different options. Furthermore, two other hindrances have been identified: the 'EAL discourse' and a 'symbolic multilingualism'. Both aspects belong to the institutional level of school and convey its ambivalence vis-à-vis multilingualism. The 'EAL discourse' allows teachers to respond to the needs of emergent bilinguals as English learners and to teach them as a regular part of differentiation. However, the discourse was identified as a *hindrance* to teacher agency in multilingual pedagogies because of its restrictive view of the plurilingual child as either an 'EAL learner' or a quasi-monolingual pupil. With a similarly paradoxical effect on teacher agency, 'symbolic multilingualism' superficially acknowledges the children's multilingualism, while rendering the monolingual status quo less visible and thus turning the acknowledgement de facto into a *hindrance* for achieving teacher agency in multilingual pedagogies.

7. Zooming in on the classrooms' mono- and multilingualism

With this chapter I am 'zooming in' into the classroom situations described so far. On the one hand, I will present findings that allow for a more detailed understanding of what has been described in the last chapter as prevalence of monolingualism in the classroom's official talk and use of texts (7.1). On the other hand, I report findings from the participatory activities with the children that offer insights into their linguistic repertoires and language experiences (7.2). Finally, I discuss what these two contrasting sets of findings might mean conceptually for multilingual pedagogies (7.3), and thus this chapter refers to the domain of multilingual pedagogies as component of all five research questions.

7.1 The new monolingual norm

While the vast majority of fieldnotes show the schools' monolingual practices in the 'official' classroom, the following episodes can offer – as critical incidents – windows into how such a monolingual norm is shaped and negotiated and how its nature can be understood. My analysis is based on the assumption that insights into how the norm 'works' are instrumental for studying the school as a place of language experience, where linguistic repertoires and language ideologies come in contact, and where, in the process, the actors negotiate about the meanings they ascribe to those repertoires and ideologies.

"I said you must speak English" – a new monolingual norm in the making

The first two episodes are from a Maths lesson in Ellie's classroom, which had started two minutes earlier, when the three girls Adriana, Sonia and Khadija were still attending the EAL intervention group, where they usually work on phonics (e.g. fieldnotes Castle Primary 17.1.2017). The Maths lesson focuses on two-step-word-problems, and it is the first day of my participant observation in Ellie's classroom.

- 84 [...] Adriana, Sonia and Khadija are back from the EAL group.
 85 Sitting at one table [...]
 88 Starting to work, taking the question for 'the next step' from the IWB.
 89 Sonia asks me something about Maths; I am giving an example on the small whiteboard,
 90 then she asks, "Can I translate?"
 91 She explains the task/my explanation to Adriana in Romanian.

(fieldnotes Y 4 Castle Primary 10.1.2017)

Analysing this episode, I seek to understand how Sonia navigates the use of her two languages, Romanian and English, and I use the lens of stancetaking, as described in 4.4. The lens is applied here because it can offer insights in both how Sonia signals her *positionality* and navigates the *meanings* that these languages have for her in the classroom. Jaffe maintains that in bilingual contexts a speaker has language choice as a stance resource and that the significance of this choice is related “to the specifics of the sociolinguistic context, including the political economy in which the two languages circulate as well as ideologies about language and its relationship to individual and collective identity” (2007c: 119). Sonia’s and Adriana’s classroom cannot be seen as a bilingual context nor has Sonia a bilingual repertoire fully at her disposal, but it is in this specific learning environment, where the two children must find their positions as emergent bilingual learners, who have been in Britain for approximately five months.

In the extract, Sonia initiates the interaction and asks for an explanation, which is given in English and, as often happens in Maths lessons, also visualised on a small whiteboard with mathematical symbols and numbers (89). Sonia signals both her intention to pass the explanation on to Adriana and to use Romanian (90, *Can I translate?*). By marking this switch from one language to another, various aspects of stancetaking are discernible. I understand the ‘use of different languages’ as the stance-object here, following the description that the stancetaker simultaneously evaluates objects, positions subjects, i.e. self and others, and aligns with other subjects regarding any salient dimension of the sociocultural environment (Du Bois 2007: 163), and the add-on that such significant dimensions are not only material but can include language itself (Jaffe 2007b: 5). In this episode, Sonia’s positioning consists of her evaluation that the use of Romanian is important for her friend’s learning and of her alignment with the observer in the sense that she expects me to approve of this use of Romanian. By asking for permission, she positions herself as a pupil but also as someone who needs to ask for approval before using Romanian. On the whole, the child positions herself in this extract as a bilingual speaker who takes care of her friend’s learning by using their shared Romanian language.

Yet, the second episode from the same lesson sheds light on the complexity of the processes involved in Sonia’s positioning. It followed a few minutes later and has not been audio-recorded but written down straight after it took place.

- 122 Th.: Why do you sit next to each other?
 123 Sonia: She wants me to help her. She said help me.
 124 Th.: Do you speak Romanian, when you are helping her? [This refers back to the situation
 125 described above.]
 126 Sonia: I don’t speak Romanian. I speak English.
 127 Th.: Why?

- 128 Sonia: She doesn't speak English. I said you must speak English.
 129 Th.: Why?
 130 Sonia: *shrugs*

(fieldnotes Y 4, 10.1.2017)

Here, the object of the stance is not simply the use of the two languages in the classroom but more distinctly this usage and learning itself. A note of caution is appropriate: as participant observer, I had started the conversation (122, *Why do you sit next to each other?*) and introduced the theme of languages (124, *Do you speak Romanian when you are helping her?*). The second question was linked to the first episode but could also be interpreted as evoking what Harré and Van Langenhove called a 'forced self-positioning' (1991: 402-403), which might trigger more easily the bipolarity of 'speaking Romanian'/'speaking English'. Nevertheless, even with such a qualification, the utterances are very helpful for understanding the child's positioning. Sonia's evaluation of using Romanian and English in this situation differs considerably from the first extract because she is distancing herself from the use of Romanian. Giving a direct answer to the question *Do you speak Romanian?* (124), she evokes explicitly her subjectivity and states it with some confidence: '*I don't speak Romanian. I speak English*' (126). She then highlights her stance towards speaking Romanian by positioning the other girl as a non-English speaker: *She doesn't speak English* (128). Sonia emphasises her own position even further by talking not only *about* Adriana but *about the talk with her* by way of 'accountive positioning' i.e. as talk about talk (Harré/Van Langenhove 1991: 397). In doing so, she presents herself as someone who both cares about Adriana's learning and is in the position to give her some advice about language use: *I said you must speak English* (128). While Sonia used Romanian previously to support Adriana's learning in Maths, she now appears to address the use of Romanian and English on the more fundamental level of learning in general. In the intertwined meanings of *learning English* and *English for learning*, this constitutes the typical situation of the EAL learner in school.

In my view, this shift from *using Romanian for Adriana's learning* to *learning English/English for learning* is crucial for Sonia's ongoing positioning regarding language use in the classroom and thus also for understanding the continuous shaping of the monolingual norm. The object of Sonia's stance, which she evaluates and in relation to which she is positioning herself, is not '*a language*' or even '*use of different languages*' as before, but '*linguaging for learning*' – as in "[p]eople language for many purposes" (García 2009: 31). Sonia's self-positioning is still in line with her previous positioning as bilingual speaker who supports her friend's learning by talking in Romanian. Yet, she is changing the object of the positioning which is now the general learning in the classroom. Taking a stance in relation to this learning, the child modifies her alignments – seen as a continuous variable, not as a dichotomy between alignment vs. disalignment (Du Bois 2007: 162) – both with Adriana and with the participant

observer (I would suggest that I can be seen, in this context of a Year 4, roughly as representing the classroom's arrangements). In these alignments – and expressed in *I speak English* (126) and *I said you must speak English* (128) – Sonia's identification with the subject position of a *successful pupil* becomes apparent. However, the identity as learner, which she imagines for herself, is bound to a classroom context where all official learning – except the French MFL lessons – takes place in English.

“[I]nstitutional contexts like schools heavily specify certain roles (student, teacher) and their interactional and linguistic prerogatives and patterns. Teachers and students may conform or depart from these conventions (taking up diverse stances), but these conventions constitute a fundamental framework for the speech production and interpretation of those individual acts of positioning” (Jaffe 2007b: 13).

It was characteristic for the institutional context of Sonia's, i.e. Ellie's classroom as well as for the other four classrooms where the prevalence of monolingualism was observed that the monolingual norm was neither based on the claim that English is the only language nor on an assertion that English is the only legitimate language. Instead, the norm can be described as *'English is the only official language for learning'*. Sonia's *I speak English* (126) appears to express her aspiration for the mastery of English and the wish to take up the subject position of the *successful learner*. Yet, this position is being offered within the discourse of what has been described as subtractive bilingualism based on a monoglossic orientation as the dominant version of EAL pedagogy (García/Flores 2012: 234). I would like to argue that by striving for the mastery of English and – in Butler's terminology (1997: 116-117) – for the mastery of the subject of the *successful learner*, the child is simultaneously subjected into the classroom's 'new' monolingual norm. This term seems useful because Sonia is not subjected to the position of a monolingual speaker – which, of course, is neither her experience nor her practice – but into the position of a plurilingual speaker who does not use her entire linguistic repertoire for learning in school. It could be said that the monolingual norm is 'reloaded' in a pedagogical environment in which, as described in chapter 6, multilingualism is symbolically acknowledged but not officially practiced, hence ultimately confirming the norm.

As Busch (2017: 52) asserts, language ideologies and discourses on language use translate both into attitudes and into how one perceives themselves and others as speakers (see p. 12), and this is helpful for tracing this monolingual norm as seen from the perspective of the children and their language experience. Yet, it is equally important that the context for this experience is the classroom *in its entirety*, i.e. Sonia's positioning and the subjectification involved refer to being a *speaker* as well as being a *pupil*. Since the monolingual norm is an integral part of the classroom, where she is required, and where she strives, to position herself as a *successful learner*, the position of the plurilingual

speaker, who does not use her entire linguistic repertoire for learning, is the only position made available to her. In the terminology of school and education policy, Sonia and Adriana are at an early stage of EAL. However, this stage must also be seen as a kind of critical phase for learning of what has been termed ‘institutional silence’ regarding pupils’ multilingualism on the part of the school, where these children become accustomed to compartmentalise their use of languages into the ‘official’, significant English language for learning purposes and the ‘private’ language for chatting with friends and supporting comprehension discretely as in the case of the first excerpt (Kenner/Ruby 2012: 2).

The two episodes are illuminating in that they provide insights into a monolingual norm in the making. The way in which the emergent bilinguals Sonia and Adriana depend on their entire linguistic repertoire, and foremost on the use of their first language, differs from that of other pupils, whose repertoire consists also of more than one language, but who have either already acquired far more English skills or have used English throughout their schooling as the language of learning.

While the focus of analysis, so far, has been on Sonia’s positioning, I would now like to add an extract which sheds light on how students and the teacher ‘practice’ the monolingual norm and on consequences the norm can have. In a Topic lesson, the children are asked to choose a place to build a Roman village from three locations, and to give a rationale, considering, e.g. whether the place is appropriate for agriculture or close to a river. The lesson is taught by a supply teacher. Adriana, Bianca, and Neil work in a group of three. Adriana is the girl from the previous episodes; Bianca has Romanian in her linguistic repertoire (from her parents) and is one of the most confident and articulate students in Ellie’s class (e.g. fieldnotes Castle Primary Y 4, 7.2.2017, 78; interview Ellie 24.3.2017, 119-120).

- 140 Adriana talks with Bianca in Romanian. After a while,
 142 Th.: What are you talking about?
 143 Bianca: She wants to know what to write.
 144 I get a small white board, “Maybe you could write in Romanian?”
 145 Bianca: She is not allowed.
 146 Th.: What is she not allowed?
 147 Bianca: Miss said, she needs to write in English.
 148 Children continue to work together on the task. Bianca writes.

(fieldnotes Y 4, 24.1.2017)

Here Adriana uses her language resources in a similar way as in the first episode, where Sonia gave her an explanation in Romanian. However, the monolingual norm seems to obstruct a more active participation in the group’s learning on Adriana’s part, and it was this observation that triggered my question about the use of Romanian for writing (144). Bianca’s response, *She is not allowed ... Miss*

said, she needs to write in English (145 & 147), can be seen as a declaration of the monolingual norm. As such, the episode illustrates how the norm affects not only children who have arrived recently in the English-speaking classroom, but also other plurilingual students, albeit differently. It could be suggested that the norm has major consequences for Adriana's learning because she does not get the opportunity to participate more actively in the task at hand. Yet there is also an implication for Bianca who, by repeating the teacher's instruction that her peer *needs to write in English* (147), presents herself as someone who cares about or at least acknowledges the rule which has been established by the teacher. Thus, Bianca is being subjected into the *monolingual norm* through a process that bears some resemblance to Sonia's positioning (122-130), in that both girls state the norm *as directed at Adriana*, while simultaneously – and one could say, inevitably – taking up for themselves the position in relation to this that *'English is the only official language for learning'*. While in Sonia's case this was the position of *the successful learner*, the subject position for Bianca – as a pupil who uses her Romanian sometimes as she does in this episode (140) and in other more private spaces in school (fieldnotes 17.1.2017, 99-101), but does not depend on it for learning – can be described as the position of *the bilingual child, who is a monolingual student*; a position that corresponds to the norm *'English is the only official language for learning'*.

The episode from the Topic lesson can illustrate how the monolingual norm is reproduced with restricting consequences for both children, Adriana *and* Bianca, who are positioned on different points of what has been conceptualized as the continua of biliterate development (Hornberger 2003). The scene also shows that for Adriana, the monolingual norm is being *established* during what was described before as a kind of critical phase for learning the compartmentalized use of languages within the frame of subtractive bilingualism, while for Bianca the norm is being *confirmed*. It must be argued that opportunities are missed for both children: Bianca is taught that Romanian is not a legitimate and useful part of learning, just at a time when – having been previously the only Romanian speaking child in the class – she could have the opportunity to expand her knowledge of Romanian, e.g. into the realm of some academic language through engaging with two children who have been schooled in Romanian before. On the other hand, it is harder at this point for Adriana, who is considerably less confident as an emergent speaker of English than Sonia (e.g. fieldnotes 7.2.2017, 69-71 & 154-155), to envision for herself the position of the successful learner. Therefore, in Adriana's case, the monolingual norm appears to prevent her from taking advantage of the fortuitous fact that there is a successful learner in her class who can speak Romanian.

This analysis of the monolingual norm comes as no surprise and confirms the descriptions of the ideological work of the school referred to before, namely that it compels bilingual speakers to divide

their whole linguistic repertoire into separate languages (García/Li 2014: 15) and that it maintains 'institutional silence' vis-à-vis the students' bilingualism (Kenner/Ruby 2012: 2). However, what I have presented here is helpful for exploring the status quo of monolingualism and multilingualism in the classrooms. I would like to contend that the way in which the monolingual norm is shaped is best understood as part of the working consensus, "which encapsulates the idea of teacher and children negotiating interdependent ways of coping in classrooms" (Pollard 1985: 158). The norm comprises features of the working consensus, as mentioned in 5.2; that is the consensus is initiated by teachers and the greater power lies with them, while it also needs to be mutually negotiated between teachers and pupils. Therefore, I see it as instructive to understand the 'work' which the monolingual norm accomplishes in the context of Pollard's (1985: 190-194) proposition that within the existing unequal power relations pupils have a choice between strategies of compliance, negotiation, and opposition (including the corresponding shades), and I also relate it to Bourne's observation that direct opposition was not discernible in her junior school study (2001: 105). From this angle, the new monolingual norm mediates between society's and schools' power relations regarding mono- and multilingualism on the one hand and plurilingual children on the other hand, in that it acknowledges the fact of many pupils' plurilingual repertoires, while warranting that the norm of monolingualism in the official classroom is maintained and reproduced.

Importantly, when children's linguistic repertoires come in contact with the norm in the classroom – within the working consensus – and when, as a result, the meanings of repertoires and ideologies are being negotiated, such encounters do not occur in isolation but are interwoven with various pedagogical processes. These processes belong to what I described before as the classroom in its entirety being the necessary contextualisation for Sonia's experience as speaker *and* pupil. A significant part of those processes are teaching and learning arrangements, in which English language learning plays an important role; for example, when Ellie supports Sonia and Adriana in their individual work (fieldnotes 10.1.2017, 239), when the pupils have the opportunity to use their emerging English skills during small group work (e.g. fieldnotes 8.2.2017, 40-41), or when the teacher ensures that the two girls can occasionally contribute with their very short answers during whole class work (e.g. fieldnotes 8.2.2017, 82). All these situations are framed by, and reproduce, the monolingual norm because the affordances for learning are made exclusively in English and without any provision of bilingual resources, such as dictionaries and online tools or resources in Romanian. Yet, from the perspective adopted in chapter 5 around 'voices being heard', as a lens that connects pedagogy and multilingual pedagogies, these processes also constitute significant opportunities for those pupils who are comparatively new to English to make their voices heard as emergent English speakers and, by becoming legitimate speakers in the classroom, to envision themselves as successful learners.

However, an important qualification needs to be made regarding this possibility: Adriana, Sonia, and Khadija, as well as Daniel and Sanba – five children who had arrived respectively around the same time in their new schools – had achieved very different positions in terms of their audibility in English (e.g. fieldnotes 7.2.2017, 69-71 and conversation with EAL coordinator, Castle Primary 10.1.2017). As the extracts illustrate, Adriana was more dependent on the use of Romanian than Sonia (see p. 113), and the same is true for Daniel in comparison to Sanba (see p. 89). Therefore, the children’s current experiences of being heard in the classroom and of envisioning themselves as successful pupils appear to differ considerably from each other.

Finally, to describe how the new monolingual norm operates, it is necessary to point out the importance of two preconditions of Ellie’s classroom that work in favour of the audibility of the Romanian language: the working consensus permits pupils to talk during phases of individual work, and children who share the same language sometimes have the opportunity to sit next to each other. Children can experience themselves as legitimate speakers of a language other than English in the classroom’s ‘private’ spaces only if these or similar conditions exist. The reference to Ellie’s working consensus is relevant, as a situation reported by Kenner and Ruby (2012: 2) illustrates. Children recounted how upset they were when their teacher sent a child out of class for, as they believed, speaking Bengali. The teacher, however, understood it as disciplining the child ‘simply’ for talking too much.

This section focused, so far, on showing how the classroom’s monolingual norm is shaped and what ‘work’ it accomplishes on part of the children. Now I would like to bring the issue of the norm closer to the question of teacher agency with an extract from the first interview with Ellie. Whereas a monolingual norm appears to be, per definition, a factor that *hinders* teacher agency in multilingual pedagogies, the following extract addresses a situation that can – as critical incident – shed light on what the norm accomplishes on the part of the teacher.

I had asked Ellie, whether she had paired Adriana with Bianca in the afternoon.

539 No, not really. Originally, I had paired them because they both speak
 540 Romanian. But we had a bit of a drama, where it got stuck in translation
 541 between Sonia’s mum, Adriana, Bianca-- and everyone thought-- everyone
 542 said something different because-- and then it was said in English and then it
 543 got very jumbled. So what we said was we wouldn’t ask Bianca to translate to--
 544 like I wouldn’t say to her specifically, ‘Can you tell her in Romanian?’ So we
 545 made that decision and we wouldn’t do that. But obviously, if she (*laughs*)
 546 they speak to each other in Romanian or-- But it’s not that we would instigate

547 that sort of thing (...)
 550 But . I think . . they are actually probably doing better
 551 from not being translated to because I found within the first few weeks they
 552 were very reliant on Bianca saying it for them and when she was not in one
 553 day, they were like ‘ah, ah’ because they didn’t know-- they just hadn’t had to
 554 ask any question, they hadn’t had to try and understand what was being said.

(interview Ellie, Castle Primary 8.2.2017)

Ellie refers to a situation in which Bianca had been asked to translate to the teacher in the context of a conflict between Sonia’s mother and Adriana. Without an English/Romanian bilingual adult in school at her disposal, Ellie was faced with a situation which she could not solve or control with her own language resources, as a teacher would often do with similar arguments. Whereas the conflict itself had occurred outside the domain of school, it was brought into the classroom and experienced as *a bit of a drama where it got stuck in translation* (540). As a response, the teacher established a kind of rule: *So what we said was we wouldn’t ask Bianca to translate to-- like I wouldn’t say to her specifically, ‘Can you tell her in Romanian?’ So we made the decision that we wouldn’t do that [...]* (543-545). Ellie’s shift of the pronominal use from ‘I’ to ‘we’ points to a more authoritative stance. It emphasises that this was a conscious decision that could change the language use, which the three girls had been involved in until then and may also hint at the fact that the decision has been made in some coordination with others in school who follow up the settling-in process of new arrivals. The previously described character of the norm – *‘English is the only official language for learning’* – is evident here because the intervention about language use refers to the *practice of translation*, i.e. the teacher did not intend to police the use of Romanian as such. Indeed, in (545-546) *But obviously, if she-- (laughs) they speak to each other in Romanian*, Ellie recognizes – both by wording and paralinguistic emphasis – that the children draw on their whole linguistic repertoire as a matter of course. Importantly, this evaluation is in line with the classroom’s working consensus, where pupils are allowed to communicate during phases of individual work (see 5.2).

Noticeably there exists a considerable mismatch between the situation that Ellie tried to solve and her decision to stop the practice of translating. In fact, the teacher did not – as might have been possible – respond with a recommendation related to the outside domain. With her decision, she took the issue instead a step further into the field of classroom practices. This response appears to approach the issue as if the conflict had arisen out of the children’s language practices in the classroom itself. At least two aspects are relevant here. First, the mismatch may be usefully understood as an effect of the monolingual norm, i.e. the norm provides the lens through which the situation is seen and tackled. While the focus is on the language practice of translation, which is problematised, the use of Romanian

in the official classroom is inevitably included in the decision, controlled and its significance for learning devalued. Second, Ellie does not distinguish, neither in her description of the situation nor in the rule she has introduced, between different *purposes* of translating, e.g. for procedures of classroom organization or for learning English and/or subject content. This apparent *lack of clarity* is significant because it mirrors a missing clarity in the classroom regarding the use of Adriana's and Sonia's first language. The teacher described a complex situation, and a thorough analysis may need additional information, not least about Bianca, whose role differed from that of a language broker or interpreter (e.g. Dinneen 2017) since she had not translated here for a member of her own family. Ellie recalls that, in the situation, Bianca had offered to translate what the teacher assumed to be merely a question on the part of Sonia's mother and not an argument brought from outside into school (int. Ellie, 8.2.2017, 578-587). However, I would like to suggest that Ellie's description is indicative for understanding the monolingual norm as it chimes with the data from the participant observations indicating that there were no strategies and resources officially in place for Adriana and Sonia to use Romanian in their learning.

As the episodes show, the children use their Romanian in private spaces and informally during their learning, but their linguistic resource is not part of the official classroom as designed by the teacher. Indeed, within the logic of the monolingual norm, it is not necessary to *specify different purposes* of first language use, and the mismatch of the decision taken by the teacher to stop the practice of translating in her classroom highlights the importance of the *strategical* use of any approach that draws on more than one language. Moreover, questions around different purposes of first language use need to consider the time aspect, as Ellie mentions implicitly, *But . I think they are actually probably doing better from not being translated to because I found within the first few weeks they were very reliant on Bianca saying it for them [...] (550-554)*. I want to first acknowledge these lines as an expression of the teacher's experience in her classroom. Yet, seen through a more analytical lens, her evaluation, referring to the very beginning of Adriana's and Sonia's learning of the new language, appears to underline the lack of differentiation between different purposes of language use.

As highlighted in 3.1.2, translanguaging in teaching and learning processes facilitates the *strategic* use of all language practices of a student and does not occur randomly (see p. 17). Therefore, I would argue that what the monolingual norm accomplishes for teachers is precisely to *avoid* the question of what to do 'strategically' with the children's first languages (as in Adriana's and Sonia's case) or the non-English components of pupils' language repertoires (as in Bianca's case) for learning. The norm is based on a clear distinction between *English is the only official language for learning* and what might be phrased as *other languages are unofficial and not for learning*. By consistently reproducing this

dividing line, the norm contributes to how a classroom is defined, and – following the understanding of the classroom as context for teacher agency (see 5.1) – what a teacher might perceive as ‘classroom’ in the first place. The monolingual norm ensures that the teacher’s general agency relates to a classroom where teaching/learning takes place in English, and where teachers do not need to make decisions about, plan for or resource activities in other languages than English. However, as shown with the extracts in 6.1, the situation is not without tensions since the teachers interact with the plurilingual children. I have suggested that these tensions or frictions are seen as occurring at the *periphery of the official classroom*, being neither part of the classroom routines nor just part of language practices among children. Within the sociocultural framework of ‘mediated agency’ (see pp. 64-65), it could be said that, on the one hand, the children – and their linguistic repertoires – are potentially (part of the) mediators of a teachers’ agency that is also relational and embedded in their professional interactions. On the other hand, the monolingual norm belongs to the category of secondary artefacts that have an important function “in preserving and transmitting modes of action and belief” (Cole 1996: 121). To see the monolingual norm from this perspective highlights Wertsch, Tulviste, and Hagstrom’s assertion quoted earlier that the major responsibility to initiate and carry out an action lies with the individual “but the possibilities for formulating certain problems, let alone the possibilities for following certain paths of action are shaped by the mediational means employed” (1993: 342). In this regard, it is instructive that, as described in 6.1, the teachers did not seem to perceive those tensions as such, and I have argued that this shows how those tensions are of relatively little significance for the teachers in comparison to other elements of their classrooms’ complexities. Thus, the monolingual norm not only reproduces the dividing line between official and unofficial languages in the classroom but also *reduces* the classroom’s complexity as seen from the teachers’ perspective and their general agency regarding the running of the classroom.

“I think they felt like they couldn’t put it on there” – the monolingual norm as invisible?

As mentioned in 5.1, Bourdieu’s frameworks, bringing together concepts of forms of capital, legitimate language, and symbolic power (1977, 1986, 1991), are influential in debates on linguistic difference, not least because they allow the scrutiny of education, as Heller and Martin-Jones have pointed out concisely, from the analytical angle “of processes of symbolic domination, that is domination that works because it masks its concrete sources, that works because it appears not to work” (2001b: 6). This lens of naturalized processes in formal education, which seem to work ‘invisibly’, is useful for tracing the monolingual norm in relation to those bilingual pupils who have received most or all of their schooling in English as the language of instruction. I have chosen the following example from Heather’s and Kelly’s classes because it gives an indication of how the norm might work for those

children. Furthermore, and importantly, it also includes Heather's reflection on a situation that belongs to the realm of homework projects.

Over the half term holidays, the children had been asked to create a 'River of Reading' on an A3 or larger sheet, a kind of creative flow diagram where they should draw or glue and label anything they had read over the week (see Cliff Hodges 2010). As always with homework projects, the children brought the posters into school in the following weeks and presented them, before they were hung up on the wall or pegged on a string through the classrooms. After half term, I spoke with children about their 'Rivers' and separately asked Florin (Heather's class) and Kacper (Kelly's class), both of whom I knew (from the focus group activity) read at home in Romanian and Polish respectively (act. 2, Y 3/2 29.1.2018, 56-57 & Y 3/1 31.1.2018, 89-90), whether they had done so during the holidays. Both said, 'yes'; however, upon being asked if they had included these readings in their posters, they both answered, '*I forgot*' (fieldnotes Y 3/1, 26.2.2018, 64-65; Y 3/2, 1.3.2018, 48-49). I mentioned this observation to Heather in the second interview:

796 Yeah. It's funny with Florin saying he forgot and Kacper I don't think they did forget,
 797 I think they felt like they couldn't put it on there, I wonder. I mean we would
 798 not-- not that any of the teachers at this school would ever ever say that
 799 they couldn't put that as a-- but I wonder whether they think that's not what
 800 they mean, they mean something written in English. I don't know, not that
 801 that has-- would ever be said.
 802 *What do you mean...?*
 803 I wonder whether Florin was telling the truth when he said that he forgot and Kacper
 804 I wonder whether they actually . don't . wouldn't think that was that is what we are talking about
 805 when we were saying 'River of Reading'. Even when we were giving it out, we said anything, anything
 806 you read. But we didn't say it, 'in a different language'. And maybe if we had said that. I just got the
 807 feeling that Florin didn't forget and specially Kacper. I think they didn't forget that I think didn't put it
 808 on there on purpose.
 809 *So they have a feeling for what counts more, what counts less?*
 810 Yeah . yeah which is really sad.

(interview Heather, Bird Primary 16.3.2018)

In my understanding, the theme of this extract is the monolingual norm – addressed via an omission in Florin's and Kacper's posters. I had also mentioned Destiny to Heather, another child from her class, who had included her reading in Twi on the 'River of Reading' (fieldnotes Y 3/2, 6.3.2018, 120-122), but the teacher starts here to reflect upon the boys' non-inclusion of their reading experiences in Romanian and Polish respectively and empathises with their perspective (797, *I think they felt like they*

couldn't put it on there, I wonder.). She turns then straight to an assertion that no one in school would advocate such an exclusion, pointing to the aspect of the school as an environment that explicitly recognises the bilingualism of their pupils and encourages parents to use the 'home languages' with their children. (797-798, *I mean we would not-- not that any of the teachers at this school would ever ever say that*). This might be best understood as a reflection on a tension between pedagogical beliefs and the invisible monolingual norm in the school. In the following *but I wonder whether they think that's not what they mean . they mean something written in English* (799-800), Heather continues along the same lines, trying to see the situation of a somewhat naturalized monolingualism from the perspective of the bilingual children. In (806), *But we didn't say it, 'in a different language'. And maybe if we had said that*, she addresses the issue that it would be important to make an inclusion of non-English languages explicit, and to encourage children like Florin and Kacpar to incorporate their reading in Romanian and Polish respectively.

The context of the 'River of Reading' activity seems to encourage the teacher's reflection precisely because the rationale for the task had been to bring children's out-of-school experiences with multiliteracy and reading into school. The apparent paradox that Florin and Kacpar still follow the dividing line of the monolingual norm enables Heather to thematise an existing tension. In doing so, her approach to reflexivity displays similar facets as when she was reflecting on the friction between the fact that she talks with children about their languages but does not make their plurilingual voices heard in her classroom (see p. 91-92): First, Heather attempts to see the situation from the children's perspective (797, *I think they felt like they couldn't put it on there; 799, I wonder whether they think that's not what they mean*); second, her reflection follows an interaction or task she has initiated herself (or, as with the 'River of Reading', in cooperation with her colleague); and third, she implicitly evokes an angle of what I would call a 'need for explicitness' on the part of the teacher in order to cross the dividing line between the official and unofficial languages in the classroom and to increase the audibility of the latter (806, *But we didn't say it, 'in a different language'. And maybe if we had said that*).

If the monolingual norm, as described in this chapter, is seen as a *hinderance* for teacher agency in multilingual pedagogies, the teacher's reflexivity emerges at this point of the inquiry into what *constitutes* and *facilitates* teacher agency in multilingual pedagogies, as a crucial and integral part of that agency. Located at the *transition* between the current state of affairs, which is framed by the monolingual norm, and future developments, teachers' reflexivity needs to be considered as a constitutive factor for their agency in this pedagogical domain. In other words, teachers have to develop an acknowledgement of the monolingual norm and a reflective evaluation of how it works in

their respective classroom in order to achieve such an agency. In chapter 9 I will explore in more detail how the five teachers involved in the study perceive and negotiate the dividing line between the official English and the children's plurilingual repertoires.

7.2 'Superdiverse voices' – insights from the participatory activities

After exploring some ways, in which the prevalence of monolingualism in the classroom is generated or maintained, I will now present findings about the multilingualism that is not audible in the official classroom. As outlined in 4.3, the participatory activities with the children had two functions in the study. They provided an opportunity for the children, first, to talk about their linguistic repertoires and to express their experiences in the way they choose and, secondly, to voice their ideas for activities linked to multilingual pedagogies. For the analysis, it was not only of interest *what* the children said about their repertoires and experiences but also *how* they talked about them, since both aspects can be seen as part of their language experiences. I will present *superdiversity* and the *normalcy of lived multilingualism* as two principal aspects which were found throughout all activity groups, drawing mainly on findings from the first activity.

Superdiversity in the classroom

It could be said that the course of the participatory activities corresponded with the approach to take “the speaker's perspective and the linguistic repertoire as point of departure [...] to avoid overly rapid 'objectivisations' into pre-established categories such as first, second or foreign languages” (Busch 2017: 56). For the overall interest in multilingual pedagogies in primary school – ‘superdiversity’ emerges from the data first regarding the *number of languages*, which constitute the linguistic repertoires of the children in a classroom, and second in relation to the *diverse meanings* which the practices of those languages have for the children.

The number of languages

The specific languages registered under ‘first languages’ of a specific single class might be seen as located between the language statistic of an entire school and a point of departure for multilingual pedagogies in the respective class. Therefore, in addition to the statistical information provided about the three schools in 4.5, I list here, as an example, those languages (as they were recorded in the school's statistical system) for Ellie's Year 4, from which the extracts in the previous section were taken: Akan/Twi-Fante, Bengali, Bulgarian, Chinese/Cantonese, English, Igbo, Lithuanian, Portuguese, Romanian, Telugu. The statistics showed ten languages on average in each of the five classes, and the

teachers mentioned in the interviews the number of languages the children in their class could speak: *“It would be very handy to speak a lot of Eastern European languages, I think”* (Ellie 8.2.2017, 372-373); *“it is very difficult to do a blanket focus on language, when you have so many disperse languages and that is a challenge for teaching”* (Mike 20.3.2017, 293-295); *“there are so many different languages, it is hard to cater for them”* (Hira, 14.7.2017, 37-38); and Heather, *“... so many different languages [...] We need time like spare time to discuss different languages and experience writing in different languages* (16.3.2018, 741-745). In my view, the teachers seem to articulate a perception and sentiment of uncertainty given the number of languages children in their class have in their repertoires. Although the number of different languages spoken by pupils was evident, since educational projects responded to an increasing multilingualism in UK schools (e.g. Hawkins 1984; Houlton 1985; Anderson 1991), it is useful for exploring teacher agency in multilingual pedagogies to take note of a simple yet fundamental paradox that characterises the current debates around multilingualism and schools. Teachers are asked, on the one hand, to respond to the increased number of languages spoken by pupils in their classrooms, whereas the very same linguistic superdiversity is perceived as an obstacle for doing so.

Every child is unique and so is their account when talking about their language experience. However, pedagogical approaches in school are organized – arguably to various and contested degrees – around possible and planned activities for groups of students. Therefore, the analysis of the data from the first activity aimed at providing insights into the individual children’s linguistic repertoires and lived experience of multilingualism, but also into aspects that might be relevant for more general perspectives on multilingual pedagogies. The extracts presented here have been chosen accordingly.

The ‘number of languages’ needs also to be addressed in relation to the linguistic repertoire of each child. It was evident in all classrooms in the study that there were students who had more than two languages apart from English in their repertoire due to their own migration trajectories or those of their parents. Even though the number of these pupils was relatively small, their presence can be seen as an important expression of the superdiverse condition for multilingual pedagogies as well as of the diverse affiliations which children have to their languages, although these languages are usually not shown in the school’s language statistics.

For example, Emilija speaks Lithuanian and is registered with Lithuanian as her first language. However, upon being asked whether she is “speaking a lot of Spanish because you coloured in quite a lot”, she says, “Yeah, I was born there” (act. 1, Castle Primary Y 4, 8.3.2017, 112-113). Emilija says that she learnt the letters in nursery and reception in Spain and afterwards stayed with her grandmother for one year in Lithuania, before joining her mother in London during Year 1. She also says that she

likes reading in Spanish (ibid., 121-122), and when asked *Do you have a favourite language or is this something, you could not answer?* she says “I would say yes because I like to speak in Spanish’ (ibid., 291). Her teacher was aware of Emilija’s linguistic trajectory, whereas the Spanish speaking learning support assistant, who is assigned to the class for one day per week, was not aware that they share a language other than English (fieldnotes Castle Y 4, 15.3.2017, 94-95).

Similarly, Khadija had a biographical connection to more than one language before coming to Britain. As child of Bengali speaking parents, she was born in North Italy, where she also went to school for three years. Khadija came to London circa six months before she responds to the question of whether she has a favourite language: “the language that I most want to speak is Italian. Because I am born in Italy, I know Italy, I went to nursery in Italy and I went a bit to school in there and Italy is my favourite country as well. But I like England as well” (act. 1, Castle Y 4, 8.3.2017, 274-276). Khadija speaks Bengali with her parents, participates actively in lessons in English (e.g. fieldnotes Castle Y 4 17.1. & 24.1.2017), and is seen by her teacher as a keen learner (interview Ellie Y 4, 24.3.2017). Writing about lava and rocks, she uses the word ‘transform’, which provides an opportunity to ask *Does the Italian help you to find or to remember words?* – “sometimes” (fieldnotes Castle Y 4, 7.2.2017, 136-138). Moreover, Khadija said “I speak in English in school. (...) I speak Bengali always with my parents. (...) *Do you use your Bengali with another child in school?* “In school? No” (act. 2, Castle Y 4, 15.3.2017, 34-38).

Probal and Abdul, whose linguistic trajectory resembles Kadija’s and who arrived about a year and half ago at Victoria Primary, made a different use of the languages in their repertoire:

- 177 Probal: When I was two years old, I knew first knew Bangla
 178 but when I went to school-- I didn’t want to go to school, then I had to,
 179 then I learnt Italy from school and my friends helped me
 183 [...] in Year 2, I came here [...]
 186 Yeah and when I came here then
 187 Sana: I helped him
 188 Probal: Yeah, she was the one who talked to me and I couldn’t understand so she,
 189 taught me. [...]
 192 Sana: I was saying the word in English and then he didn’t understand, so I told him
 193 in Bang-- in Bengali. I wanted to.

(activities 1, Victoria Primary Y 3, 29.6.2017)

Probal says that he speaks Bengali with his parents at home and on the mobile with his grandparents, who live in Bangladesh. It emerges in the dialogue between Abdul and Probal that they speak sometimes Italian among themselves and also with another boy, who arrived one year later in class

(ibid.: 226-233). “Then when we were in Year 3, Mahik came. I talked with him Italian, also I talked with him more in Bangla” (ibid.: 233-234). The extract above (177-193) illustrates that the children and their peers have clear recollections of the time when they first entered new linguistic environments – as did children in other activity groups. Comparing Kadija’s situation and the situation of Abdul, Probal, and Mahik, it becomes apparent that, of course, children who share a language with another child in the classroom are in a very different position to those who do not – at least regarding the spontaneous, oral use of the language or, as described by Probal and Sana, regarding its more strategic use for learning the new language.

The meanings of speaking a language

An analysis of the children’s talk during the portrait activity in all seven groups allowed me to identify three facets of diversity within the range of meanings which speaking a language – or of having a language in the linguistic repertoire – can have for children: (1) the diversity of meanings which language practices have for children; (2) the diversity of interactional and/or geographical contexts to which these meanings are related; and (3) the diversity of literacy skills that children acquire in their languages.

I would like to take the following extract from Amelija, a child in Year 5, to illustrate what children included when talking about their portrait, before using another extract from Sana in Year 3 to address the *range of meanings* emerging from the children’s language portrait activity.

107 Amelija: This is my picture. So the first one is blue because, I did Russian because my mum speaks
108 Russian and my mum usually like tells me Russian stuff I like try to learn and I sometimes
109 watch Russian programmes like episodes of them. So I try to learn Russian so I can speak
110 Russian more, so yeah...

111 And the next one is Lithuania. I mean Russian is in our language ‘Russia’ and then the
112 yellow one is Lithuania because like I speak Lithuania at home and like on Fridays I go to
113 Lithuanian school. So

114 *Th.:* You go to [description of location] on Friday?

115 Amelija: Yeah. And then in Lithuania we say Lithuvia. And then the green one is Italy because my
116 mum’s friend is Italy [...]

117 So she usually comes to us and she like speaks it. [...]

118 the other one is England, the red and that’s

119 what I speak now and when I’m in school. And in Lithuania we call it ‘Anglia’.

[...] *[They talk about which words they had learnt first as toddlers.]*

128 Mariana: What is your favourite language?

129 Amelija: Ahm probably . ahm Russian because . . it depends because I like Russian,

130 because I like their language—hm it is cool. And how they speak, it’s really

131 nice. And Lithuanian I like it because I go to Lithuania and I see all like my
 132 auntie and my grandpa . . yeah

(activities 1, Castle Primary Y 5, 9.3.2017)

Amelija starts her presentation with Russian, which she is learning from her mother and also by watching programmes in Russian (107-109). Speaking and listening to Russian is described as learning context with her mother at home. It is facilitated by the fact that Amelija's mother is from Lithuania, a country whose changing language policies in Soviet, Post-Soviet, and present times (Riegl/Vaško 2007) are reflected in children's families (e.g. act. 2, Castle Y 5, 9.3.2017, 141-143). A broadly comparable situation regarding a further language, which features in the family and is of interest for a child, was described by children with a South-Asian family background. In addition to their languages – Telugu, Bengali, and Tamil respectively – these children referred to Hindi as a language spoken by their mothers or, as in Kadija's case, as the language of the movies she watches with her (act. 1, Castle Y 4, 8.3.2017, 134-140; 146-154; act. 2, Bird Y 3, 22.1.2018, 45-46).

Amelija refers to Lithuanian as the language that she speaks at home and when visiting relatives in Lithuania (112 & 131-132). While she refers to these contexts in an uncomplicated way, for other children such language practices can appear more contentious and negotiated. I will return to this below. While speaking Lithuanian at home is unmarked, the emotional investment into speaking Lithuanian becomes more obvious in *And Lithuanian I like it because I go to Lithuania and I see all like my auntie and my grandpa . . yeah* (131-132). At the same time speaking Lithuanian is linked to another interactional and geographical context. The complementary school is another location where Amelija uses her Lithuanian (112-113), and it emerges in the dialogue between the children – triggered by *Is Amelija the only one who is attending the school on Friday?* – that this language practice in the complementary school is negotiated between the girl and her mother.

177 Anna: I used to go on Wednesday [...] and I am not going anymore.
 178 Amelija: I don't like it as well but I have to
 179 Anna: yeah
 180 Th.: *What does it mean, you have to...?*
 181 Amelija: My mum says I have to but I really don't want to
 182 Anna: Because it's really hard.
 183 Th.: *Oh no, I asked her. You can have a guess or [say] what you think but I am asking Amelija...*
 184 Amelija: My mum thinks I don't speak really well Lithuanian. I know how to speak but she says
 185 I need to learn how to write and I don't want to.

(activities 1, Castle Primary Y 5, 9.3.2017)

A complementary school can be seen both as an interactional and as a learning context and this is also related to the way in which the classes are organized. It seems important to note that Amelija's complementary school follows the official Literacy curriculum of Lithuania (conversation with headteacher, 27.3.2017) and that the girl emphasises that the homework is her reason for trying "to persuade mum" not to send her to these classes anymore, whereas without homework, she would like to attend (fieldnotes Castle Y 5, 13.3.2017, 95-96).



ill. 5: Amelija's language portrait

Amelija associates the English language with learning in school when presenting her drawing (118-119). Upon being asked whether she uses Lithuanian *sometimes in a lesson or for learning*, Amelija's response indicates that her usage of Lithuanian in lessons can be best understood as part of 'friendship talk' (39-40).

35 Amelija: I don't really speak Lithuanian in my class like when we are learning, not like now
 36 because we are speaking you know we are talking about the languages – but only
 37 sometimes if someone of my friends speaks my language I would talk to them like...

38 Th.: ...like?

39 Amelija: [...] I talk to her in Lithuanian because if we
 40 don't want other people to know like the answer or something, only then.

(activities 2, Castle Primary Y 5, 13.3.2017)

Italian features in Amelija's portrait as a language that is spoken by a friend of her mother when he visits. The child does not take part in this language practice herself, but feels a connection to the language because of her mother's friendship (115-117). Other children referred to a language of a friend or a parent's friend in similar ways (e.g. act. 1, Castle Y 4, 8.3.2017, 187-194; act. 1, Castle Y 5, 9.3.2017, 158-159; act. 1, Bird Y 3/2, 22.1.2018, 49). Thus, such languages can become part of children's multilingual environment and familiar enough to be included in the language portrait.

Amelija's example shows how children pointed to languages which they use in specific interactional and/or geographical contexts, and how the meanings of the respective language for the child was shaped by these contexts. Concepts such as 'language-in-use' and 'community-of-practice' feature, of course, prominently in debates around the multilingual turn. Here, however, my point is not to put forward categories as such, but to show that the language portrait activity can help to shed light on the *diversity and the range of meanings* which languages can have for Key Stage 2 pupils. This means in relation to the Lithuanian language practices in Amelija's extract: the ten-year-old girl uses Lithuanian at home with the family and when visiting relatives in Lithuania. In school, where all learning takes place in English, except in French MFL-lessons, she uses Lithuanian occasionally for informal brief exchanges within friendships, partially linked to the learning task. Finally, in the complementary school, she acquires and extends literacy skills (here used in the traditional sense of reading and writing) in Lithuanian.

To explore further the diversity of meanings, I would like to add now an extract where language use, interactional contexts, and literacy skills are described differently by Sana, the girl who has been quoted before talking about teaching English to Probal.

- 73 Sana: So I can speak English and when I was in nursery I didn't know English, but I
74 knew what they were saying but I couldn't speak, and I didn't know how to
75 write English.
76 And then I speak Bengali [...]
77 So I really speak with my mum and dad and my brothers and
78 sisters in Bengali and sometimes English as well. And I speak French as well at
79 school and I am still learning it.
[...]
- 94 Th.: Sana, what about reading and writing? Can you read and write in Bengali?
95 Sana: I . I can read in Arabic but I can't read in Bengali, I can't write Bengali but I
96 can write in Arabic.
97 Probal: Because of the Quran.
98 Th: Where did you learn that?
99 Sana: I go to Mosque Thursday and Friday. So today I am going to Mosque.

(activities 1, Victoria Primary Y 3, 29.6.2017)

For the purpose of understanding the range of meanings a language can have for children, I will focus on Sana's language practices of Bengali and extend her account by a miniature sketch of the range encountered in other pupils' descriptions.

Regarding the home context, Sana says that she speaks with parents and siblings "in Bengali and sometimes English as well" (77-78). Other children also used various quantifiers to describe the use of a language at home, e.g. her friend Azayiz. When asked *You said that you learnt Urdu at you grandma's house. Are you speaking Urdu with mum and dad as well?*, she replied, "Yeah, kind of..." and *sisters and brothers...?* "Only a sister" *What do you speak with her?* "English and sometimes Urdu" (act. 1, Victoria Y 3, 29.6.2017, 112-119). Khalid said that he speaks Italian and English "all the time" at home (act. 1, Bird Y 3, 22.1.2018, 212), and Anna said that she speaks English with her brother, but Lithuanian with her mother, sometimes mixing in English words (act. 2, Castle Y 5, 13.3.2017, 12). The aspect of various 'ratios of ingredients' of a child's linguistic repertoire used at home is important for multilingual pedagogies because it might result in different meanings he or she gives to a language depending on the language use and the experienced self-efficacy (Bandura 1982), i.e. the experience and belief to act successfully by using the language.



ill. 6: Sana's language portrait

Concerning the classroom and the context of friendships in school, Sana, as well as other children, spoke about using Bengali. Many pupils said that they speak their language sometimes in the classroom and on the playground. The language use they described varied between talking to friends or using it more specifically for ‘sharing secrets’, while some hinted at how the use of their language depends on having someone to share the language within the same class (e.g. act. 2, Castle 13.3.2017, 26-30). Regarding the diversity and the range of meanings attributed to the ‘same language’, it is key for multilingual pedagogies to be aware of, and to respond to, the fact that in the very same classroom there can be a student who has arrived recently with a non-English speaking background, and for whom it is crucial for learning to draw on the language he or she used for learning before, and another student who has the same language within their repertoire, but – being born in Britain – assigns a very different meaning to this language. Such a constellation could be found in three of the five classrooms involved in the study; Adriana, Sonia, and Bianca in the episodes in 7.1, and Probal and Sana referred to above, are cases in point, while Khalid used his Italian with a newly arrived girl only after I had completed the fieldwork in his class but not yet in his school.

The facet of diversity that featured when children were talking about their language portrait was a context for learning to read and write the non-English language. Being asked whether she can read or write in Bengali, Sana answers, “I . I can read in Arabic, but I can’t read in Bengali, I can’t write Bengali but I can write in Arabic” (95-96). She indicates a shift, where the language spoken at home is not expanded into literacy skills, but the child learns to read and write Arabic in the framework of teaching liturgical literacy practice (Rosowsky 2016). The way Sana repeats the sentence, although in a different succession, seems to emphasise that shift while also expressing self-esteem together with an awareness that she can only acquire *one* other script at her age. Sana’s classmate Nadia described how she would read in church soon, and for her this seemed to be an incentive to use and improve her reading skills in Polish, which she had acquired at home and was using when reading stories to her sisters (act. 1, Victoria Primary, Y3, 29.6.2017, 164-175). As with the spoken language, the superdiverse condition was evident when the children talked about reading and writing. Yet, only children like Amelija or Sana, who learned literacy in complementary settings, mentioned this knowledge themselves without being prompted. It is useful to see the diversity of literacy skills as a facet in its own right in relation to the *range of meanings* a language has for children. The students mentioned various arrangements for learning and using literacy skills: learning by parents teaching them (e.g. act. 1, Victoria Primary Y 3, 29.6.2017, 152-155), grandparents bringing primers from India (fieldnotes Castle 4, 13.3.2017, 105-107), learning when visiting a school on holidays in Ghana and borrowing books in Twi in a local library (act. 1, Bird Primary Y 3/1, 24.1.2018, 80-84), learning in complementary schools and mosques. Children who had been to school in another country said that

they use the language for reading books and for searches on the internet for homework projects (act. 1, Castle Y 4, 8.3.2017, 143; act. 2, Castle Y 4, 15.3.2017, 216-217; act. 1, Castle Y 5, 9.3.2017, 282-283).

The diversity emerging from the children's talk around their language portrait drawings, did not come unexpected and much of the presentation here may appear fairly descriptive in character. While it has been suggested that the original notion of superdiversity was a primarily descriptive concept to highlight the diversification of diversity (Arnaut 2016 et al.: 3), I would like to argue that approaches to multilingual pedagogies cannot circumvent the insights from such descriptions. The complexity existing in classes due to the number of languages and the various meanings children attribute to them needs to be acknowledged in order to develop multilingual pedagogies in the primary school further.

Next, I would like to look in some more detail into episodes that are instructive for understanding how negotiations about meanings of languages, linguistic repertoires, and language ideologies can be traced in a primary classroom. They illustrate that such negotiations about the meanings of components of children's language repertoires take place inevitably, even though they may come to the fore more in situations where the status quo is being challenged by pupils who depend to a larger extent on using a non-English language for their learning or in order to show what they know.

- 169 The EAL teacher is working with Sonia and Adriana.
 170 The two girls run across two thirds of the classroom over to the table, where Bianca
 171 and Emilija sit. *((and where I was just passing by))*
 172 *((not verbatim but written down straight after it took place))*
 173 Adriana asks Bianca something.
 174 Bianca: I don't know *(turns around to the table)*
 175 How can I know that? *(friendly, shrugging)*
 176 Th: *What is it that she is asking?*
 177 Bianca: Bizarre.
 178 *Apparently, the EAL teacher had sent them over to ask Bianca [...] for the*
 179 *word's meaning. Here the conversation continues:*
 180 Th: Do you speak Romanian?
 181 Bianca: I speak Romanian. I speak it but I am born in England. I am from Oxfordshire,
 182 from a nice little village.
 183 Tanya: I speak a bit of Russian. I am from [borough]. But now I am in [neighbourhood]
 184 *'Bizarre' unsolved.*

(fieldnotes Castle Primary Y 4, 10.1.2017)

Before suggesting an analysis through a stancetaking lens (see p. 50), I would like to contextualize this episode: first, the presence of the EAL coordinator is an exception in this lesson. Usually she does not have a time slot assigned to the class but takes the three children, who had arrived four months before these episode, together with eight other students from Year 2 to 4 classes every morning to an EAL lesson, which lasts about 25 minutes. Second, as in other lessons, there is no dictionary used by either the teacher or the students. Third, the atmosphere of Ellie's classroom allows the two girls to move quickly to the other table without transgressing any classroom rules. In the analysis, I focus on Bianca to understand how she addresses what has been previously before 'the meanings of speaking a language'.

The situation is initiated by the EAL teacher, who sends Sonia and Adriana to Bianca to ask for the meaning of 'bizarre', a word that came up in the text she was reading with them. Adriana and Bianca speak in Romanian (173), as they do in other informal situations in the classroom and on the playground (e.g. fieldnotes Castle Y 4, 10.1.2017, 272-278; 17.1.2017, 99-100 and 7.2.2017, 12) and, therefore, the usage of Romanian can be seen as unmarked. The situation has been prompted by the EAL teacher and someone might argue that the rule described by the class teacher previously – that they would not explicitly ask Bianca to translate – is being broken here. However, in my understanding, this is not the case, since Sonia and Adriana have been sent to ask only for a single word. With *I don't know* (174), Bianca turns back to her table and repeats in English what, in all probability, she had said to Adriana in Romanian a moment ago. By switching back to English, she makes the situation accessible for others, and *I don't know* and *How can I know that?* (174-175) can be seen both as a comment to herself as well as an offer for others to join in. Yet Bianca does not simply state the fact that she does not know the word 'bizarre' in Romanian. She also evokes 'bilingualism' or 'bilingual repertoire' as objects of a now extended conversation. We may only speculate about the reason for this step, but it is certainly significant that she makes her comment – *How can I know that?* (175) – in form of a rhetorical question with a shrug immediately after the exchange with Adriana, in which, firstly, she has been asked to translate a word and secondly was pointed to the fact that a word was missing in her Romanian vocabulary. If we see 'bilingualism' as the stance-object that Bianca puts forward, she can be seen to evaluate in this part what bilingualism means for her. Her experiences include switching languages naturally as well as becoming aware of missing words. She positions herself as a *bilingual speaker*, while the chosen form of a rhetorical question is indicative of how familiar she is with this position, including a certain routine of acknowledging missing Romanian words (to a much lesser extent this is also – as generally for pupils in a Year 4 – an experience Bianca has in English, even though she is generally a very confident learner and one of the three or four students who contribute most to the classroom talk (e.g. fieldnotes Castle Y 4, 24.1.2017, 130).

Bianca's confident choice of *How can I know that?* (175) can also be understood as responding to a further aspect of her experience as bilingual speaker in the classroom: she comments as someone who has just been asked to explain something to Sonia and Adriana, the two girls with whom she shares the Romanian language. While being bilingual and speaking Romanian in school can be seen as largely unmarked and 'normal' for Bianca, other situations, where she is asked to *explain* something in Romanian can disrupt this normalcy. Bianca hinted at this during the language portrait activity, when she and Silu were talking about the different sizes of areas coloured in their silhouettes:

32 Silu: That is how much you speak of it. So I do exactly half of it.

33 Bianca: I don't speak loads of it.

34 Silu: You could explain to Sonia, you could explain to Adriana.

35 Bianca: Yeah, most of the time, I don't like it.

(activities 1, Castle Primary Y 4, 8.3.2017)

With *How can I know that?* Bianca responds to such a tension by adopting the position of a bilingual speaker while simultaneously claiming ownership over the meaning that being a bilingual speaker has for her by ensuring that not having a balanced knowledge in both languages is included in this position. That is, the child's positioning includes a disalignment from such a demand towards supposedly balanced bilingual speakers. It might be suggested that the EAL teacher represents symbolically such a position, because she had sent Adriana and Sonia over to ask Bianca, even though, in all probability, the teacher does not hold such a view.

In (180), I take up the chance to talk about bilingualism by asking *Do you speak Romanian?* When I had asked the children in Bianca's table group before, whether they speak another language apart from English, she had not mentioned Romanian (fieldnotes Castle Y 4, 10.1.2017, 113-114); hence the question is genuine. Instead of simply answering 'yes', which might have been possible, Bianca responds by developing the previous stance-object 'bilingualism' further into another, which can be understood as 'speaking Romanian'. The child positions herself as Romanian speaker with *I speak Romanian* (181), using the first person, and continues to emphasise her subjectivity in *I speak it but I am born in England. I am from Oxfordshire, from a nice little village* (181-182). Following up her previously articulated position as *bilingual speaker with ownership over what being bilingual means*, this can be understood primarily as another statement by the girl of why she cannot be a balanced bilingual – in this instance, why she cannot possibly know 'bizarre' in Romanian. To mention her place of birth is, from this perspective, just a further way for her to emphasise her previously held position. Being asked in the portrait activity group, whether she could answer the question about having or not having a favourite language, Bianca replied, "I can answer it-- my answer is English, I was born here, I

lived here all my life, I just lived in a different country only for one or two years” (act. 1, Castle Y 4, 8.3.2017, 280-281).

Bianca’s precise words, however, suggest that it is appropriate to add a further interpretation, which draws attention to a parallel positioning taking place by means of *I speak it but I am born in England*. With the conjunction ‘but’ Bianca signals that she is familiar with the assumption that a speaker of Romanian is not also ‘born in England’ and ‘from Oxfordshire’. In other words, she shows an awareness of the fact that the position of a speaker of Romanian is a contested subject position within political discourses around immigration and someone who is taking it up, is therefore, at risk of not or at least ‘not really’ belonging here (UK). Although it is not possible, of course, to pinpoint exactly what motivated Bianca to state *but I am born in England. I am from Oxfordshire, from a nice little village*, her explicit references to birthplace, country, and county evoke issues of geographical origin and of belonging. In this interpretation, Bianca is again claiming a position as *bilingual speaker with ownership over what bilingual means*, but now over what being a bilingual speaker of Romanian and English means. Pointing out her birthplace – and evoking the imagined Englishness of the picturesque countryside – allows her to challenge a discourse that positions Romanian/English speakers as ‘not belonging here’. For the research and approaches of multilingual pedagogies, it seems relevant that the utterance *I speak Romanian. I speak it but I am born in England. I am from Oxfordshire, from a nice little village* was prompted by the question about the Romanian language use. It highlights the necessity to handle questions around linguistic repertoires, language use, and language experience sensitively, since such questions are inescapably interwoven in contemporary, and therefore lived power relations.

The normalcy of lived multilingualism

In all language portrait groups, the children started eagerly on the task and talked while colouring their silhouettes. For example, they chipped in with phrases in different languages (e.g. act. 1, Castle Y 5, 9.3.2017, 166-167); talked about first words they had learnt in their languages (e.g. *ibid.* 25-26); enjoyed playing with accents (e.g. act. 1, Castle Y 4, 8.3.2017, 85-95); or described how they translate during computer games (e.g. act. 1, Castle Y 5, 9.3.2017, 47-50). All this was done with ease and, together with the way in which children presented the language portraits, can be best described as an expression of a plurilingual ‘well-being’ (Gogolin 2015: 294). It could be said that the way the children talked about their experiences mirrors the normalcy of the multilingualism they live.

Another aspect of this normalcy is addressed in an extract from Shriya who, having Marathi and Gujarati in her own repertoire from home, explains:

25 Shriya: Me and Archita, we are very close friends, so we know each others'
 26 language very well. My-- She doesn't know Marathi. But she knows my mum,
 27 so she hears loads and loads of Marathi, so she knows some.

(act. 1, Bird Y 3/2, 22.1.2018)

Her friend Archita said when presenting her portrait, "and this [Gujarati] and this [Marathi] I know a bit from Shriya" (ibid. 49). The children include here, of course, a wide range of what 'knowing Marathi' means (26 *She doesn't know*; 27 *knows some*; 49 *I know a bit*). However, I would argue that the short extract captures how the children's experience is embedded in the normalcy of the multilingual environment, in which they live and where, along with their own plurilingualism, they participate in the plurilingual world of their friends.

The last extract I want to present in this section on normalcy of multilingualism can illustrate how, during the activities, the pupils talked expertly about their experiences. The group of pupils from Ellie's Year 4 had talked about negotiating their use of language at home, and Silu and Emilija share another experience:

50 Silu: when you go to a native [...] The house where the most the
 51 family is and then when you start speaking your language, most of the time, they just
 52 laugh at you or they giggle.
 53 Emilija: Or sometimes when you are like speaking English and you are in a different country
 54 and most people they can't speak English, you know, your mum is always like
 55 'Please speak!' the whatever the language is because they can't understand you
 56 but then again, I don't get it right (*laughs*) I want them to understand it

(act. 1, Castle Y 4, 8.3.2017)

The two children recount situations, in which they felt self-conscious. In fact, the experience they share with each other could be described as the opposite of their usually experienced normalcy, when they address here the experience of not speaking 'the language' – Telugu or Lithuanian respectively – in the same way as those speakers who live in an environment, where they use it for all contexts and purposes. Yet, I present this extract because it illustrates well the lively and focused atmosphere during the participatory activities. It also shows how the children talked not so much about 'languages' but rather about their language practices and lived experiences as plurilingual speakers. As Nayr Ibrahim observes in her study on children's representation of their multilingualism in an out-of-school English literacy school in Paris, "children made constant reference to real people, tangible places and relevant experiences when asked about their languages" (2019: 41). Importantly, it can be seen as part of the normalcy of lived multilingualism to negotiate sometimes and in certain situations around the use of a language – an aspect already been mentioned by Amelija regarding her complementary

school attendance and in the Bianca's episodes above. To see children as experts for this kind of experiences too, is relevant for multilingual pedagogies in that it requires educators to be sensitive to the normalcy of multilingualism and also to potential situations where meanings are being negotiated or a child's ownership of normalcy might be interrupted.

7.3 A stopover: some inferences for a pedagogical space

I have outlined in 3.1.1 a nexus of three *aspects of the school as a place for multilingual pedagogies* (see p. 11-13), arguing that the mainstream school is, simultaneously, (1) a place of language experience, (2) a place where language repertoires and ideologies come in contact, and (3) a location, where the actors negotiate about the meanings that these repertoires and ideologies have for them. Now, I would like to relate briefly the *monolingual norm* and the *superdiverse voices* to this nexus and to draw attention to three conceptual inferences for multilingual pedagogies: (1) those pedagogies (need to) *mediate* between the three aforementioned aspects, (2) any act of acknowledging, including and using a language other than English *intervenes* in this nexus, and (3) the *perspective of a pedagogical space for multilingual pedagogies in the primary school*.

The monolingual norm features in all three aspects as it configures how the children's language repertoires come in contact with the ways in which the school acts out language ideologies. As the episodes from Ellie's class have shown, the norm is established for pupils new to English while confirmed for the other children, and, in this way, the dividing line between the classroom's official language and those languages that are not considered relevant *for learning*, is reproduced. Understanding this not simply as an imposition but a *production* and, in the microculture of school, as a conveyance of a *pedagogical* message as mentioned in 3.1.1 in reference to scholars like Apple (1982) and Alexander (2008), appears relevant in the context of the findings reported above. In my view, it implies, and could be usefully described as, a situation where the norm generates a normality in the classroom which is faced with the normalcy of children's 'superdiverse voices' – or the other way around, where children encounter the monolingual norm as pedagogical normality of the classroom. In this sense, I have described the monolingual norm as part of the working consensus, pointing out that such consensus is initiated by the teachers with whom the greater power lies. However, the main implication for multilingual pedagogies emerging here is the necessity to be both reflective about the norm and aware of the various meanings which languages/elements of linguistic repertoires have for children. As the examples from the participatory activities have shown, children bring various meanings of their language repertoires to school and/or are positioned in different ways

as illustrated in 7.1, when the contact between those repertoires and the school's language ideologies is taking place. Thus, classroom and school constitute a space where children and teachers are involved in negotiating what the elements of their linguistic repertoires mean and, by extension, what they want to invest into such negotiations. Yet, it is the school that would need to acknowledge the fact that pedagogical practices play a *mediating role* regarding pupils' language experiences and in relation to the opportunities the children have for negotiating the meanings of their language repertoires in the classroom. Given the monolingual status quo and the 'superdiverse voices', it would be the school's challenge to design approaches, formats, and settings that respond to *both* those circumstances.

It is at this point where it appears useful to outline a kind of *pedagogical space* that relates simultaneously to the nexus of the three aspects described previously, to a given school or classroom, and to practical approaches that go beyond the monolingual norm. Before presenting more findings in chapter 9 regarding such possibilities from the interviews and the participatory activities, I would like to outline briefly why I deem it helpful to employ conceptually a 'pedagogical space' for multilingual pedagogies in the primary school. The notion parallels in some way Cummins's use of 'interactional space' put forward within his Empowerment and Pedagogical Orientation frameworks to describe the generation of knowledge and negotiations of identity that are created in the interaction between teachers and students (2000: 42-50; see p. 24) and in the Literacy Expertise framework, where 'pedagogical space' is used for the same phenomenon (Cummins et al. 2011a: 31). However, the way in which I want to use 'pedagogical space' conceptually here attempts to address more explicitly the diversity of language repertoires, i.e. a diversity that – as thematised in 7.2 – includes the variety of meanings pupils assign to them. I see this in line with García's and Flores' wide-ranging point that "educators [should] plan carefully the ways in which all the students' home languages and their linguistic practices are *acknowledged, included and used* in the classroom" (2012: 242, emphasis added), which the scholars incorporate under 'attention to social justice'. Yet, when referring to *pedagogical space*, I would also like to foreground two further aspects: first, as García and Flores argue (*ibid.*), it is necessary to see *all students* as addressees of multilingual pedagogies, and second, such pedagogies should be brought in closer contact with and be contextually grounded in the routines of the primary school classroom for this purpose. This chapter's extracts show that there are, within the same classroom, pupils who have the same 'coded' language, but assign different meanings to these elements in their repertoire. Such a constellation is most evident with Adriana, Sonia, and Bianca, yet it is also apparent in the accounts of the other children for whom a 'first'/'second-language' divide is no longer meaningful. One of the challenges and tasks of the pedagogical space would be to accommodate for or be responsive to what has been described in 7.2.

as the range of meanings of speaking a language, which have been identified in the children's descriptions of their language practices (see p. 129). It is important, therefore, that the pedagogical space is designed as *dialogical* and as *responsive* to this diversity. Thus, the notion of 'superdiverse voices' points as much to the *diversity* of languages and meanings they have for children as it is about *children's voices*, because in school those 'superdiverse' meanings can only be articulated in a dialogic way. That is, the pedagogical space for multilingual pedagogies in primary school would not only need to respond conceptually to the monolingual norm and the diversity of children's language repertoires, as suggested before, but it would be a *constitutive part* of these pedagogies to create opportunities, where children – and one could add, educators – explore (their) multilingualism.

While pupils bring their language(s), and the meanings they attribute to them, as *experience* to school, it is in this very context school, where (a part of) these meanings are confirmed and valued or questioned, ignored and devalued; or where they might be located somewhere on a spectrum between these poles. Whether the school responds to children's out-of-school experiences or not, the episodes in 7.1 and the findings reported around EAL discourse and symbolic multilingualism all illustrate how pedagogical practices shape what the children's experiences mean in school and for learning. I would like to contend therefore that while there is in school hardly any neutral pedagogical practice in relation to children language experiences, it can be suggested that any act of acknowledging, including, and using a language other than English *intervenes* in this constellation, potentially modifying or changing the language experience of pupils and teachers, the contact between their repertoires and language ideologies as well as how they can negotiate the meanings of those repertoires and ideologies. Of course, the perspective of pupils' out-of-school experiences, an emphasis on their voices and an exploration of multilingual identities are all significant components of the comprehensive multilingual pedagogical approaches mentioned in 3.1.3 (see Cummins et al. 2011a; Kenner/Ruby 2012; Anderson/Macleroy 2016). Yet, I would infer from this study's insights into the classrooms and from the participatory activities that it is helpful for further developments in the *primary school under 'superdiverse conditions'* to have, on a conceptual level, *a lens* for evaluating how approaches, formats and activities can have different functions for acknowledging, including, and using pupil's multilingual repertoires. In other words, it would be useful for teachers to be able to evaluate approaches and activities when making their choices, taking stances on their pedagogical work and intervening in the constellation described above.

Finally, I want to mention an observation which emerged with some relevance for how the 'pedagogical space' is envisioned: Sonia's and Bianca's ways to negotiate their multilingualism as reported in 7.1 and 7.2 show the workings of the norm, but in the process, the children appear also to

resist actively a *marginalisation* due to their multilingualism. In line with the analysis presented, it can be said that Sonia refuses to be marginalized as an unsuccessful learner in school, whereas Bianca appears to oppose a marginalisation in wider society, by which bilingual Romanian/English speakers ‘do not or do not really belong here’. In contrast, the engagement and pleasure which many pupils displayed when talking during the participatory activities about their multilingual experiences and skills can be seen not so much as defying directly the monolingual norm but as voicing an alternative. I will report in chapter 9 how the children talked about their ideas for multilingual activities. These positions and out-of-/in-school language experiences (can) exist *simultaneously* in one classroom, and such simultaneity, where pupils express their multilingual skills while others downplay them or are coerced to do so, underlines the necessity for multilingual pedagogies to mediate between children’s out-of-school language experiences and their experiences in school. Accordingly, the primary school would need to clarify what it wants to pursue *pedagogically*, and I would argue that Sonia’s and Bianca’s positionings can be instructive in this regard. Given the entwined effects of EAL discourse, monolingual norm, and symbolic multilingualism to devalue children’s non-English languages, the two girls’ association of multilingualism with marginalisation cannot come as a surprise, as such devaluation and hierarchisation of languages needs to be seen as one of those pedagogical messages conveyed in the microculture school.

As a pedagogical orientation, which can be inferred from those very different constellations – a fear and refusal of marginalisation due to multilingualism, and the well-being and enjoyment associated with it – it appears productive then to ask *Which approaches and activities would be experienced by the pupils as an empowerment?* As with ‘voice’ and the focus on ‘multilingual identities’ before, ‘empowerment’ is, of course, a salient feature of those approaches that see themselves, at least partially, in the tradition of Critical Pedagogy and/or Transformative Pedagogy (see 3.1.3). However, I would like to suggest that this question would strengthen a more general pedagogical take that is neither necessarily limited to academic learning nor falling into the trap of what was described as symbolic multilingualism in 6.4. In my understanding, a guiding perspective for empowerment could be to provide affordances which enable plurilingual children to experience ‘language-as-a-resource’ (Ruiz 1984/2017) and as ‘doing something for learning *in school*’ (see p. 18-19).

Depending on the focus of the respective work, the emphasis often seems to be either on students who are described as emergent bilinguals (e.g. Celic/Seltzer 2012; García/Kleyn 2016a) and/or as belonging to socially marginalized groups (e.g. Cummins et al. 2011a: 27), or on children’s/young people’s learning through participation in certain practices as seen from a sociocultural perspective (e.g. Gregory/Williams 2000; Lytra et al. 2016). Multilingual pedagogies in the primary school, which

respond to the 'superdiverse voices', would need to look from an additional angle which actively includes all pupils in the sense mentioned in 3.1.2 that linguistic superdiversity refers to individuals with migrant experiences *and* plurilinguals from post-migrant communities while at the same time eschewing assumptions about 'groups' (Martin-Jones et al. 2012: 7). Furthermore, and importantly, multilingual pedagogies in a superdiverse school would, of course, also include the children with a 'monolingual' family socialisation. Yet, I need to make two notes to avoid misunderstandings: in my view, these pedagogies and their overall attention to social justice (García/Flores 2012: 242) are vital for more equity for emergent bilingual students; in this study, Daniel, Sonia and Adriana are cases in point. Second, it could be objected that the juxtaposition of those two strands above – a focus on emergent bilinguals and a focus on learning in cultural contexts – would be oversimplified, because scholars acknowledge their work's situatedness, and there clearly exists a congruence between them, regarding the underlying sociocultural theories of learning. Furthermore – and importantly for developments in the mainstream school – recent studies explore multilingual approaches in the system of an entire primary school, involving school settings that include, apart from the language of instruction, the official languages Frisian and Irish respectively (Duarte/Günter-van der Meij 2018; Little/Kirwan 2019, see p. 23). In doing so, these studies move multilingual pedagogies closer to what might be seen as a pedagogy for all 'superdiverse' primary schools. However, the main point I would like to make here is that it would be productive for further developments in 'superdiverse schools' to foreground explicitly a frame of pedagogical motivations and rationales for multilingual pedagogies that can complement the overall social justice orientation, which is often chiefly related to *emergent* bilinguals. Importantly, those pedagogical perspectives would need to be articulated and developed in school settings, in which plurilingualism is legitimised per se and not necessarily via the presence of more than one official language as in the studies from the Frisian and Irish context referred to before.

What I call here 'pedagogical space' is seen as both conceptual and concrete/practical. From the point of the children, it would need to be a 'space' – approaches, teaching/learning formats, settings, and activities – where they can make their multilingual voices heard and experience their languages as resources for learning. This would include affordances, where they can explore the meanings that languages or elements of their linguistic repertoire have for them. From the perspective of the educators, however, it would need to be a frame that is, on the one hand, *flexible* enough to appreciate the 'small spaces' for decisions made in their planning and classroom, while, on the other hand, sufficiently *systematic* to enable them to link their decisions and choices to a broader pedagogical repertoire or framework. In other words, it would be perceived by the teachers as structured in such a way that they would know, as described in 7.1 following García (2014: 4), what to do 'strategically' with children's languages other than English. Or – following the formulation Priestley,

Biesta, and Robinson used in their definition of teacher agency (2015: 141, see p. 35) – in such a way that the teachers would be able to choose in a given situation between different options and to judge which option is the most desirable in the circumstances of their classroom.

In chapter 7, I have looked in greater detail at the classrooms in relation to monolingualism and multilingualism. The monolingual norm that was established for pupils new to English and maintained for the other plurilingual children helps teachers to reduce the complexity of their classrooms, while constituting a hindrance for teacher agency in multilingual pedagogies. However, a teacher's reflection on a homework project has drawn attention to the significance of reflexivity as a *constitutive component* of such agency in a setting shaped by a monolingual norm. The findings from the participatory activities highlight that an awareness of superdiverse voices and knowledge about the different meanings which speaking a language has for pupils need to be seen as an integral part of multilingual pedagogies in superdiverse primary schools and thus also as a *constitutive component* of teacher agency in this domain. A 'pedagogical space' has been suggested that would respond conceptually to the monolingual norm *and* to the diversity of children's language repertoires, creating opportunities for children and teachers to explore their multilingualism. Within the model of teacher agency, the pedagogical space provides the *different options* from which teachers can choose in response to the context of their classrooms, bringing together a developmental perspective to advance such pedagogies with a localised angle that aims at tailoring those approaches to particular circumstances.

8. Teachers' perspectives

This chapter draws chiefly on the teacher interviews to explore their perspectives on various aspects of teacher agency and multilingualism. The focus is first on aspects of agency as related to the school as a workplace (8.1); the second section addresses issues related to the teachers' professional subjectivities (8.2); and the third part explores facets of multilingualism in school as thematised by the teachers (8.3). The findings from this chapter refer primarily to the research question that asks how teachers' professional knowledge, experiences and attitudes can function as affordances for multilingual pedagogies, and by extension, how teacher agency can be enhanced in multilingual pedagogies and how it could be achieved in this domain.

8.1 "A teacher's life is hard ..." – aspects of the workplace school

I will report here data that relates to the workplace school as the context for teacher agency. While it would have been far beyond the scope of the study to explore the workplaces in depth, the *school as workplace* is highly relevant as a backdrop for situating agency: ultimately, agency in the classroom can only be achieved when supported by the workplace school, which affords and also frames the classroom as outlined in 5.1. Thus, these findings and their focus on the context beyond the classroom complement the inquiry into the teachers' general agency presented in chapter 5.

Yet, these conditions can facilitate as well as hinder teacher agency, and within the complexity of a school, it can be difficult to define which aspects to incorporate in a description of 'conditions', and how to determine where the boundary lies between conditions of a specific school and wider circumstances of educational policy. The funding for children with special educational needs as mentioned regarding Hira's classroom (see p. 79-80) and the precarious position of the EAL coordinator in Castle Primary (see p. 96) are cases in point. The main focus here is, however, on facets of the *workplace as described by the teachers*. This is conceptually relevant because such conditions are a component of teacher agency. Yet a description of these facets is also required, because in order to proceed to an exploration of teacher agency in multilingual pedagogies, it is necessary to ensure that the workplace conditions of the five teachers are, on the whole, comparable. In other words, it is essential to establish that no teacher is in a situation where their general agency is negatively affected by the workplace conditions in such a way that it would become nearly meaningless to explore agency in relation to multilingual pedagogies (although it is very unlikely that a teacher in such a situation would have volunteered for the study).

I present data regarding three connected aspects of the workplace school: *relationships*, *roles*, and *scope/influence*. As described in 3.2.3, the aspect ‘relationships’ is seen in the ecological approach as a component of social structures of the workplace school within the practical-evaluative domain that contributes to the achievement of teacher agency. Since relationships must be understood as closely linked with workplace culture, I saw it as valuable to leave it to the teachers at which point in the interview they would choose to thematise them, instead of addressing ‘relationships’ directly within a question. The main interest here lies in how a teacher describes relationships, collaboration, and atmosphere in their school, and how this helps to understand their agency. The other aspects were explicitly addressed, e.g. “Tell me a bit about your *role* in this school” (int. Ellie, 8.2.2017, 180) or “How do you see your *scope of influence* in your school?” (int. Heather, 12.1.2018, 260-261).

I have selected here extracts from Ellie’s and Heather’s interviews, because these teachers not only describe the atmosphere, but also point to *vertical and horizontal orientations within relationships* in their workplace, i.e. to dimensions which have been identified as impacting on teacher agency. Vertical relationships represent workplace hierarchies, whereas horizontal relationships exist between educators collaborating at the same plane (Priestley et al. 2015: 92-104). Yet, those orientations are not necessarily mutually exclusive, and vertical relationships may include features of reciprocity and dialogue. The researchers conclude that “strong horizontal ties [...] appeared to facilitate (or at least be indicative of) a collegial and collaborative culture in the school” (ibid.: 103). While it is useful for understanding Ellie’s agency to look at each of the following extracts separately, it is also instructive to consider how aspects are linked to each other across the following excerpts.

184 if we have got monitoring and we have got feedback, then I would be
 185 checking after that that this is happening [...] in the different
 186 classes. And really focusing on consistency [...]
 188 that everyone is delivering sort of the same skills [...]
 189 And that just comes through PPA¹⁰ and discussing things and
 190 actually in this year group we are being really, really reflective. We work really
 191 well together and we are very honest with each other and actually that ‘that
 192 activity in Maths, no that didn’t work at all, wasn’t teachable, how do we
 193 change it?’ and I think that’s being really good. Because I have been in year
 194 groups where people [...] they were quite resistant to
 195 change or they take it very personally [...]
 196 You are not questioning their ability at all, it’s just

¹⁰ The teachers of the Year 4 classes share the same morning for their PPA time, those 10% of their timetabled teaching time set aside for planning, preparation and assessment, to which teachers are entitled.

197 actually 'having that for my class that didn't work'. So this is really good this
 198 year having this open sort of discussion und feedback.

(interview Ellie, 8.2.2017)

The theme 'relationships' emerges, as Ellie talks about her role as year group leader and mentions her involvement in vertical relationships that comes with this role (184-186, *I would be checking after that that this is happening [...] in the different classes*). Yet, she appears to put the emphasis on the importance of horizontal ties with her colleagues in (189-193, *and discussing things and actually in this year group we are being really, really reflective ... I think that's being really good*). At the end, the teacher confirms her evaluation, pointing again to features of reciprocity and symmetry in the relationships in the year group (197-198, *So this is really good this year having this open sort of discussion and feedback*). Moreover, between these evaluations, Ellie contrasts her current experiences with those in her previous school, where she worked for seven years and had been year group leader as well: *and I think that's being really good. Because I have been ...* (193-197). As it is also evident from other interview passages, the act of comparing is relevant for Ellie's assessment of the current conditions at her workplace, and thus her evaluation can be understood in the context of what has been termed the iterational dimension of teacher agency (see p. 32-33). That is, the achievement of agency is influenced by the teacher's professional history that includes experiences in another workplace, which then contribute to her assessment of presently encountered conditions. This is also evident her evaluation that she can teach her class all day – as opposed to her previous school where pupils were taught in sets from Year 1 onwards – enhancing what Ellie sees as her flexibility regarding time management during the school day and her rapport with the children (int. 24.3.2017, 185-191). The theme of 'relationships' resurfaces also in other parts of Ellie's interviews.

288 Th.: *[...] Which kind of decisions do you influence or make?*
 289 Ellie: *[...] we get the curriculum and a lot is mapped out already*
 290 *and that is sort of due to the position the school is in that it 'requires improvement'.*
 291 *A lot of things like in Maths is all per week plotted out what you ought to*
 292 *deliver-- down to topic, I mean it's not day by day. So currently, I am*
 293 *planning topic [...]*
 294 *Ajit is doing Maths, Martha is doing Literacy [...]*
 295 *we make the decision what to do*
 296 *and how. We have a lot of discussion anyway. [...]*
 297 *And we are really dealing-- you*
 298 *know as a team we would do that.*

(interview Ellie, 8.2.2017)

I have chosen this excerpt because fundamental elements of British education policy appear to feature prominently in the description, where teachers *get the curriculum and a lot is mapped out already [...] due to the position the school is in that it 'requires improvement'* (289-290). In my view the fact that Ellie mentions these indicators of education policy in response to *Which kind of decisions do you influence or make?* is significant in that they point to the overall parameters of curriculum domination and accountability to Ofsted inspections – tightened by academisation as a central instrument of policy (e.g. Ball 2018) – within which school as workplace, its relationships and teacher agency operate (see chapter 2). In this sense, it can be suggested that the teacher's description chimes with two assertions referred to before: that the dominance of curriculum in the English educational discourse has "tended to make pedagogy subsidiary to curriculum" (Alexander 2008: 47), and that the reconstruction of the teacher's role during "decades of intrusive input and output regulation may well have to a large extent eroded teachers' capacity for agency" (Priestley et al. 2015: 125).

Ellie, however, juxtaposes this overarching context with a reiteration of her earlier description of horizontal relationships, which consist, in her year group, of alternately planning for the various subjects (292-294) and include the factors of reciprocity and symmetry (295-298, *we make the decision what to do and how. We have a lot of discussion anyway [...] And we are really dealing-- you know as a team we would do that*). Two aspects are relevant here: first, Ellie's teacher agency, achieved in the classroom, for example, by maintaining the working consensus established with her class and by making small choices within teaching routines (see 5.2), is fostered by horizontal relationships, collaboration and the collegial atmosphere in her year group team. These *supportive relationships* can be seen as a relevant aspect for achieving her teacher agency. Second, such relationships are embedded in the institution school that constitutes for educators concurrently a workplace and a context where education policy is played out. This almost self-evident constellation is important for exploring teacher agency, because it points to the fundamental fact that a teacher needs, ultimately, to come to terms with the conditions of the workplace as generated by that policy.¹¹ Therefore Ellie appears to describe how education policy directs her work (289-292), while also stating: (295-296) *we make the decision what to do and how*. This may appear, at first glance, as contradictory, but is, I would contend, more usefully understood as precisely the moment when the teacher points to the space which she can claim for her agency. In other words, this is the scope "where agency is seen as emerging from the *interaction* of individual 'capacity' with environing 'conditions'" (Priestley et al. 2015: 22, emphasis in orig.). An acknowledgement that teacher agency is inevitably located within the

¹¹ Here is no space to detail how teachers accommodate to a workplace that is constantly being generated by education policy. However, it is indispensable for a study that is also concerned with the *projective* dimension of teacher agency to indicate the historicity of the situation. For the phase when the role of primary school teachers in the UK was radically transformed and redefined see e.g. Jeffrey/Woods 1998 and Ball 2003.

framework provided by education policy is very important in order to caution against overstraining or overstating the individual teacher's agency vis-à-vis the constraints, which are underlying everyday experiences: "I think time is just a big factor. You know we have so much to squeeze in. We are just like 'go, go, go...' and everything has to be taught in a very tight time" (int. Ellie, 24.3.2017, 298-300) or "the curriculum is so . jam-packed [...] if we ever have a bit of spare time, we are doing something that they, you know, giving them some free time sometimes if they have behaved well. But given the jam-packed curriculum..." (int. Hira, 27.6.2017, 558 & 561-564).

Supportive relationships were described by all teachers, either with an emphasis on organisational arrangements, like shared and alternately planning (e.g. *ibid.*, 270-271), or additionally highlighting the cooperative atmosphere of the workplace culture (e.g. int. Heather, 12.1.2018, 263-264), and I see this in line with the data from the fieldnotes (e.g. Castle Y 5, 16.1.2017, 2-16).

With the following extracts, I would like to explore further, how vertical and horizontal relationships at the workplace school might be seen as related, and how teacher agency features at this juncture. I had asked Ellie whether the noticeable changes of Guided Reading practices (around *one* book) and in Maths (the same visualisation concept for arithmetic/word problems in all year groups) were already established when she came to Castle Primary or whether she and her colleagues would still influence ongoing developments.

319 Most of it was in place already because I know in July, everybody brought sort
 320 of their own from the year, 'So this doesn't work, [...] 'we would
 321 suggest that thing for next year.' So we'll this year, we'll make sort of make
 322 decisions for the next year as to what works and quite a lot of . . sort of .
 323 reflecting reflecting on what works [...]
 324 how can we do better? And I think as a school, they
 325 are quite open to feedback and actually they want to know what can be
 326 different or then [*headteacher*] asked me quite a few times about things, you
 327 know 'What did you do in your old school?' compared-- they were
 328 an outstanding school [...] and I think as a
 329 SMT [senior management team] they are very open to that and they are quite
 willing to give things a go.

(interview Ellie, 8.2.2017)

On the whole, the teacher describes here, as in other parts of the interviews, a work culture and relationships that appear to meet the criteria of reciprocity and generative dialogue also within the vertical relationships in the school (Priestley et al. 2015: 103). Yet, Ellie's repeated use of the phrasing 'what works' (322 & 323) or 'this doesn't work' (320) shows the entanglement with the framework of

education policy where “[t]eachers [...] are required to produce measurable and ‘improving’ outputs and performances, what is important is *what works*” (Ball 2003: 222, emphasis in orig.). In this sense, the description mirrors the ‘value’ *what works*, which has been identified as one of the discursive interventions into UK education policy and the public sector more widely since the mid-1990s (ibid.: 217-219). Ellie describes in (326-328) how the headteacher consults her, as she has the expertise of having taught and been year group leader in a school that was judged by Ofsted as ‘outstanding’. This chimes with her position at a kind of juncture of vertical and horizontal relationships that emerges from other passages as well: “something I know this school is looking to develop is that role of the year group leader [...] previously I have done a lot more of data and being really accountable [...] And I said, ‘You know I don’t feel like people, like SMT sort of make the most of year group leaders [...] that’s something that I would be able to offer” (231-239).

259 *Th.:* *If you run your position properly, whatever properly means, if you run it*
 260 *smoothly, then it is the best way for the class teacher to experience her job as*
 261 *well?*

262 *Ellie:* yes, most definitely and I think it’s good to be year group leader and have
 263 a class because it is easy to lose sight of what class teachers are actually doing
 264 on a daily basis
 266 [...] I think with assistant heads
 267 and those leaders, they are not in class and they easily lose sight of people
 268 actually saying ‘We need it now.’ With, you know, teachers in class the
 269 priorities are different [...] I am in a good position
 270 because I know I know instantly what is going on in each room whereas when
 271 you are not in here day-to-day, you are not as aware

(interview Ellie, 8.2.2017)

Although I do not intend to analyse these passages in depth here, Ellie’s account can illustrate aspects of what Stephen Ball has termed ‘deeply paradoxical’ developments at the workplace school within the culture of performativity. On the one hand, changes were often portrayed as moving away from centralized forms of employee control, and managerial responsibilities were delegated or problem-solving and initiative were highly valued; on the other hand, mechanisms of very direct surveillance and self-monitoring were established (Ball 2003: 219). A comparable tension occurs in Ellie’s description. I would argue that when she is addressed because of the role she held in her previous school (326-328) and when she takes the initiative to develop further her current role (231-239), the teacher expands her possibilities to influence routines and makes choices on her work and role in school. In other words, she moves beyond the agency in her classroom, taking up a more powerful position in the workplace. This position as year group leader, however, is part of the education policy

context. Consequently – and as before in (184-186) *if we have got monitoring [...], then I would be checking after that* – Ellie mentions an element of surveillance here, *I know instantly what is going on in each room* (270). Simultaneously, she contrasts her role with that of *assistant heads and those leaders, they are not in class and they easily lose sight of people actually saying ‘We need it now...’* (266-268), and, in doing so, she appears to emphasise her own role as class teacher. In my view, this constellation in Ellie’s description is instructive for understanding teacher agency in general and, by extension, in multilingual pedagogies. A role and area of responsibility in school enhances the teacher’s agency beyond the classroom, but can be seen as still anchored in the classroom and the supportive relationships with other teachers.

This aspect was also evident when I asked Heather, who is Lower Key Stage 2 lead and also responsible for Well-being in her school, about the scope of her influence:

263 we are very lucky because everybody respects everybody here, it is such
 264 a lovely environment to work in, [...] I feel like, I do
 265 have an influence and I would say people do listen to [me] but I feel like that for
 266 everybody we all listen to each other. So like Well-being and other things I
 267 have ownership on, I have a huge influence because I am-- you are like an
 268 expert in your field. And people will come to me for help and advice
 (interview Heather, 12.1.2018)

She describes here reciprocity and dialogue as features of her school’s workplace culture. As with Ellie before, Heather’s roles – *things I have ownership on* (266-267) – increase her agency in terms of vertical relationships in the workplace, while that agency remains embedded in horizontal relationships with her colleagues. In fact, being asked what would happen if someone would advocate ‘a new idea’, Heather mentions limitations of this agency:

286 we are very lucky, everyone is open-minded, everyone knows that we
 287 only want the best-- hm we don’t want any more hard work (*imitating*
 288 *intonation*) we don’t want any more paperwork to do, we are just doing it--
 (ibid.)

In (286) *everyone is open-minded*, the teacher confirms her earlier depiction of the workplace’s atmosphere. Yet, she describes also the limits of new developments that from the perspective of her colleagues – and as class teacher and within the horizontal relationships, Heather is one of them – should not cause *any more hard work* (287).

Given the lack of policy regarding multilingual pedagogies and of local institutions that could function as meso level actors by providing guidance and resources, it becomes necessary to assign a meso level function to the individual school, and it is in this context that I understand the insights from the workplace described here as helpful for further developments. Yet a note of caution is appropriate: I want to avoid any impression of playing down the necessity of decisions on the macro level of education policy, which would articulate the legitimacy of multilingual pedagogies, and could initiate other developments, e. g. in teacher education and school development programmes. Similarly, at school level, decisions need to be made collectively to engage with approaches of multilingual pedagogies to facilitate developments in the classrooms. However, through a projective lens of agency, it can be useful to consider which roles in school could function as meso level actors; it is this question on which I will focus next.

In all three schools, the EAL coordinators combined their role with other positions in Early Years or Key Stage 1 (see p. 96). On the whole, their area of responsibility did not translate into multilingual activities in the classrooms. It could be suggested that this situation did not only result from what I have called 'EAL-discourse' (6.3) and 'symbolic multilingualism' (6.4), but also from the fact that EAL coordinators, who are responsible for the EAL domain across the whole school, are inevitably situated at a certain distance from the everyday workings of the numerous other classrooms. Against this background, I would like to mention two suggestions that emerge from the constellations around agency and workplace described above, and from a perspective – as argued for in 7.3 – that moves *explicitly* from seeing multilingual approaches as a temporary support for pupils who are at an early stage of learning English to pedagogical approaches which acknowledge, include, and harness the fact that many children are plurilingual speakers.

The first suggestion refers to the 'pedagogical space' described in primarily conceptual terms in 7.3. This space would need to be organized in such a way that class teachers can become sufficiently involved to feel ownership over their choices in their classrooms, while they are able to rely on their supportive professional relationships, similarly to what Ellie described in (295-296) *we make the decision what to do and how*. Arguably, under current conditions, the dilemma around the workload remains, and this needs to be clearly acknowledged in a study on teacher agency. A second suggestion is linked to the question how procedures for planning and realizing activities around multilingual pedagogies might be supported by roles in school and areas of responsibility. It might be worth considering the possibilities associated with roles, which are at the juncture of vertical and horizontal workplace relationships, as described by Ellie and Heather above. In my view, it would be desirable to assign an area of responsibility for multilingual pedagogies to a role that brings with it a closer

involvement in day-to-day practices and contents of the classroom than that of the EAL coordinator, drawing in a sense on Ellie's evaluation that ... *those leaders, they are not in class and they easily lose sight of people actually saying 'We need it now'...* (267-268). Thus, it would be useful to allocate a responsibility for multilingual pedagogies not only to EAL coordinators, but also to teachers who play a coordinating role within year groups or key stages and who are, importantly, still working in the classroom. In terms of agency, this suggestion follows the perspective of a *relational agency*, in which the individual's professional agency is enhanced by working "with others to expand the object that one is working on by bringing to bear the sense-making of others and to draw on the resources they offer when responding to that sense-making" (Edwards 2007: 4). It is desirable to establish a setting in which the capacities and knowledge of the EAL coordinators and year group or key stage leads could come together with the day-to-day knowledge of class teachers and their running of the classrooms.

I have described in 4.5 the roles of the five teachers in their schools, and above how Ellie's and Heather's roles enhance their agency beyond the classroom while their work remains embedded in the horizontal relationships with their colleagues. To complete this section, I want to add now very briefly the other three teachers' responses to the question regarding their scope. When asked about her influence, Hira laughs demonstratively (int. 27.6.2017, 212) before replying,

- 213 I just like to be happy go lucky, I just like to bring happiness to the
 214 children, just—not let things get down [...]
 223 [...] I think my scope is bringing life and being
 224 happy in school like-- bring a smile on the children's face, like you know

(ibid.)

Moreover, when asked about the kind of decisions she influences or makes, the teacher describes how she modifies the planning which they have agreed upon in their weekly year group meetings for the individual emergent bilinguals and the children with special educational needs in her class, "influencing in that way-- in decision-making with-- about the children's wellbeing-- obviously day-to-day-decisions" (ibid., 276-277). This description echoes Hira's emphasis on the small decisions that are required to ensure the everyday management of her complex classroom, and that forms an important aspect of her general teacher agency (see 5.2). Kelly replies to my question by referring to the informal level, "[t]here are certain people coming to me for advice how to do things but officially no one" (int. 7.12.2017, 455-456), and she describes how she has changed the Guided Reading approach in her class (see p. 160). Mike, finally, explains his role as assistant head who is responsible for 'Teaching and Learning': "So anything to do with what is going on in the classroom [...] across the school, marking, planning all the things that are connected with the classroom, teaching differentiation, reading" (int.

30.1.2017, 265-271). Unlike Eteläpelto, Vähäsantanen, and Hökkä, (2015), who focus on novice teachers, and Priestley, Biesta, and Robinson, who explicitly set out to involve “experienced and effective teachers” (2015: 14), I did not have influence on the final make-up of the group of participating teachers, and this is reflected in the range of roles they had taken on in their schools and what they perceived as their scope and influence.

8.2 “Knowing the children ...” – teachers’ professional subjectivities

I present now data around the five teachers’ professional subjectivities in order to make the teachers ‘audible’ with their professional values and investments and to provide in this way a backdrop for the last part of the chapter, where I report findings on how the teachers thematise multilingualism in school.

When asked about the priorities in their work, the five teachers mentioned a variety of aspects. The interview’s opening question – “Tell me a bit about what is important for you in your work, in your teaching, and your classroom practices” (int. Kelly, 29.11.2017, 80-81) – had the advantage that teachers could decide what to include without being directed towards certain aspects. It might seem a drawback that this was, as Kelly remarked, “really a massive question” (ibid., 82). However, my interest here is not a systematic understanding of teachers’ priorities, but an exploration of professional identities, values, and investments as current or potential points of reference for *teacher agency in multilingual pedagogies*. I have selected the following extracts by Kelly and Hira, as they feature aspects that were addressed by all teachers: (1) *the children’s learning experience*; (2) *the rapport with the children*; and (3) *the role of connections with the teachers’ own educational experiences*:

85 [...] I need to make sure that
 86 the children have understood the lesson-- have actually learnt something
 87 from every lesson [...] [*she gives the previous Maths lesson as example*]
 93 That is really important to make sure that the children really
 94 understand rather than just ploughing on [...]
 95 [...] and [that] the children enjoy learning. I really like learning
 96 stuff [...] I love learning things and
 97 I want the children to love learning. Having been either to other schools or
 98 having seen my children going to other schools, where it’s just the process
 99 they turn up there, have known something, and they go home. There
 100 is no real enjoyment from learning, no curiosity. [...]

102 [...] I want them to come away from here loving
 103 learning because I think if you go through all your primary years and they
 104 don't come out loving learning, it is very difficult to then to begin to go into all
 105 those subjects you learn in secondary school.

(interview Kelly 29.11.2017)

In (85-94), Kelly explains her responsibility for children's learning, which includes *that the children really understand rather than just ploughing on* (93-94), and she offers the example of the previous Maths lesson, which is also as an assertion of formative assessment, in line with Kelly's and Heather's routine to give feedback and mark towards the end of a lesson (e.g. fieldnotes Y 3/1 Bird Primary 20.11.2017, 133-134), before she points to the pupils' enjoyment of and love for learning (95 & 97). The teacher juxtaposes her view of a desirable learning experience on part of the children with her own current experiences of learning (95-96) and contrasts it with previous experiences both as teacher in another school and as mother (97-100). Kelly makes such connections in other interview sections as well, and here they are, in all likelihood, also implicitly part of her description of the primary school as the foundation for *loving learning* in (103-105).

Hira responded to the question about priorities of her work:

14 The children, first of all, that the children are having a safe environment like
 15 knowing that they can make mistakes [...]
 17 if they make a mistake that is not the problem, but the problem is, if you
 18 don't ask me and just sit there and carry on with your work. [...]
 19 [...] I want children to feel happy when they come to the
 20 classroom-- so when I see my room, I like all the work coloured and the deco-- [...]
 22 because I like children to feel happy and as a child,
 23 I can remember my primary school being very vibrant, and a happy face and
 24 the colours [...] [*she quotes a child comparing her colleague's room with hers*] So a safe
 30 stimulating environment-- enjoying the lessons like today say, I would like
 31 to have lessons like that every day you know when we have props out [referring to an RE lesson with
 many artefacts]
 224 [...] bring a smile on the children's face, like you know
 225 having this relationship with them because sometimes they might need to talk
 226 about something that they can't with their parents or that they need to tell
 227 someone. I want to build that rapport with them where you know it feels
 228 safe for them to speak about it

(interview Hira, 27.6.2017)

Similar to Kelly, Hira first addresses the children's learning process, and links it to the *safe environment* that she provides in her classroom (14-19), before mentioning the children's overall learning experience more explicitly: *I want children to feel happy when they come to the classroom* (19-20). She associates her way of designing this classroom with her own experience when she attended primary school (20-24), before taking up another aspect of the learning environment, the use of artefacts in the teaching/learning process (30-31). In the context of scope/influence (see p. 155), Hira restates her commitment to children's overall well-being in school (224, *bring a smile on the children's face*), linking it to her rapport with the children (225-228). I show below that the teachers mentioned the relationship with the children and 'knowing the children' from different angles. However, Hira's description illustrates specifically how this rapport can be interwoven with a concern for *the whole person of the students* (Biesta/Miedema 2002) – literally including their voice – in a classroom where, following her phrasing, *it feels safe for them to speak ...* (227-228).

The other teachers too addressed children's learning experience and the aspect of a rapport with them: "I wanted to-- I guess give back and make sure that children who might not be quite as privileged have really an exciting year in there in my class. [...] to make sure that every child first of all enjoys staying but also you are meant to acquire the skills required ..." (Mike, 30.1.2017, 9-13); "I always used to categorize teachers as always either being the fun ones which children enjoy spending time with, or the strict ones that wouldn't allow the child to move in their chair. But actually, you can do both. You can be strict [...], but you can also be fun and creative and interesting as well" (ibid., 35-39). This resonates, in my view, with what I have described as the active atmosphere which Mike creates in his writing lesson (see 5.2). Furthermore, he addresses 'knowing the children' as part of his professional competence: "It's knowing the kids, knowing the children, you know, if you know that someone is emotional then you are on the warn yet [...] there are children [...] if they are coming after a tough break time, I know I need to speak to them [...] they know that I am there for them" (ibid., 106-110).

What Mike described in the context of rapport to the pupils and the running of the classroom, is also mentioned by Ellie. When asked what would be important to her, she listed it first: "I would just say knowing the children like knowing them as individuals is really like something I really try to do [...] knowing them and also knowing their ability, so knowing where they are, you know, what we are aiming for, where we try to get them to" (8.2.2017, 8-19). While this has connotations of differentiation and data monitoring in line with Ellie's role described in 8.1, she takes also a broader perspective: "... generally just to listen to them, in the morning quite a few have things they just want to tell you [...] paying an interest, I think it is" (ibid., 31-37). This comes up again when Ellie described her experience as Brownie leader (Scouting/girls 7-10 yrs), a role she had started even before

becoming a teacher, and where she sees “some [who] are quite negative about it ‘oh we don’t like school’, ‘we don’t like this’, and I think through that sort of more relaxed sort of approach that I take to teaching [...] hopefully they are a bit more willing to come in-- and then they tell me about all sorts of things [...] important to them and they want to share it [...] making the effort to make time to listen to them” (ibid.: 114-120). This description is consistent with the data on the working consensus in Ellie’s class (see p. 5.2), while it also chimes with Hira’s account quoted before, in which she links her rapport with the children to her willingness to listen to them.

It is not the intention here to develop criteria of teachers’ identities or values. Yet, because those three aspects – children’s learning experience, teachers’ rapport with pupils, and teachers’ own educational experience – were addressed by all five teachers when talking about their values, I would like to suggest that it is helpful for the exploration of teacher agency in multilingual pedagogies to use them for questions of orientation along the following lines: *How might such pedagogies influence or change children’s experience in school? How might they influence or change teachers’ rapport with children? And how might multilingual pedagogies be linked to teachers’ own educational experiences?* I would argue that these questions are helpful for further reflections and attempts to thematise multilingual pedagogies in schools, because they can connect to the existing knowledge of teachers and what they experience as vital aspects of their professional identities.

Another feature that emerged, to various degrees, in the interviews is the connection that teachers saw to their own personal experiences or interests when describing choices and efforts to develop certain practices in school. This might best be understood as *personal experience and professional investment* – I use ‘investment’ here not as ‘functional for’, say, moving up the workplace hierarchy, but in the sense that those choices require a conscious and agentic decision on routines or practices, and it is for that reason that I see this aspect as relevant for teacher agency. Mike’s personal interest in writing and his practice of teaching it, as well as Ellie’s experience from her work with the Girl Guides and the connection she makes to her working consensus reported above, are cases in point. I want to illustrate this aspect further with excerpts from Kelly’s interview:

164 my parents weren’t encouraging for me, they even didn’t go to parents
 165 evenings and they had no idea what I was in for GCSE [...]

176 [...] and I always say, ‘I would like you to talk to your
 177 children about what they have read and about what they do. My parents
 178 never did that with me [...]

180 [...] I want to support the children that I teach as much as

181 possible. I think that they need to be encouraged in what they
 182 are interested in no matter what it is, quirky little things [...]

(interview Kelly, 29.11.2017)

Kelly links her experience as a student (164-165) to how she addresses her pupils' parents (176-177), before contrasting this once more with her own experience (177-178). The teacher argues then for a broader perspective that pays attention to children's interests (180-182), and elsewhere she reiterates the importance of such an encouragement and her personal experience: "so I wasn't ever encouraged and I think because of that, I never lived a risk" (194-195). Arguably, there can be many aspects involved here, but the significance for teacher agency lies in the link itself, i.e. in the fact that the personal experience of the teacher functions as an important point of reference for her pedagogical perspective and professional practice.

Furthermore, Kelly, who had stated "I am really into reading books" (int. 29.11.2017, 202), described her interest in looking at research articles published by Ofsted or TES: "I read all that and then I am like 'I want to do this Guided Reading thing' [working on one book], this is great and I like to try new things out" (ibid., 365-367). She critiqued the traditional carousel model because of its practicalities and because it disadvantages pupils whose reading skills prevent them, in this arrangement, from a more profound reading experience (ibid., 373-377 & 389-408), and she described how her initiative merged with an idea put forward by the headteacher (int. 7.12.2017¹², 456-459). When Mike describes how he is responsible, together with the deputy head, for rolling out the new Guided Reading approach in school, he also refers to his personal experience: "I am extremely passionate about this because I never really understood reading until I was fifteen, sixteen" (int. 20.3.2017, 40-42). Working in different roles as class teacher and assistant head respectively, Kelly and Mike can both resort to their professional investment to the official debate about teaching reading that provides legitimacy for the transformed practice. In this respect, Guided Reading differs considerably from the domain of multilingual pedagogies. The point to make, however, is that both teachers mentioned their personal experience in the context of their investment. This is explicit in Mike's case (40-41, *I am extremely passionate...*), whereas Kelly, who refers to her reading experiences several times as an aspect that is very important to her, contrasts this with her general experience as a student: "had I actually been encouraged, I don't know, how to read a book when I was a child [...], I would've discovered to do that [to feel the pleasure *and* to state a passion confidently]" (int. 29.11.2017, 213-215).

Links between personal experience and professional investment are, in all probability, multifaceted and not linear. Talking about her own memories of primary school and juxtaposing e.g. Maths lessons

¹² The first interview had been interrupted and reassumed the following week.

with work in projects, Ellie said: “it is good, isn’t it, to be reflective of what you experienced, how you felt about it and how you would like-- what changes I wanna make, delivering some other things to them” (int. 8.2.2017, 147-149). Thus, for an exploration of teacher agency, the link between the teachers’ personal experiences and professional investments might be best understood, if those experiences are seen as a kind of *potential or possible resource* for influencing routines, making choices, and taking stances on one’s work and role. Phrasing this as an additional question of orientation, it could be asked: *How can teachers’ personal experiences become a resource for multilingual pedagogies?*

8.3 Language experiences and reflexivity – facets of teachers’ positions

I would like to bring now the element of teachers’ subjectivities closer to the field of multilingualism. I do *not* intend, however, to make linear connections between aspects of teachers’ subjectivities and practices of multilingual pedagogies. Given the absence of curriculum guidance, the dominance of the EAL discourse, and the general situation of the workplace school, the space where teacher agency for multilingual pedagogies can be achieved must be seen as significantly limited. Yet as shown in 6.3, the teachers mentioned their own language experiences when talking about the fact that many pupils were multilingual, and the following data allows for another exploration of ‘small spaces’, this time to identify facets of teachers’ language experiences that might be relevant for achieving – or not achieving – agency in multilingual pedagogies. Moreover, it is useful to look at the following extracts from Mike, Hira, and Heather’s interviews in terms of how the teachers thematise multilingualism, and how this may point to different ways in which their experiences are positioned in relation to society’s linguistic power relations.

448 it is completely inspiring for me to stand there and to realize that these children
 449 have two and three and four languages [...] I am
 450 jealous and there is a fair amount of admiration there. I think probably, at the
 451 start of my career I had no idea, I came from a very sheltered background
 452 where no one spoke another language. And when you are thrust into an Inner
 453 London City primary school and you are suddenly exposed to all these
 454 different languages [...]
 455 for me it was like ‘wow’, quite shocking to start
 456 with. But now, ya, I think just now-- I don’t even notice right now. I obviously
 457 try and ensure that there is enough provision for the children who are
 458 struggling [...]

(interview Mike, 30.1.2017)

When asked whether his perspectives on multilingual children have changed over time, Mike repeats his description quoted in 6.3 (p. 99), choosing the same picture (448-449, *completely inspiring for me to stand there ...*). His choice of emotional language (449-450, *I am jealous and there is a fair amount of admiration there*) indicates his own language experience. He also mentions two juxtapositions: first, his own family socialisation, where *no one spoke another language* (452), contrasting it with the moment he was *thrust into an Inner London City primary school...* (452-454). This experience, nine years ago, is then contrasted with *just now-- I don't even notice right now* (456), before Mike makes – in (456) – again a transition to children's EAL learning needs, analysed above as characteristic for the 'EAL discourse'. The teacher describes his experiences in the ways he chooses. Yet I would argue that, in conjunction with the fact quoted earlier that Mike does not know which languages his pupils speak (p. 100), this description of 'being inspired' by the children's multilingualism appears to confirm the power differential between teacher and plurilingual pupils. In fact, Mike's formulations, intensified by descriptions of distance – *when I am standing there and there are --...* (p. 99, 291-295) and *for me to stand there* (448) – seem to highlight and to reproduce, or at least not to go beyond, the dividing line that exists in the classroom between the official English language and the children's plurilingual repertoires. From this angle, the mere acknowledgement of the fact that children speak more than one language does not result in what has been portrayed in work on the concept of 'lived experience of language' as a shift from a third-person to a first-person perspective (e.g. Busch 2015), and within 'translanguaging' theory as taking the perspective of bilingual speakers themselves (García/Kleyn 2016b: 12). In another passage, this limitation becomes noticeable when Mike is asked about instances in which he would acknowledge the children's multilingualism:

153 [...] I never got to the point where I could
 154 enthusiastically commit to another language, I don't know, I wished I would
 155 have would have. Yeah, so I mention that the whole time to the children the
 156 fact that out of my two regrets the language thing is my most pertinent
 157 regret I have. [...] I hope they, they take it on board
 158 I think if the teacher speaks candidly like that and almost like in a personal way
 159 I think the children do take that on board and they do notice that.
 160 So hopefully that raises the profile of learning another language in the school--
 161 which yeah they all, they all have their languages anyway. So I think they do
 162 get some element of esteem, self-esteem from the fact that I'm standing there
 163 as an adult saying (*laughs*) 'I wish, I wish I could...' [...]

(interview Mike 20.3.2017)

Mike described that he had learnt some French, but *never got to the point...* (153-154) of experiencing this as successful. The teacher explains then how he expresses his regrets and tells the pupils about

his language experience *candidly like that and almost like in a personal way* (158). In (160), he links multilingualism to foreign language learning: *So hopefully that raises the profile of learning another language in the school*. This is followed – and it could be argued, almost as an afterthought – by a mention of the children’s multilingualism in (161), *they all have their languages anyway*. Finally, the teacher returns to his initial image (162-163, *the fact that I am standing there...*), and connects this with children’s self-esteem due to being multilingual while their teacher points out his monolingualism.

I argued above that Mike’s way to thematise multilingualism reproduces – somewhat paradoxically because the teacher wants to express his admiration for those repertoires – the dividing line between the classroom’s official English and the children’s plurilingual repertoires, which needs to be seen as a central element of the monolingual norm. However, there also apparently exists a paradox in the second extract: Mike emphasises his own language experience vis-à-vis his multilingual pupils, yet his principal point of reference for acknowledging multilingualism, as this had been the question, appears to be foreign language learning in school. In my view, this might be best understood as resulting from his own language experience and from the monolingual lens that stems from this experience, as well as the norm in school. Mike’s extract, therefore, helps to understand how his own language experiences and the monolingual lens in the classroom can become interrelated. As highlighted above, it cannot be the aim to analyse this to identify linear connections between a teacher’s language experiences and practices around multilingual pedagogies. Yet, for conceptualizing teacher agency, and specifically for the question of how teachers’ experiences and attitudes might (or might not) function as affordances in this pedagogic domain, it is useful to see a teacher’s particular experience around languages as relevant to the perspective from which she or he participates in the nexus of the three aspects that have been outlined in 3.1.1 as important for the school as a place for multilingual pedagogies. That is, the data presented here would suggest that the teacher brings his own language experience into the constellation around multilingualism in school, when negotiations about meanings of repertoires and ideologies take place. Therefore, I would like to argue that, on the one hand, Mike expresses in (456), *I don’t even notice right now*, the fact that teaching of multilingual children represents a normalcy of everyday routines for him. On the other hand, this phrasing epitomizes a status quo, where the monolingual norm has become dominant and operates by hiding its own processes (see 7.1). Exploring the teacher’s positioning and how it is linked to his language experiences within the status quo of the school, highlights the dilemma and inconsistency of a dominant monolingual position that expresses admiration for plurilingual children while simultaneously lacking the knowledge of which languages they speak.

The following extracts point to Hira's experiences and can also be read with a view to the *teacher's language experiences and agency* as well as to her *positionality around multilingualism*. When asked about biographical or professional information, Hira said that she had always lived in London,

83 [...] it gives me an edge on the children because
 84 I understand their background because also I also come-- I come from a similar
 85 background to the kids, so they can relate to me in many aspects and I think
 86 also the fact that I am [...]
 87 quite young. I can relate to them further [...] I know the
 88 latest things and they know the latest things, so in that sense [...]
 89 they can relate to me when speaking about things. It is easier to build
 90 some rapport sometimes if you have things in common with the children. And
 91 I think I have that. [...]

(interview Hira 27.6.2017)

Hira describes it as beneficial for her work that she is familiar with the background of many children (84-85, *I understand their background because...*), and sees this identification as a mutual process (85, *so they can relate to me in many aspects*; 87, *I can relate to them further*), linking it to her theme of 'rapport with the children' referred to before (p. 156). She mentions her familiarity with youth and popular culture as another aspect that she has in common with her students: *I know the latest things...* (87-89). Her phrasing in (90), *if you have things in common with the children...*, can be seen then as summarizing this passage, where some 'things' are '*many aspects*' of a '*similar background*' and some are '*the latest things*'. Being asked what she means by 'background', Hira continues:

94 Like where I come from. Not from a rich family, you know, I am coming from
 95 an Asian background growing up with an-- the customs that children have now
 96 that was what my parents were like-- not having like, for example, the
 97 bedtime stories, in our culture that is not a big thing [...]
 98 [...] I never had that, it
 99 is not in my culture. So it is not that I missed out on these things, it's just that
 100 it didn't happen [...] I am not from
 101 a particularly rich family, just working class, so I have all of those experiences
 102 and obviously, being at school as a working-class child that is what most of
 103 my children are in the classroom, their parents are working class.

(ibid.)

The teacher refers to the socio-economic situation of her own family and to *an Asian*¹³ *background*, and she identifies with the children who would have the same customs as she had in her socialisation (94-95). As an example of such customs, Hira mentions the absence of bedtime stories (96-101), before returning more explicitly to the issue of class (102). In this regard too, she expresses her identification with her pupils, *so I have all of those experiences...* (102-104). Of course, these extracts include issues that would have benefited from more probing in the interview. Yet it seems useful nonetheless to draw attention to three aspects: first, the teacher mentions multiple identifications, and describes her own and the children's background in terms of intersectionality, featuring aspects of class and ethnicity. Second, there might be various reasons for Hira's choice to illustrate 'customs' with an *absence* of bedtime stories. However, it is noteworthy that she follows the dominant paradigm of early literacy which understands the home story-reading (with a 'good book') experience as vital precondition for future school success (see p. 20). Although Hira highlights her personal experience in (100-101), *it is not that I missed out on these things, it's just that it didn't happen*, it might be seen as relevant that – speaking as teacher – she does not acknowledge other practices, i.e. what *did* happen. And third, she does not mention her linguistic resources at this point in her description of what she sees as a background shared with her pupils.

The context in which Hira eventually does refer to her own bilingualism is, in my view, instructive, although I want to be cautious and avoid overstating this observation. Picking up on the issue of the families' economic situation, where Hira mentioned the unemployment of many parents (27.6.2017, 104-106), I asked whether children would tell her if, say, their father had lost his job.

111 [...] a big thing like that they would tell me, they
 112 would. Just as a conversation because they would trust me with that. And also
 113 I have-- because I can speak another language and most of my parents are of--
 114 have a language that I can speak. So I can communicate with them even if
 115 they can't speak English, but I can communicate with them to help their
 116 children out, you know, explain to them things that they wouldn't understand
 117 in English [...] ¹⁴
 126 [...] once I have this relationship with the parents-- so it's easy
 127 for me to influence them and what they do with the child at home. So I think
 128 that gives me quite an edge.

(interview Hira, 27.6.2017)

¹³ 'Asian/Asian British' is one of the five in England officially recommended broad ethnic groups (www.gov.uk, last accessed 2.9.2020).

¹⁴ Hira refers to Bengali, i.e. 'most' is not used literally here as Bengali-speaking children represented about a third of her class.

All teachers pointed in various moments to the importance of a good contact with the children's parents. In (111-114), Hira brings together conversations with the children, the trust stemming from her rapport with them and her relationship to their parents. She describes her Bengali language as important for talking to parents with the aim to support children's learning (115-116, *to help their children out ...*), and the relationship with the parents as a precondition for what she calls her ability *to influence them and what they do with the child at home* (127). Foremost, her Bengali becomes relevant here as a resource for conversations with parents, and thus as enhancing Hira's general teacher agency, when she decides to address certain issues with them. Hira's wording, however, may indicate a somewhat unidirectional perspective in such conversations: *influence them...* (127), or, when she asserts in the context of children reading books and books being read to them: "we always emphasise that reading is the key, key, key, key thing because the vocabulary they lack it, and where do they get the vocabulary from? [...] So reading is very important, but it is jus-- it is just educating the parents. Sometimes that's just all because they probably-- like my parents back in the days they probably don't see the benefit of a story. [...] So when it comes to SATs in Year 6, they can answer the questions. What is holding them back, is the vocabulary, they don't understand sometimes, because they never had those words" (int. Hira, 27.6.2017, 137-152). While Hira's knowledge and use of Bengali enhances her general agency in the interaction with parents, her reference to the centralized national curriculum assessment (SATs) indicates the constraints of the education policy under which EAL discourse and monolingual norm operate and which ultimately frames the teacher's work.

After Hira mentioned the problem of the jam-packed curriculum (see p. 150), I asked whether she would like to do something with the languages the children speak:

573 *(with emphasis)* Yeah, I would love to do things
 574 like that. [...] I'd love to-- like have a day where maybe all you can
 575 teach them is Lithua-- Romanian, then another child could teach them and
 576 we all could learn. I think it would be a really, really nice environment because--
 577 and give them a chance, you know, show something-- show a part of them
 578 because that [...] language is part of them. So it's a kind of
 579 being proud as well, you know, I can speak another language is really
 580 important. [...] we are lucky that we can speak two languages [...]

(ibid.)

Hira stresses the wish to include the children's languages, suggesting a setting where pupils would teach each other (573-576). Although it might be modelled on the 'Language of the Month' (see 6.2), she does not mention this as a reference. Instead, she foregrounds the interactive aspect and by 'we' appears to include herself in the setting: *we all could learn* (576). In (576), Hira links the envisioned

setting to the theme of a 'safe stimulating environment', which had emerged before when she talked about professional priorities (see p. 157). However, I have selected this extract because of the teacher's reasoning: in (577), *and give them a chance, ... show a part of them*, she points to the perspective of the child as a bilingual speaker and reinforces this angle in the following lines. I would argue that Hira's identification with the experience of bilingual children becomes evident in *language is part of them. So it's a kind of being proud as well and I can speak another language is really important. [...] we are, we are lucky that we can speak two languages* (578-580). The change of pronouns from the third person 'them' to the first person 'I' and 'we' might be seen as referring to the pupils in her class as much as to the teacher herself. When asked what she means by 'it's part of them', Hira explains:

588 [...] it makes them them, it is part of
 589 them. Like I would say a part of me is being Bengali and, you know, I wouldn't
 590 just say, I am British, I would say I am Ben-- I am Bangladeshi-British because
 591 that's my language and that is my culture [...]

593 I am sure, obviously all of them-- that's part of them. And if we speak at home
 594 we speak you know our language and that is a kind of telling them you know
 595 it's okay, you kind of don't mind, it's home and school together. So that is part
 596 of what makes them who they are. [...] I am
 597 sure if you asked them who they are, they would say I can speak English, I can
 598 speak Romanian that's what they would do [...]

(ibid.)

The teacher indicates her own experience in *Like I would say a part of me is being Bengali* (589). Then she explains this further but modifies the frame of reference from what might be seen as cultural and linguistic identifications ('Bengali') to an identification that draws chiefly on 'nations' (Bangladeshi-British): *I would say I am Ben-- I am Bangladeshi-British because that's my language and that's my culture* (590-591). What looks like a slip of the tongue – which, of course, it could be – can also be understood as indicative of how, in society's discourses, 'language', 'culture' and 'nation' reference each other in variable and often contested ways. Thus, it is helpful to draw attention to three related aspects, which the teacher mentions implicitly in those short passages: first, she evokes how *language and culture are interwoven* in the general and educationally relevant sense that by learning a language in the interaction with others, the child enters "the linguistic community – and, at the same time, the culture to which the language gives access" (Bruner 1983: 19). Second, the passage suggests *a network of multiple identifications*. Hira formulates her cultural and linguistic identifications (590, *I would say...*), while there appears to remain a certain friction when she corrects herself to 'Bangladeshi-

British'. 'Bangladeshi' is the officially used term within the 'broad ethnic group' of 'Asian/Asian British', that is chiefly subdivided on the basis of nation states. It could be said that the episode sheds light on the processes by which "the dialogic relationship between language and ethnic identity is (re)produced, contested or modified" (Lytra 2016: 135). But it also shows how the teacher articulates and claims her ownership over what it means for her to be a bilingual speaker. Third, the extract speaks of an *awareness* that such *processes around what it means to speak a language* take place and that they are potentially intertwined with questions of belonging. These three facets go beyond the mere fact that the teacher speaks Bengali and English and can be seen as expressing experiences of 'being bilingual', which enable Hira to advocate the perspective of pupils as *plurilingual speakers*. I would suggest that the *normalcy* which the teacher emphasises when returning to her previous assertion that children's languages and bilingualism are *part of them* (593), *part of what makes them who they are* (595-596), and the emphasis she puts in her repetition *if you asked them who they are ...* (597-598), chimes with my conclusion from the participant activities about the normalcy of children's plurilingualism (see p. 138-140). On the whole, I would argue that Hira stated her own bilingualism confidently and also described the normalcy of her plurilingual experience in school when asked about using Bengali with other teachers: "Yes, yeah (*laughs*)" – *Why is that? – "I don't know, they obviously know the same language, so we have-- we joke in that language and [...] it's mixed, it's not just Bengali, it's mixed, I mix up English and Bengali all the time"* (int. Hira 14.7.2017, 183-187).

Finally, I would like to look at another part of the last extract: *And if we speak at home we speak you know our language and that is a kind of telling them you know it's okay, you kind of don't mind, it's home and school together* (593-595). In my understanding, the wording acknowledges the languages spoken at home in a somehow guarded way (595, *it's okay, you kind of don't mind*), before stating the educational maxim *it's home and school together*. I do not want to overinterpret this small passage, but I would argue that the apparent ambivalence bears a resemblance to what I interpreted before as a unidirectional perspective in the way Hira spoke about her conversations with parents, when she foregrounded the possibility to *influence them and what they do with their child at home* (see p. 165, 127). Therefore, this passage does not need to be considered as contradicting Hira's perspective on the children as plurilingual speakers but might be perceived as simply expressing her awareness or a realistic evaluation of the classroom's monolingual prevalence, which she had described before (see 6.1, p. 91). From this angle, Hira's extracts complement her previous description that she would sometimes speak with a newly arrived pupil in Bengali but would not use it otherwise around learning activities. Thus her position can be seen as in line with observations in intervention studies, where bilingual, Bengali-speaking teachers needed support to involve those language resources in the classroom (Kenner et al. 2008), or did not draw on them in other activities with a child (Ruby 2017:

116). Given the absence of a pedagogical framework, it does not come as a surprise that Hira's language experiences and her resulting positionality alone do not translate into multilingual approaches or decisions of what to do 'strategically' with the children's non-English languages, as argued in the context of Ellie's classroom.

I would like to emphasise the importance of eschewing any deterministic understanding, when including teacher's language experiences and their positions in relation to society's linguistic power relations within an exploration of teacher agency in multilingual pedagogies. Yet, Hira's extracts illustrate that her experiences enable her to articulate the perspective of the children as *plurilingual speakers* and to attribute normalcy to them. Therefore, I would like to argue that the teacher's own language experiences can offer a different starting point for participating in the school's nexus around multilingualism, while the institutional context – the curricular status quo, the EAL discourse, and the monolingual norm – sets robust limitations for achieving more agency.

At the end of this section, I would like to present passages from the interviews with Heather, whose own language experiences differ considerably from Hira's. Heather describes her own schooling in a village where "everyone spoke English. Just a really white British school" (int. 12.1.2018, 532-533). I have already shown in 6.1 how the teacher reflects on the tension that she talks with her pupils about their languages but does not make their voices heard (see p. 91-92), and in 7.1 I mentioned how she addresses the fact that two pupils had not included their reading in other languages than English in the 'River of Reading' homework (see p. 124-125). Now I will present passages, in which she offers further reflective perspectives. The extract is from the same part of the interview that was presented in 6.1, where Heather describes her insights into the families' linguistic situations:

438 [...] I am aware because as teachers we have to know everything about
 439 each child and then, language-wise, I mean children tell me [...]
 445 I talk with them about their lives and
 446 the different languages they speak and the countries they visit and their
 447 families. And I do ask 'Do you speak to your...?' Like 'Can you communicate
 448 with your nan?' Because personally my friend is-- her dad is Italian, her mum is
 449 English and she never learnt Italian and she cannot communicate with her
 450 grandparents. [...]

(interview Heather 16.3.2018)

The teacher describes her knowledge about the children's linguistic repertoires as part of her task of being a teacher (438-439). As in the lines quoted in 6.1, she includes here the perspective of the children and mentions the experience of a friend as a personal motivation that underscores this angle.

Heather also explains that occasionally she would become aware of more details of a family's linguistic repertoire, and illustrates this with the example of Khalid's family where "his mum is fluent in five different languages and so is his older brother" (int. 12.1.2018, 406-407). Khalid is the boy quoted in 7.2 as saying that he speaks Italian and English all the time at home; the other languages of his mother are Berber, Arabic, and French (this is mentioned here because Heather will return to this later). However, the teacher contrasts the situation of this family, which she sees as confidently living their plurilingualism, with other children in school and explains the circumstances of newly arrived families: "their parents speak their home language but then they bring them here and put them in an English-speaking school, the parents then feel like they have to speak English to their children which they absolutely don't" (ibid., 411-413). Heather describes the approach of her school to encourage these parents to speak their home languages, pointing out that it would not support the children's English learning if the parents cannot be role models (ibid., 415-421). I asked the teacher where, in her view, this coercion would derive from,

431 I don't think it is from school. I think it is from thinking that they are in an
 432 English-speaking country so they have to fit in or speak that language. That is
 433 what I have observed because when we say to them 'Please, please continue
 434 to speak your home language!', then 'Oh, okay...' And then like-- so they are a
 435 sort of shocked that you are encouraging-- I think they just think from society
 436 that they have to not speak their language [...]

(ibid.)

I would like to argue that the teacher thematises linguistic power relations in this extract, although she does not use such a term. Moreover, it appears instructive for understanding Heather's reflexivity that she links her observation from conversations with parents to her assessment of the discourse of assimilation (431-432, *from thinking that they are...*; 435, *they just think from society...*). In the second interview, the teacher addresses more directly society's dominant discourse that associates monolingualism with assimilation, i.e. with a concept that in itself articulates power relations.

551 [...] I do think there is that sort of
 552 divide. But I think we should encourage different languages-- I do feel like
 553 it's really, I don't know, if the right word is-- like racist-- is it racist if you are like
 554 'This is an English-speaking country, you should be speaking English'?

560 [...] I think in Britain, we are like (*imitating aggressive intonation*) 'Why
 561 don't they speak English?' And I think that does divide because-- and specially,
 562 I see the parents, they are quite vulnerable and then they might think, they

563 are doing the wrong thing by talking in their home language. [...]
 565 And also why should they not-- it is
 566 their culture [...]

(interview Heather 16.3.2018)

The teacher explicitly distances herself from what she considers a divisive discourse (552, *But I think...*). Remaining a bit cautious about naming the power relation inherent to this discourse (553, *I don't know, if the right word is-- like racist...*), Heather links her stance again to her interactions with parents, problematising the pressure they feel vis-à-vis this discourse and empathising with their uncertainty about how best to support their children (562, *I see the parents, they are quite vulnerable...*). In (565-566) she returns to the parents' right to speak their home language and uses the term 'culture' in response to the discourse of assimilation. Heather also mentions Khalid's mother, again recalling that the parent perceived English as the 'weakest' language in her repertoire and spoke with her about situations of communication with other teachers some years ago, in which she had felt as not been taken seriously because of her English. In such situations, Khalid's mother had turned to two teachers who spoke French. In a different context, this account would clearly deserve an exploration in its own right. Here, I want to argue that it illustrates how the teacher, in her reflections, combines insights from her professional experiences with the children and perceptions from her interactions with parents. Importantly, the extracts reported in this section chime with the reflexivity Heather showed previously in interview passages, in which she attempted to see certain situations from the plurilingual children's perspective (see pp. 92 & 123-124). In her reflection and critique of the linguistic power relations to which the parents are subjected, Heather strives – just as in the earlier extracts – to see the constellations from the perspective of plurilingual speakers. In this sense, the interview passages reported here confirm the relevance of the teacher's reflexivity as an important precondition for the achievement of agency in multilingual pedagogies.

Chapter 8 shows the workplace school as a context for teacher agency that is considerably framed by the everyday workload and the time constraints of the curriculum, resulting in 'two poles' of teacher agency: it can manifest itself in the maintenance of current practices, and in making choices for changing them. The findings have also confirmed the educators' supportive relationships among their colleagues as an important aspect of their general teacher agency (see also Priestley et al. 2015: 103). I have proposed to assign a responsibility for multilingual pedagogies not only to EAL coordinators but to roles with a coordinating brief more closely linked to the everyday classroom, such as year group

or key stage leaders. The aspects mentioned by all five teachers regarding their professional values and priorities have been translated into four questions of orientation that can help, in schools, to thematise and reflect on multilingual pedagogies, thus *potentially facilitating* teacher agency in this domain. The different ways in which the teachers thematised their own language experiences when talking about their pupils' multilingualism provide a further aspect that *potentially facilitates* this agency. Yet, it is important how those experiences are included in the overall exploration. In fact, the experiences described by the teachers differed considerably, and I have suggested that the teachers' own language experiences provide various different points of departure for their participation in the school's nexus around multilingualism. This underscores that it is vital, when addressing agency, to consider experiences without assigning an essentialising status to them. While the teachers have various language experiences and different positions in relation to the linguistic power relations operating in society and school, it is not only or not necessarily the language experience that *potentially facilitates* teacher agency in multilingual pedagogies but rather the reflexive stance teachers take vis-à-vis multilingualism and their own positionality.

9. Multilingual pedagogies – towards possibilities in the classrooms

To investigate now in more detail possibilities of multilingual pedagogies, I draw in the first part of this chapter mainly on the teacher interviews, returning to the ‘pedagogical space’ that I see as both conceptual and concrete/practical. As described in 7.3, this space would need to be flexible enough to connect to ‘small’ spaces of teachers’ decisions and classroom routines, and systematic enough to provide a frame of reference for decisions and developments. In the second part, I present findings from the second participatory activities that show how the pupils’ and teachers’ experiences could come together when further developing multilingual pedagogies in the classroom. Overall, the chapter refers to the research questions that ask how possibilities of multilingual pedagogies can emerge in mainstream primary schools, and how teacher agency can be enhanced and achieved in this regard.

9.1 “And perhaps, if we had a bit more time, we would be a bit more creative” – teachers’ views on possibilities’

I have selected the following extracts to form a sequence that leads from more conceptual to more practical orientations, i.e. from a focus on teachers’ *pedagogical motivation*, via their *ideas* to the question of helpful *resources*. Aspects of parents’ involvement and children’s plurilingual literacy skills are also thematised. The data address possibilities as they emerged from the interviews, and while I used formulations like “sort of letting the educational imagination flow” (int. Ellie, 24.3.2017, 210) to indicate the projective dimension, these interview parts did not relate to a fictitious space but rather to the teachers’ specific classrooms. The approach taken here is based on the assumption that ‘small’ choices and decisions are part of teachers’ general agency, as suggested in chapter 5.

Pedagogical motivation

I have chosen extracts from Ellie, because they can be linked to the episodes and themes reported previously and refer to both pupils new to English and other plurilingual children. As quoted in 6.1, Ellie said, “I don’t think we encourage the use of their home language” (int. 24.3.2017, 245), and I asked, whether she would like to do so:

248 Yeah, I think it would be good. I think, personally, probably why I don’t do it,
249 is because you don’t have a clue about what they are saying. [...]
250 then they might not be speaking about what
251 they are supposed to be speaking about. And how do you assess what they
252 have done because you don’t know what it says? Ahm like with Adriana and

- 253 Sonia-- I got them to write in their home language when they first came.
 254 I didn't have a clue what it says (*laughs*) but they wrote a whole page in
 255 Romanian but I didn't know what it says. So I think it would be nice.

(interview Ellie, 24.3.2017)

Firstly, acknowledging that such encouragement *would be good* (248), Ellie gives in (248-252) the lack of control of children's talk and of the chance to assess their work as reasons why she does not encourage the use of pupils' non-English repertoires. This appears to contradict her working consensus, which is based chiefly on trust (*if you listen to them, they are talking about the work in most cases*; 8.2.2017, 68; see p. 72) and, to a smaller degree, on control (*if people are talking about what they had for dinner ... they do need to go and turn their cards*; *ibid.*, 82-84, see p. 72-73). In fact, this contradiction can be seen itself as a manifestation of the strength of the monolingual norm: the consensus – pupils may talk with each other during phases of individual work – is overridden by the rule that this needs to be done in English. Although the teacher is, in all likelihood, aware that children talk sometimes about not-task-related issues, she describes her lack of control over conversations in another language as a concern that prevents her from encouraging pupils to use their whole language repertoire. Yet, in (252-255), Ellie returns to an occasion she had mentioned in the first interview, where she had asked Adriana and Sonia to write

- 645 the story in Romanian at the beginning of the year [...]
 646 they only did it for a couple of lessons because
 647 I just felt they needed that time to show what they can do [...]
 650 Bianca could read it, she read it through and said, generally it's okay
 653 [...] And you can see their frustration, you
 654 know, 'We don't understand, what they are saying'. So it was quite
 655 draining really for them and when they read their story then, 'We can do it.'

(interview Ellie, 8.2.2017)

Ellie pursued here a certain pedagogical goal when encouraging the use of Romanian, giving the children the chance *to show what they can do* (647). In the first extract, however, she does not really explain why she deems it valuable to include the home language. Instead, she foregrounds at the end once again the challenge she faced (254, *I didn't have a clue what it says*), and her laugh may indicate some uncertainty or self-irony provoked by the fact that the usual power differential between teacher and pupils is questioned by suspending the monolingual norm. On the whole, I would suggest that Ellie points implicitly to the aspect of pupils' *empowerment* as a rationale for encouraging the use of their first language. Yet, she considers this empowerment on the general level of Adriana's and Sonia's well-being in their new class rather than within a teaching/learning design which enables pupils to

make links between languages or to use their existing skills for more independent learning. Consequently, the use of Adriana's and Sonia's – and also Bianca's – Romanian for learning purposes is not followed up.

When asked about her pedagogical motivation to include other languages, Ellie mentions another group of pupils:

271 I think just seeing a different side of them, you don't-- particularly with those
 272 girls, Tatjana and Bisera and Maria, you wouldn't know they spoke a
 273 different language. If you spoke to them, you wouldn't necessarily even know
 274 they were from a different country, properly think they were English. But actually
 275 when you hear them-- and they were chatting away-- 'Wow', I didn't realize that they--
 276 You know, you just don't assume that. Obviously, they speak like that at home
 277 but in the classroom-- and they were just talking, I think it was at playtime,
 278 they were chatting away in Lithuanian and I, 'Oh my goodness!'. And they went
 279 like, 'What?!' – 'I never heard you speak like that!' So I think it's quite
 280 nice to see the other side of them. [...]

(interview Ellie, 24.3.2017)

Ellie's main point *just seeing a different side of them* (271) resembles Hira's phrase 'it is part of them' (see p. 167) and asserts the pedagogical motivation to include the 'whole child'. Yet, her recollection of the encounter on the playground can be seen as almost epitomising the ideological hurdle that multilingual pedagogies face. In (272-273), *you wouldn't know they spoke a different language*, the teacher's description follows the monolingual logic that multilingualism would always be audible as an accent in English – an assumption that is inevitably based on a distinction between a first and a second language, even when, for many children, this distinction has ceased to be meaningful. Ellie's next clarification, *you wouldn't necessarily even know they were from a different country, properly think they were English* (273-274) hints not only at the fact that the topic of 'accent' has an ideological value in society's (linguistic) power relations. It also shows that the meaning of speaking a certain (i.e. coded) language is closely bound up, in many (Western) states, with the concept of nation, and therefore by extension with immigration. This, of course, is the constellation that Bianca appeared to negotiate when she highlighted that she was born in England (see p. 135). Here, however, the passage (271-281) stands for 'possibilities', because it shows, in my view, the potential for a 'pedagogical space' in the sense outlined in 7.3, where I suggested that the creation of opportunities for children and teachers to explore multilingualism needs to be a constitutive element of multilingual pedagogies. From this angle, the encounter, which Ellie retells vividly as a kind of 'dialogue of astonishments' – her own surprise that *they were chatting away* (278) and the children's astonishment about their teacher's

reaction (279) – could be understood and used as such an opportunity, leading to questions such as: ‘Do we want our teacher to know more about our language (practices)?’ or ‘How would such knowledge, on my part as teacher, change something in the classroom?’ Finally, both the playground situation and Ellie’s way of describing it illustrate how helpful the lens of ‘voices being heard’ is for a reflection of a ‘whole child’ perspective. In her retelling, the children’s voices are literally heard and experienced by the teacher as voices of plurilingual children.

Mike who had already mentioned self-esteem in the context of pupils’ multilingualism (see 8.3, p. 162-163) hinted at a similar ‘whole child’ perspective, when I asked whether he could see ways to link pupils’ other languages to their learning, after having told him how Brayden had expressed in the participatory activities his wish to learn about Vietnamese or Chinese medicine (act. 2, Castle Y 5, 13.3.2017, 155-156). The teacher highlighted the pressure he feels to meet the targets, which would not leave room to include other languages, at least not in English (int. 20.3.2017, 296-299), and he continues

302 [...] it is self-esteem. I can tell with Brayden, you
 303 know, he needs that I guess to talk about how he uses languages. And
 304 even the fact that he speaks another language is a massively important thing
 305 for him [...]
 308 yeah he gives some very articulate answers and some quite
 309 ambitious answers [...]

(ibid.)

This might look like contradicting what I described earlier as Mike’s tendency to merely acknowledge pupils’ multilingualism without considering the standpoint of the child as a bilingual speaker. However, as noted in 8.3, it is not apt to assume linear connections between the monolingual status quo, a teacher’s own language experience and multilingual practices in the classroom. Therefore, I see Mike’s statement not as contradicting the previous analysis of his position but as displaying, within his broader experience as teacher, an awareness of the complexity involved in ‘speaking as a pupil’. Obviously, one needs to be careful not to over-analyse this passage. Yet, as before with the educators’ careful attention to children’s learning experiences (see p. 156-159), what comes into view in terms of possibilities of multilingual pedagogies is a more holistic perspective of primary education in general. There are many facets to the ‘whole child’ perspective that has been frequently advocated as the main principle of primary education in the submissions to the Cambridge Primary Review (Alexander 2010: 184), and this perspective also mattered to the teachers in this study. As reported, Kelly emphasised the need to encourage children “in what they are interested in no matter what it is” (int. 29.11.2017, 181-182; p. 1), and Hira pointed out,

200 [...] I can think of a handful kids in my class who
 201 don't like English and Maths that much, and they are amazing in Music,
 202 Singing, Dance, Drama [...]
 203 sometimes during lessons 'oh, I am not that clever, I don't have nothing else'
 204 but when you have Drama or Music, they can show themselves that they
 205 actually have that [...]
 206 [...] I think that is good for them.

(interview Hira, 27.6.2017)

As with the description of her pupils' multilingualism, Hira articulates a holistic angle here, following the children's standpoint (203, *I am not...*) and her perspective as teacher (206, *I think that is good for them*). Overall, her observation chimes with the assertion that school development and 'improvement' do not only need to aim for children's empowerment to learn (Wrigley 2000) but need to include creative and performing arts with their potential to foster confidence, cooperation and learner autonomy (ibid.: 164).

As described in 3.1.3, principles of a 'whole child' perspective and of 'pupils' empowerment' have been essential features of research projects on multilingual pedagogies (Cummins et al. 2011a; Kenner/Ruby 2012; Anderson/Macleroy 2016) and in studies on whole school developments (Wrigley 2000; Little/Kirwan 2019). In this study, the teachers expressed the *whole child* and *empowerment* perspectives implicitly as aspects of a pedagogical motivation for multilingual pedagogies, although none used these terms¹⁵. The fact that the terms were not used explicitly, appears relevant, as it highlights the precarious nature of the situation. Given that multilingualism was only addressed as 'EAL' in their initial training, if at all (see p. 96-97), and that schools did not provide further guidance, it is hardly surprising that the teachers did not articulate a more explicit or conceptually formulated rationale. In fact, this can be understood as an example of the constellation regarding teacher agency described in chapter 5, where I suggested that a classroom configures the priorities a teacher has, and that – following Wertsch, Tulviste, and Hagstrom (1993: 342) – the formulation of particular problems and the possibilities to follow them up with actions is shaped by the means of mediation employed. To act upon certain demands and dilemmas, teachers need to perceive them as such, and multilingual pedagogies – as a set of pedagogical rationales, concepts and teaching approaches – would need to constitute such mediational means. Ultimately it is not possible to know why the teachers eschewed more conceptual terms when articulating a holistic perspective; perhaps because explicit terms were not available to them in the context of multilingualism due to the absence of such pedagogies in

¹⁵ Kelly used 'whole child', yet in the context of parents who judge schools on Ofsted reports instead of "thinking about a whole child" (int. 7.12.2017, 583-584).

school, or perhaps because a more explicit articulation would also require the teacher to address why their current practices do not give more consideration to children's multilingualism. However, I would like to argue that the observation reported here – the implicit, somewhat hesitant articulation of a holistic perspective – is helpful for exploring possibilities of multilingual pedagogies and the teachers' agency in this regard for two reasons. First, it shows how the teachers hinted at the broader pedagogical context of a holistic perspective *out of their experiences* with the children, and it could be said that this knowledge on part of the teachers is 'already out there' in the classroom. Second, holistic aspects as emerging from the interviews might be usefully seen as aspects that can potentially *connect* primary school pedagogy with developments of multilingual pedagogies. I would like to suggest then that the shift mentioned before from a third-person to a first-person perspective of the bilingual child (see p. 17) parallels the debates on and explicit moves to a 'whole child' perspective in education (e.g. Biesta/Miedema 2002; Alexander 2010: 184-185), and teachers may want to start asking which kind of empowerment for their pupils and for their own work in the primary classroom might result from this shift.

Teachers' ideas for multilingual activities

I report now possibilities mentioned by the teachers when they were asked what they could do with languages other than English. The following constellation belongs to the domain of homework projects, i.e. to an area that aims at linking learning at home with learning in school and where the borders between these two sites of learning become less distinct. I have chosen the following homework because it also allows for an inclusion of aspects of parents' involvement and children's multilingual literacy skills. Over the half term break, pupils were asked to create a presentation in formats like leaflets or posters 'about the country you are from'. Other options were a recount of a visit to the Museum of London, a 'Guide to Paris' or a collage/short text as preparation to an Art Week. This homework could be handed in until the end of term; it was in parallel and could be linked to the construction of a class wiki, which was the half term's Computing topic. Following up on the 'cultural week' as quoted in 6.1, Ellie continues,

227 [...] They don't really get that much chance to . speak about their
 228 home language within lessons. At the moment they have with this wiki page
 229 and we did these city guides for homework and they had to produce like a
 230 presentation on their own home country [...]
 232 But the majority did posters on-- like Khadija's over
 233 there and she put all facts on there and her little things.

(interview Ellie, 24.3.2017)

As in her description of the ‘culture week’ (see p. 91), the teacher appears to suggest an association between country and language in (228) *At the moment they have with this wiki page...*, but when asked whether the children would include other languages, Ellie replied, “they haven’t included any other language, just facts about their home country” (ibid.: 242-243). In (232-233), she refers to a poster, where Khadija has drawn a map showing the provinces and cities of Italy and has written facts and personal experiences around it. It would require a detailed observation to better understand what kind of fluid or essentialising concepts of ‘culture’ and ‘home country’ were offered in this task. Yet, despite the indistinct status of ‘language’, which apparently did not go beyond the mere mention of the fact that a certain language ‘is spoken in a country’, the children mentioned this homework and the wiki project when asked in the second participatory activity, whether they had ever translated a story or a text, either at home or in school.

196 Nojus: I always translate to my mum and dad, because they don’t really talk English, they can’t
 197 really understand English so I always translate it in Lithuanian. Like I-- like I’ve done
 198 a website I have done the-- that about my city-- the city, I have done it. And my mum asked
 199 me like ‘what did you write?’ So I first said it in English and then I said it in Lithuanian.

(act. 2, Castle Y 4, 15.3.2017)

Nojus refers here to writing about the capital of Lithuania as part of the class wiki. In (196 & 197) *I always translate...* he describes translating as an everyday practice from the viewpoint of a child whose language repertoire differs from that of his parents regarding Lithuanian and English and regarding the language registers they can access with the respective language. Khadija, too, described the use of two languages for the homework and explained, how she used Italian when working on her poster:

215 Khadija: Actually we had to write some facts. I wanted to write in Italian but my mum said not--
 216 I found-- I searched for it and something that I already know about it, I searched some things
 217 and I searched for it, so it came in Italian. But my mum said not to write that. But I really
 218 wanted to-- so I had to-- I know how to translate that into English. So I wrote that in English.
 219 Th.: *But you would have written it in Italian?*
 220 Khadija: Yeah but only for my mum-- because I always listen to my mum [...]

(ibid.)

Khadija explains, how she wanted to use *something that I already know* (216) and which she had inserted in Italian into the search engine. Then she describes, how the necessity of a negotiation with her mother arose when she wanted to make this information official by including it in Italian in her poster that would go on display in the classroom (215, *but my mum said not--*; 217, *But my mum said not to write that*). This constellation might be usefully seen as a reproduction of the classroom’s monolingual norm in the context of the homework. However, contrary to the ‘River of Reading’ task,

worlds" (2009: 45, emphasis in orig.): Nojus uses Lithuanian to *involve* his mother in his homework, and Khadija uses Italian and English for completing the homework, i.e. for *learning* (in this situation, she does not mention Bengali which she describes elsewhere as her main language of communication with her parents, see p. 128). To envision next steps for including the children's plurilingual repertoires, it is useful to attempt to understand at which points those language practices do not transfer into Khadija's poster and Nojus' work for the wiki page, i.e. into the official classroom. I would argue that this is all the more instructive, first because the homework and the wiki are designed with the intention to reach out to what is assumed to be the children's interest and, secondly, because of the variable and multimodal nature of the tasks' formats, which allows for a larger variety of ways in which pupils may respond.

Thus, it seems almost a paradoxical effect that interest and multimodality are included in the work, whereas what is not included are the languages the two children used when working on the poster and the wiki page. In the homework 'River of Reading', the 'forgetting' appeared to follow the workings of the monolingual norm. Khadija's recount, however, indicates that her Italian language resources are actively excluded (217, *But my mum said not to write that*), and it could be said that it is at this point that her learning activity becomes monolingual. For Nojus, by contrast, his literacy skills constitute the hurdle for the inclusion of his bilingual repertoire. Since the range of children's literacy skills was one of the three facets of diversity identified in all groups of the participatory activities (see p. 129-135), it is helpful to explore this in more detail. Nojus explains that his parents would give him sometimes "a Lithuanian newspaper to read because I can't really read Lithuanian so I can have some practice" (act. 2, Castle Y 4, 15.3.2017, 223-224) and he later returns to this theme:

231 Nojus: [...] I actually like-- we read this type of thick Lithuanian newspapers.

232 Th.: *Are you sitting together with your parents or...?*

233 Nojus: Yeah.

234 Th.: *Do you like it?*

235 Nojus: It is because hm . I actually learn more Lithuanian like because I only know easy words I don't
236 know some hard words.

(ibid.)

Nojus talks about his literacy skills in (223) *I can't really read Lithuanian* and in (235-236) *I only know easy words...*, describing them in relative instead of absolute terms. It seems also relevant that his use of *really* resembles the previous *they don't really talk English, they can't really understand English* (196-197) when describing his parents' language skills. Such evaluations and how they might be embedded in both the child's lived experiences and in dominant language ideologies would deserve a discussion in their own right. As suggested in 7.2, such experiences and negotiations about language

use in certain family situations are part of some children's experience as plurilingual speakers. For possibilities of multilingual pedagogies, the question arises then how homework could be designed so as to draw on the linguistic repertoires of all participants. That is, the next steps in the constellations reported here could be an opportunity for Nojus' mother to expand her involvement in the homework by supporting her son's literacy skills in Lithuanian, and some guidance for Khadija's mother regarding the use of Italian in her daughter's homework. In the interview, I had not initiated a discussion about such steps, because Ellie was focusing on the episodes described before – the use of Romanian as empowerment and the encounter on the playground – and when I referred to Khadija's account of the homework situation, the teacher explained her difficulty to convey to Khadija's mother a realistic assessment of the child's English skills after six months in the English school (int. 24.3.2020, 330-380). At the end of the interview section, Ellie concluded, "But that would be nice and that could be something we could do in our homework projects. 'Try write something, like as challenge try to include something in your home language, even if it is just a capture on a picture'" (ibid.: 382-384). Using again the general formulation *nice*, she suggests the possibility to include the children's 'home language' in existing homework routines in a way that can be seen as responsive to the diversity of the children's literacy skills. Moreover, the teacher uses her practical-pedagogical knowledge, namely of how to use the 'challenge' routine and how to set the task on a small and feasible scale. Thus, as argued before regarding the holistic perspective, I would like to suggest also in this context that such links to the teacher's experience and a proximity to her routines – and her 'small' decisions – can be usefully understood as facets of, or starting points for, teacher agency in multilingual pedagogies.

Kelly described how children's plurilingual literacy skills were included within an activity in her previous Year 3 for the 'European Day of Languages' or 'Languages Day', as it has been renamed at Bird Primary: "we said, 'Can you write a postcard from your-- either in English or if you speak or write another language at home?' and we put [...] like 'postcards from around the world' [on display, TQ]" (int. Kelly 7.12.2017, 923-925). The teacher deemed the task successful because of its flexible and creative character, since children could combine their creativity with varying degrees of literacy skills: the text's length varied between a 'Hello!' and four lines (ibid., 1084-1089). Kelly emphasised that when reading it out to her and translating, "they were really proud" (ibid., 1091). Yet elsewhere, when asked whether she would "like to do more with the children's other languages", the teacher said, "Not especially. Not that I think they are not important [...] I don't think there is time in the day, there are so many different things I would like us to do during the day" (int. 9.3.2018, 374-377). Thus, when asked regarding her current class whether she knew who of the pupils had some literacy skills in another language than English, Kelly replied, "No, I don't actually, I should do, shouldn't I?" (int. 7.12.2017, 918). Kelly's description therefore also illustrates, regarding teacher agency, that a one-off

activity might constitute a problem. That is, the teacher had designed the activity in the previous year, when asked to contribute to the 'Languages Day', but did not transfer the format – and the opportunity to gain insights into pupils' literacy skills and to use them in the classroom – into a routine by repeating it with the next Year 3 she teaches.

Heather mentioned an occasion when “we went to a different school and we sung a couple of songs in different languages. I can't even remember a song now. And it was really good, and I remember that there were a couple of children 'I know this song, this is what I sing'” (int. 16.3.2018, 360-363). While she remembers the children's response and points out that it would be good to share songs, the teacher continues, “just that I don't have time to teach each other words in different languages. I just feel like I wouldn't [...] know where to put that in my timetable” (ibid., 368-370). Thus, as thematised in 8.1, 'time', the lack thereof and what might be described more generally as control of time in education policy should not be seen as an element external to possibilities of multilingual pedagogies. Indeed, decisions around time might be better understood as an integral part of such possibilities, and I would suggest that it is in this regard that links to existing routines can foster the inclusion of multilingual activities. That is, teachers might perceive formats that they develop on the basis of existing practices as more feasible – a perspective that is evident regarding the possibilities Heather described. Asked about spaces “to give children the opportunity to do something with the languages” (ibid.: 698-699), she mentioned a number of ideas related to Religious Education lessons and the 'family circles', where once a week children from various Key Stage 2 classes come together in groups of ten to twelve, led by Year 6 pupils, for about 20 minutes to address certain topics: “[it] would be really good to look at the different languages in your family circles with the aim of like teaching each other something from your own language. That would be really nice actually, I might put that idea forward” (ibid., 702-705). The teacher also referred to the provision of PSHE, where she sees languages usually mentioned during talk about differences and similarities in units like 'Being Me', though only as very brief comments – “just that 'I speak that language' or 'I am learning' like Hajar 'reading the Quran'” (ibid., 591-592) – but where she sees opportunities to extend activities within those units that focus on what the teacher describes as 'identifying who you are' (ibid., 705). Moreover, Heather suggested to use the '100th day' of the school year, when family circle groups come together for half a day for an activity around a theme normally chosen by the headteacher (ibid., 836-843). When talking about those possibilities, Heather appears to speak in her role as Well-being lead, a role previously described as located at a juncture of vertical and horizontal relationships in school (see 8.1). From this position she mentions routines that already exist, where teachers plan activities in the realm of personal and social learning. While such routines are not part of the everyday classroom, they can be seen as part of the school's broader ethos and atmosphere. Thus, her

suggestions offer spaces for exploring multilingualism that might develop into further explorations and potentially into multilingual practices closer to everyday classroom routines.

However, similar to the other teachers in this study, Heather emphasised that she cannot envision possibilities within the Literacy curriculum. I had described in the interview, how the children talked in the participatory activities about their different levels of literacy skills, and she replied:

741 so many different languages as well. I don't know because it just wouldn't fit
 742 into, you know, our English Curriculum or our-- any opportunity where we
 743 have to write. How would you with so many different languages choose one?
 744 And-- oh that would just be really tough. We need time like spare time to
 745 discuss different languages and experience writing in different languages not
 746 just [Modern Foreign Languages] that we teach but like the children's own language or
 747 have parents in to talk about

(interview Heather 16.3.2018)

The aspects Heather addresses here have been thematised before: first, the overall paradox in current debates around multilingualism and school, where educators are asked to respond to an increased number of languages spoken by the pupils in a classroom, while they perceive the very same linguistic superdiversity as hindrance for doing so (see p. 127); and secondly, the high degree of control on part of the teacher, which is currently characteristic for teaching processes in Literacy/writing in the English Primary School – a situation described by Heather in chapter 5 (see p. 87). It might be helpful for addressing multilingual possibilities to look at how the teacher appears to bring the two aspects together in her rhetorical question *How would you with so many different languages choose one?* (743) In this phrasing, Heather appears to hint at a supposed expectation to teach writing under 'superdiverse' conditions by focussing on one language at a time as if these were MFL lessons. Such an expectation must appear, of course, as completely unrealistic. A similar kind of questions is reported from inquiries into mainstream teachers' perception of including the first languages of emergent bilinguals (Obied 2011: 165). Heather's perception, however, seems to be based on a misapprehension: the children have learned the languages in question not as 'second languages' but through their family socialisation.

Heather's remarks in this passage from her interview also point once more to the contested issue of time (744-745): *We need time like spare time to discuss different languages and experience writing in different languages*. The insistence on *the aspect of time* as crucially important for understanding the connection between possibilities of multilingual pedagogies, teacher agency and what I have outlined in 7.3 as 'pedagogical space' might seem self-evident. Yet given the lack of curriculum guidance and

subsequently of defining resources and supporting meso level actors (see 6.2), the teachers' contentions around time need to be included explicitly here – it was in this sense that I have described decisions around time as forming an integral part of possibilities of multilingual pedagogies. This was most clearly articulated by Ellie: “And perhaps, if we had a bit more time, we would be a bit more creative” (int., 24.3.2017, 300-301). It is important to point out then that both the ‘pedagogical space’ and, crucially, how educators can develop it requires time.

At first glance, a *designated space* for multilingual pedagogies that would be set aside specifically for them might seem to be in tension with the earlier emphasis on the proximity of possibilities of multilingual pedagogies to teacher's classroom routines. Both elements, however, can be usefully understood as ultimately complementary approaches to developing possibilities that transcend the status quo of the ‘currently possible’. It could be argued that primary schools decide, to a certain degree, how they offer and organize their MFL teaching. In Ellie's school, as described in 6.2, Chinese was taught in Key Stage 1 by a language student funded by a Chinese governmental programme, followed by French in Key Stage 2; in Kelly's and Heather's school, two Modern Foreign Languages were taught, one from Year 1 and the other from Year 3 onwards. Thus, to explore possibilities of multilingual activities further, it would be necessary to understand better which possibilities could emerge if teachers had teaching/learning time set aside for this purpose, e.g. in the weekly, fortnightly or monthly timetable, and how such *ring-fenced time* would help them to develop and tailor approaches to their classes. Given the dilemma of time in school, where multiple demands and wishes compete – in Kelly's words, *there are so many different things I would like us to do during the day* (376-377) – which was expressed by all teachers, and in view of the marginalisation of the arts and humanities in primary school and the “imbalance between ‘the basics’ and the rest” (Alexander 2010: 252), this aspect of time is vital. Ultimately, it refers to the wider issue of the curriculum and to questions about the knowledge and learning it legitimises. Presently, possibilities of multilingual pedagogies are neither mentioned in the National Curriculum nor technically excluded, as “there is time and space in the school day and in each week, term and year to range beyond the national curriculum specifications” (DfE 2013: 6). The fact that this vague formulation does not facilitate multilingual approaches beyond the status quo suggests that it might be useful for further discussions to draw on what the Cambridge Primary Review conceptualizes as a ‘protected local element in the curriculum’ (Alexander 2010: 259). The scholars propose a 70/30 division between a ‘national’ and a ‘local component’ within an envisioned curriculum, aiming for “a way of balancing, within each [teaching/learning, TQ] domain, global, national and local concerns and opportunities” (ibid.: 263). The content of the local element would also be designed more locally, thus increasing the responsiveness of schools' curricula to their specific contexts (ibid., 251-277).

To evoke this conceptualisation in relation to multilingual pedagogies is an attempt to respond to the general tension in my inquiry between the lack of any acknowledgment of multilingualism in the national curriculum and the expectation to encounter teachers who nonetheless achieve agency in a pedagogical domain that is not legitimatised by the curriculum *and* are doing so within a regime and culture of performativity. In this sense, *a designated space for multilingual possibilities* needs to be understood primarily as located within the teaching/learning time that has been approved institutionally for this purpose. Institutional approval may vary: for other national contexts of education and curriculum policies, for instance, this allocation has been documented as part of an integrated approach to language education (Little/Kirwan 2019) or has been described conceptually as a ‘curriculum multilingualism’ (Reich/Krumm 2013, also Meier 2014: 139). However, such designated time would in itself neither clarify how a teacher, a year group team or a school respond in detail to a linguistically ‘superdiverse’ context nor address issues around resources. Yet, in relation to the projective dimension of teacher agency, it would allow for a frame onto which teachers could project their agency – without facing competing other demands – and, crucially, it would provide a framework that would legitimise their actions. In official education policy, too, an acknowledgement of the issue of time and perspectives including the ‘whole child’ or offering a ‘broader’ curriculum might be seen as emerging around Ofsted’s new inspection framework (2019a). Its criterion of ‘quality of education’ and advocacy of a broad and rich curriculum (2019b: 42 & 46-47) alongside the evaluation of “the school’s intent to provide for the personal development of all pupils” (ibid.: 58) could – very tentatively – be interpreted in such a way and provide a point of reference for time and space set aside for multilingual pedagogies. As the inspections’ grading system remains firmly in place, it is, of course, much too early to anticipate what developments may result from this.

The homework situations reported above pointed to the involvement of parents and the relevance of children’s literacy skills as two elements of multilingual pedagogies. I would like to report in the remainder of this section what teachers said about involving parents and including pupils’ out-of-school literacy experiences. In the interviews with Ellie, Hira and Heather, the question about *parent engagement* arose from the conversations, and all three teachers responded positively when asked about possible reactions on the part of the parents. I had sketched a fictitious task, where – following the writing of an adventure story in English at school – children would be asked to render (part of) the story in another language, and I asked Ellie whether, in her opinion, parents would support their children with such a task. The teacher mentioned that during parent evenings many parents showed a lack of confidence in English and explained, “So I think if they would do it in their home language, they probably would be more enthusiastic perhaps or we’d have a higher parent engagement because at the moment they are not engaged at all [...] I think they probably would” (int. 24.3.2017, 418-421).

This chimes with Hira's consideration when – following up her idea to have children bringing in books (see below) – she was asked what this might mean for parents: “I think [...] more involving. They would feel happy [...] because it's their culture and their language” (int. 14.7.2017, 263-267). Finally, Heather assumed that parents would be willing to come into school to talk about their languages, as they had done for the ‘Languages day’ before (int. 16.3.2018, 749-750).

The teachers also offered ideas regarding their pupils' multilingual literacy skills: Ellie's suggestion within the homework project has already been reported above. With Hira, I followed up on Probal's description that he writes and reads in Bengali, reading poems (act. 2, Victoria 4.7.2017, 137-139), and her response to my question about the possibility ‘to do something around different types of texts’ illustrates the complexity of the classroom situation as seen from the teacher's perspective:

62 As in different kinds of texts of different cultures or different kinds of text in
 63 different languages? [...]
 67 Because if we did with different texts in different languages, it would be very
 68 difficult for other children that don't [...] know that and obviously
 69 it has to be specifically linked to the topics that we are doing in English or the
 70 topics that we are doing in Topic or Science or whatever it may be. So that
 71 link, it always has to have [...] if it was texts from different cultures
 72 bringing in-- that's definitely-- that's more doable I think than texts with the
 73 language specific.

(interview Hira, 14.7.2017)

Overall, Hira seems to assess the possibilities in a similar way as Heather before (see p. 184) in that both teachers point to the many different languages the children speak (67-68, *It would be very difficult for other children...*) and to the tight framework set by the curriculum (69-71, *it has to be specifically linked to the topics...*). Hira then saw the use of texts from different cultures as more feasible (71-73), suggesting the use of ‘stories from different cultures’ for her reading time at the end of the school day (ibid., 94-98). When I reported how Darius had said that he enjoys reading books in Romanian (act. 2, Victory 4.7.2017, 152-163) and asked, what it could mean for the school trying to acknowledge such reading, the teacher spoke of the possibility to have children bringing in books from home (int. 14.7.2017, 114-123). Yet, similar to Kelly who said that she would not know who among her pupils has literacy skills in another language than English (see p. 182), Hira replied that she was ‘not sure’ which children in her class attended a complementary school (ibid., 124-127). That is, it could be argued that by bringing in the texts they read, Hira's pupils would make their skills visible and audible in the ‘official’ classroom, while at the same time having the chance to explore with their

teacher and peers this aspect of their multilingualism. In relation to ‘possibilities’ and the projective dimension of teacher agency, this may then potentially initiate further developments.

Heather addresses children’s plurilingual literacy, when asked about her ideas for homework that has ‘to do something with language’,

854 [...] we could easily give a sort of homework where
 855 they could write a story with their-- I mean it depends whether they can write
 856 in their language, I guess, but read a story or write or just write something or
 857 take pictures when-- like Hajar, when she goes to the mosque having Quran
 858 reading like that. Just to bring what they do with their language back [...]

(interview Heather, 16.3.2018)

As described before in the context of Ellie’s homework, Heather too mentions in this passage a *range* of tasks from writing or reading a story to shorter homework tasks like ‘writing something’ or documenting language and literacy skills by taking photographs. Her final example (857-858, *take pictures...*) corresponds to the fact that the teacher encouraged Darya to record the reading in her Quran lessons in her reading journal (int. 16.3.2018, 789-794).

I would argue that it is helpful when exploring possibilities for the ‘pedagogical space’ to identify three features that the ideas reported here have in common. First, the suggestions would invite the children’s families to participate, and thus respond to one of the significant questions of multilingual pedagogies under ‘superdiverse’ conditions, namely where the language/literacy knowledge ‘comes from’. Secondly, these ideas would open up the official classroom for the children’s plurilingual repertoires, potentially facilitating further activities. Thirdly, the ideas point to activities that teachers would facilitate but control considerably less than other teaching/learning activities. The pupils would bring their linguistic/literacy knowledge into the classroom and, in a sense, jointly with their teachers construct a pedagogical space where they offer educators insights into their plurilingual repertoires and thus into the meanings that elements of those repertoires have for them. Moreover, I would argue that, if multilingual pedagogies *acknowledge* children’s plurilingual repertoires, *include* and *use* them in the classroom (see 3.1.1), then the possibilities suggested by Ellie, Hira and Heather could be seen as broadly falling into the first and second category. That is, they *acknowledge* the children’s individual practices and *include* them into the respective context, i.e. the homework/wiki (Ellie), general reading (Hira), and homework as umbrella task for presenting various literacy skills (Heather). It appears useful to employ these categories because they allow – again regarding multilingual possibilities *and* the projective component of teacher agency – for an exploration of what might be the respective next steps towards *using* the children’s languages *within* the classroom’s teaching/learning activities.

Teachers could then deliberately plan for activities that provide opportunities for the children to use their entire linguistic repertoire.

Resources for the classroom

When asked about resources that would help them to include children's multilingualism, the teachers listed various aspects: Ellie mentioned in-service training and, while expressing her uncertainties around pronunciations in other languages than English and the additional difficulty of different scripts, she proposed "resources [...] where you sort of had the word and you click the word and you have that audio click [...] I think that would be really helpful" (int. 24.3.2017, 479-482). Asked about useful resources, Hira followed up two aspects she had pointed out before – the necessity to link activities to topics of the curriculum due to its rigid framework and the number of languages the children speak – when responding, "specific books related to specific topics. That would help us with our Topic [...] and with our English, so it's specifically linked, so it's easier maybe to plan for [...] Maybe more audio things, like audio stories from Romanian or the languages the children speak [...] Audio can be really useful" (int. 14.7.2017, 210-222). Moreover, Heather explained that she would like to get more ideas for how to bring children's multilingualism into the classroom, "how we sort of appreciate it more [...] how we can talk to other children about their language beyond like recognizing they are EAL and doing stuff to support them" (int. 16.3.2018, 825-828). Although the question of resources was not addressed in more detail in the interviews, I would like to suggest that – apart from the immediate articulation of what the educators would deem helpful – the following two aspects are instructive in relation to multilingual possibilities and the enhancement of teacher agency. First, the resources mentioned here can be seen as belonging – in the terminology of the ecological approach to teacher agency – to the meso-level of guidance and support (in-service training and 'ideas') and to the micro-level of material resources ('one click audio resources', specific books and audio stories). This does not come as a surprise, since – following the concept of agency as 'individual(s)-operating-with-mediational-means' (Wertsch et al. 1993; see 5.1) – teachers ultimately rely on conceptual and material artefacts for achieving agency in a given pedagogical domain. Second, I would argue that, regarding the micro level resources, the teachers pointed to what they see as some hurdles for implementing multilingual approaches: the accessibility of help with pronunciation, the availability of resources that can be linked to the curriculum as a precondition for planning accordingly, and the availability of audio recordings of stories in various languages. The latter might be usefully understood as a multifaceted possibility for pupils to listen to, for languages to become audible in the classroom and, potentially, for the teacher to develop pedagogical settings where pupils could work in personalized ways on multilingual tasks. Although only briefly thematised here, reflections on such

hurdles can shed some light on the challenges teachers encounter when accessing the ‘pedagogical space’ of multilingual pedagogies in their classroom, and on the kind of resources that would support them in doing so.

I would like to argue that the examples given by teachers and children as reported in this section, point implicitly to a rather obvious distinction that is very relevant to further developments in the primary school: it is helpful to distinguish between artefacts *of plurilingual speakers* such as Nojus’ ‘thick Lithuanian newspapers’, or the books Hira would ask the children to bring in, and artefacts *for multilingual pedagogies* like Ellie’s ‘one click audio resources’ or Hira’s specific books and audio stories. There exists clearly an overlap between these two types of artefacts: dictionaries, bilingual books or topic-specific books, e.g. about ‘weather’ or ‘rocks’, would be cases in point. Yet, for enhancing ‘possibilities’ and teacher agency, the distinction appears useful for two reasons. It allows us to ask how various activities and formats require various different kinds of resources, and it invites the question how the material and conceptual resources on part of the teacher/classroom can *interact* with those resources that pupils, families and also complementary schools can bring to the pedagogical space – resources that, in addition to material artefacts, comprise meanings, linguistic knowledge and literacy skills, among others.

9.2 ‘Our ideas’ – more insights from the participatory activities

This section draws mainly on the second participatory activities, and I will first present extracts in which children share some of their plurilingual experiences. Afterwards, I report data where children respond to the question whether they would like to do more with ‘their languages’ in school, before I turn in the last part to the mind map activity, where the children were asked to write what they could do with their languages in school.

The second participatory activities had arisen out of talking with the children about their language experiences and my understanding that they should be seen as experts of their own multilingualism. Given the conclusion that multilingual pedagogies need to include the various meanings children ascribe to the elements of their linguistic repertoire, it is neither possible nor justifiable to explore possibilities of multilingual pedagogies without consulting their views. In this sense, the activities were conducted within the overall framework of what I described in 7.3 as the requirement for multilingual pedagogies to provide, as one of their constitutive elements, opportunities for exploring multilingualism. The following extract from the end of the language portrait activity with six children from Mike’s class captures well the atmosphere and the children’s opinions:

298 Th.: *Did you enjoy the activity?*

299 all: Yeah.

When asked, why they had enjoyed it, Mariana and Brayden replied:

309 Mariana: So being in a group because we are not like in a school. I like to be in a little

310 group, I like to discuss [...]

311 it's like-- it is really good because like you do learn more things like that. So I think it's

312 really good.

313 Brayden: Yeah, I haven't really talked about different countries, about languages and things

314 like that and, yeah, you never really get to talk to-- go into a group and talk about

315 languages [...] you don't really think about languages

316 Th.: *So you mean you have not been talking a lot about your languages in school so far?*

317 all: No.

318 Th.: *Is that something you would like to do?*

319 all: Yeah.

(activities 2, Castle Y 5, 9.3.2017)

Mariana describes what, in her view, sets the participatory activity apart from the dominant classroom talk setting *like in a school* (309) and points to her preference for talk in a small group. Moreover, Brayden emphasised that multilingualism has not been thematised in school (313-315, *I haven't really talked... you never really get to talk ... about languages*). His third affirmation (315, *you don't really think about languages*) might be seen as describing the very situation in a classroom, where monolingualism can only prevail and be normalized by 'not thinking about languages'. In my view, the extract expresses the enjoyment the children experienced in the language portrait activity, which gave them an opportunity to 'talk about languages' and 'think about languages', i.e. to share their experiences of being plurilingual speakers. I have chosen two excerpts that, in very different ways, illustrate facets of plurilingual experiences and can be linked usefully to findings reported in previous chapters, thus offering insights for possibilities of multilingual pedagogies.

The group of six children from Ellie's class had talked about their use of languages in school, and Nojus had described, how he would sometimes ask Emilija for help using Lithuanian (act. 2, Castle Y 4, 15.3.2017, 151-157). Khadija (see p. 128) followed this up:

158 Khadija: [...] I help myself talking in Italian [...] with all

159 the subjects but not Art because Art-- I don't need to think Italian-- I think English

160 because Art is only drawing

161 Th.: *But what do you mean by you help yourself with the Italian?*

162 Khadija: [...] hm I am giving just an example of Maths. Like now we are learning the angles. I just--

163 some activities like these, we have already done it in Year 3 in Italy. So like the angles like
 164 acute, obtuse- ehm obtuse like those I know them [...] so first
 165 I check talking with myself in Italian and after I try to understand it in English.

(ibid.)

After around six and a half months in the English primary school and, in all likelihood, benefitting from learning English as MFL in the Italian school, Khadija speaks confidently about her learning. She almost seems to give descriptions of influential concepts of second language education like the BICS/CALP distinction (e.g. Cummins 2000: 53-111) and ‘translanguaging’ (e.g. García/Kleyn 2016b) when talking about her experiences. In (158-159), *talking in Italian* and *to think Italian* and *I think English* respectively appear to point to the inseparable nature of talk and content learning in school. In (162) *I am giving just an example...*, the pupil uses a phrase that is itself typical of communicating successfully in school and refers then in (163-164) to mathematical notions that are cognates in English and Italian and whose concepts she had learnt before (163-164). On the whole, Khadija’s specific words (158, *I help myself talking in Italian*; 164-165, *so first I check talking with myself in Italian and after...*) point to processes that would be called in the Vygotskian perspective ‘inner speech’ (Vygotsky 1986; e.g. Wells 1999: 116-118). Clearly, this would deserve more exploration in its own right. However, I would suggest that Khadija’s description is also significant in relation to the dynamics around the classroom’s norm of ‘*English is the only official language for learning*’. By describing how her Italian language is a resource for learning – for accessing previous content knowledge and learning the corresponding notions and concepts in English – Khadija offers insights into her learner identity. As observed in the classroom and described by her teacher Ellie before, the girl participates actively in lessons (see p. 128), and though “inner speech is not overt and what is said is accessible to the speaker alone” (Wells 1999: 118), what Khadija displays might be best understood as a plurilingual learner identity, where the child uses the Italian element of her linguistic repertoire in a private and inaudible way for learning. In relation to the classroom’s monolingual norm, this ‘private’ use for learning resembles the episodes reported in 7.1, where Sonia uses Romanian ‘privately’ to explain a task to Adriana, while this element of their linguistic repertoires does not gain an official status for learning in the classroom. I would like to argue that in both cases the ‘private’ use for learning – inaudible on the part of Khadija and audible (or less inaudible) on the part of Sonia and Adriana (and Bianca) (see 7.1) – does not suspend the dividing line between the official English and the ‘unofficial’ other languages on which the monolingual norm is based.

Although the audibility of languages and voices might be different in another classroom, i.e. Khadija could have shared Italian and Bengali with other pupils in Hira’s class (see p. 128-129), the main question for possibilities of multilingual pedagogies emerging here would be, which kind of options or

activities might suspend the dividing line. In other words, which activities around multilingualism, plurilingual identities and ‘doing something with languages for learning’ would go beyond this partition and give the children’s language practices a role and a status in the ‘official’ classroom? It could be argued that in principle this could be every activity that renders a child’s language or language practice audible or every task that makes a language/language practice visible. Of course, such a very general description does not address aspects of frequency, integration of other languages into existing tasks or the working consensus and many others. However, as I will show in the last part of this section, interactive tasks like ‘teaching my language’ or ‘giving a presentation’ were mentioned frequently by the children.

Drawing on the fact that they had recently worked on the genre of instruction texts (see p. 84), I had described a fictitious homework task of writing a recipe in different languages and asked the children, whether their parents would support them with it. The children assumed that the parents would, and also said that they thought this to be an interesting idea (act. 2, Bird Y 3/1-1, 31.1.2018, 71-79) before I moved to explanation texts, referring again to a genre currently addressed in the pupils’ Literacy lessons.

- 87 Th.: *You have a machine and you explain that in English. And let’s pretend, someone is coming*
 88 *and says ‘oh Leon, could you explain that machine in another language? Does your machine*
 89 *have a button for a Polish translation?*
- 90 Leon: Tak
 91 Th.: *or ‘zak’ for a Spanish translation?*
- 92 Leon: Si that means ‘yes’.
 93 Th.: *Si, cómo funciona?*
- 94 Leon: oh
 95 Th.: *Cómo, cómo funciona la maq-- How do you say ‘machine’ in Spanish?*
- 96 Leon: I don’t know...
 97 Th.: *La máquina...?*
- 98 Leon: But I know how to say it in Polish: maszyna. *(Kacpar and Luiza agree)*
 99 Th.: *maszyna? That is very similar, you know, what it is in German: ‘Maschine’.*
- 100 Leon: Now it is confusing . Maschine . maszyna...
 101 *Children play around with the words (indiscernible).*

(ibid.)

The children’s assumption that their parents would support their writing could be seen as the most instructive insight from this sequence and is in line with what other pupils said (e.g. act. 2, Castle Y 4, 15.3.2017, 245-251; act. 2, Bird Y 3/1-2, 29.1.2018, 196; Khalid, however, is one of the few pupils who

said that their parents would not have time for that; act. 2, Bird Y 3/2-1, 31.1.2018, 231). However, I cite the exchange here as a minute instance of moving spontaneously between languages. Leon had said before that he speaks mostly Polish with his mother at home and had also mentioned an autobiographical connection to Spanish: “My dad taught me how to speak Spanish when I was two or three years old” (act. 1, Bird Y 3/1-1, 24.1.2018, 262-263). He added that he would watch cartoons in Catalan to learn it¹⁶ (ibid., 267). In reference to this, I used the image of a ‘button for translation’. Although the question (87-89) lacks logic, the image elicits Leon’s reply in Polish (90, *Tak*). Not recognizing the word but drawing on its onomatopoeic feature of pushing a button (‘zak’), I then refer to a translation into Spanish (91), to which Leon responds with a switch to *Si that means ‘yes’* (92), which is picked up in *Si, cómo funciona?* (93). In this short interaction and within a few spontaneous, slightly playful moves between linguistic repertoires, the child said what he knows (90, 92 & 98) and what not (96), while the adult also displayed both knowledge and uncertainty (93, 95 & 97), before they both discovered the similarity between two words across languages (98-100). Admittedly, the Spanish was not taken up – the domain of Leon’s interest, where learning could have happened – and the aspect of his ‘confusion’ was not followed up either. On the whole, the extract is only a kind of miniature. Yet, I would like to argue that it illustrates how instances of such moves between elements of linguistic repertoires/languages, which help to facilitate language awareness, require a *pedagogical and linguistic interaction* in which both participants acknowledge that they have only some partial knowledge of these different languages.

Within approaches of multilingual pedagogies, it has been emphasized that metalinguistic awareness, i.e. the skill to put language practices alongside each other for comparisons, is an essential element for the development of linguistic abilities (e.g. García 2012: 3). From a spiral-curricular and long-term angle, such instances are relevant because their regular inclusion in the orality of primary classroom communication can help to lay the foundations for expanding plurilingual approaches into literacy practices (Little/Kirwan 2019). For such moves between languages as well as between orality and literacy to happen, “teachers must trust the pupils to know how to make use of their linguistic resources” (ibid.: 40). In my understanding, Heather and Kelly point implicitly to the importance of *interactions* in those instances which can facilitate language awareness. Heather’s reflection quoted in 6.1 – “maybe the children don’t think I am interested [in their languages, TQ] because I never say (...) ‘How would I say that in Polish?’ or ‘How do you say that in Urdu?’” (int., 16.3.2018, 454-456) – indicates the relevance of the *audibility* of languages and of plurilingual voices in the classroom (see p. 92). Kelly’s reply, when asked about instances or activities of including other languages, is also

¹⁶ These are the language names Leon used, and I cannot explain his usage of ‘Catalan’. I had decided not to probe, if assuming that one parent and ‘his/her language’ was not living with a child anymore.

instructive: “I have not really thought about it, I don’t know, maybe I should like having more instances of more languages in my lessons. I think I was more aware of it when Maria was here” (int., 9.3.2018, 324-325). She explained that at the beginning of the school year she had for a few weeks in the morning a colleague as LSA, who was also in the school’s MFL team as teacher. “It is more on her radar [...] She was much more aware of different languages” (ibid., 354-356). As the other teachers, Kelly mentioned her own language experience in this context:

391 I don’t really speak any other language, I mean, a bit but I wouldn’t ever go--
 392 never write on a form ‘Oh yes, I speak a little French’ [...]
 393 Or I did two years of German at school-- I would never say I speak German.
 394 Perhaps I would be more confident [to include the children’s languages, TQ]
 395 if I spoke other languages [...] if other languages were a bit more
 396 a comfort zone for me.

(interview Kelly, 9.3.2018)

What appears to emerge here with some relevance for teacher agency in multilingual pedagogies might be usefully seen as a kind of *reciprocity*. That is, when creating or joining linguistic interactions around multilingualism and multilingual language awareness, teachers and pupils need to use their language knowledge but equally acknowledge uncertainties, partial knowledge or lack of knowledge. Indeed, a theme which runs implicitly through those interview passages, where the teachers mentioned their own language experience, and which can also be found in Kelly’s extract (391-396), is the fact that the interaction with plurilingual children seemingly requires teachers to reflect on their own linguistic repertoires and language experiences. Thus, I would like to argue that also this aspect of ‘reciprocity’ is relevant for possibilities of multilingual pedagogies. Given the apparently underlying experience of some disappointment described by Mike (see p. 162), Heather (see p. 108) and Kelly (above), it could be productive to ask what these teachers would gain if they were exploring for themselves those perspectives that do not so much see language as an entity, which someone does or does not possess, but evolve around different contexts for language use and the notion of the linguistic repertoire among others. The situation in an English primary school differs from the settings mentioned before, where a second official language can serve as catalyst for plurilingual, more integrated approaches (Duarte/Günter-van der Meij 2018; Little/Kirwan 2019; see p. 23). However, a reflection on such reciprocities when generating instances of multilingual language awareness may prove beneficial for teacher agency. It would permit teachers to enter interactions around multilingualism, knowing that, on the one hand, they are responsible for the pedagogical situation (either spontaneous, routinised or planned), but – borrowing from Kelly (394-396) – on the other hand also knowing that they can be confident and in their comfort zone, because they are ‘allowed’ to bring

not only their linguistic knowledge into these interactions but their uncertainties, partial knowledge or lack of knowledge too. As mentioned by Little and Kirwan (2019: 40) quoted before, trust is an important prerequisite for activities around multilingualism, when children bring their experiences as plurilingual speakers and their linguistic knowledge to the pedagogical space.

In the remainder of this chapter, I will present data where children voice their experiences, views and ideas. Next, I have chosen an extract from pupils in Heather's Year 3, which follows a passage where the children had described plurilingual literacy experiences: Shriya remembered how, on a visit to India, her grandmother read to her in Gujarati and helped her with a Gujarati writing book (act. 2, Bird Y 3/2-1, 31.1.2018, 73-75; Radut recalled, how his parents read stories to him when he was younger (ibid.: 80-81); and Florin, who had said earlier that he learnt to read and to write (act. 1, Bird Y 3/2-1, 22.1.2018, 89-90), mentioned that his mother brought a device where, at the push of a button, a voice read a book in Romanian (act. 2, Bird Y 3/2-1, 31.1.2018, 83-84).

139 Th.: *Would you like to do more with your languages in school? Would that be a good idea?*

140 all *(talking over each other)* No. Yeah...

141 Th.: *[...] I am interested in hearing everyone.*

143 Shriya: I said 'yes' because you can like-- . because everyone can hear your language and what you

144 can do with it and like learn from the language and stuff . so . and you can also read and

145 learn about that

146 Th.: *You can learn to read in the language you mean?*

147 Shriya: Yeah.

148 Th.: *Would you like to do that more?*

149 Shriya: Yeah.

(activities 2, Bird Y 3/2-1, 31.1.2018)

In all groups, the children were engaged and clearly motivated to share their views, and spontaneous responses like in (140) mirror this atmosphere. Shriya points to what might be understood as the child's description of the audibility of a language in the official classroom (143, *because everyone can hear your language*) and of contexts in which she uses the language (143-144, *and what you can do with it...*). She then addresses literacy learning (144-145, *and you can also read and learn about that...*) and I would like to argue that, regarding 'possibilities', this move from audibility to literacy skills is the point where personal learning would begin for Shriya, who does not share her Gujarati with anyone in her class but uses it with two children in Year 2 and 5 as she had explained before (ibid., 39-40). Khalid's and Florin's responses, however, refer to a different aspect:

151 Khalid: I think 'no' because some people might [...] not really like-- like the language--

- 152 like or understand it
- 153 all *(talking over each other, indiscernible) [...]*
- 155 Shriya: you could learn about it
- 156 Khalid: hm-- or maybe they can learn
- 157 Th.: *Or Shriya could do something with her Gujarati and in the same time you could do*
- 158 *something with your Italian.*
- 159 Khalid: Oh yeah

(ibid.)

Khalid seems to foreground an interactional aspect, when anticipating *some people might...* (151-152). Shriya replies by arguing that in such a situation *you could learn about it* (155) after she had described elsewhere how she learnt from others in informal situations (act. 1, Bird Y 3/2-1, 22.1.2018, 62). Then Khalid apparently agrees in (156), while I suggest that children could also pursue personalized tasks with different languages (157-158). I have also selected the last extract because it shows that, while the vast majority of children saw it as ‘a good idea to do more with their languages in school’, a few children in the Year 3 classes had concerns pointing to such interactional experiences. Furthermore, Khalid apparently assumes that all children would need to focus on one and the same language at a time – an assumption that resembles his teacher’s rhetorical question *How would you with so many different languages choose one?* (743, p. 184). While this is only a small observation here, it may indicate how the child relates his answer to the classroom’s organisational settings familiar to him, namely those arrangements where tasks include a built-in differentiation, but would not offer explicitly more personalized choices between formats or contents as suggested in *Or Shriya could do...* (157-158).

The following extracts are from the activities with pupils from Kelly’s Year 3 and illustrate once again the superdiverse condition of the classrooms. Joana had explained differences between Brazilian and European Portuguese, as her mother spoke the first and her father the latter (act. 1, Bird Y 3/1-2, 24.1.2018, 10-12), and she had mentioned how her mother’s friend, a teacher, spent a year in England and taught her to read and write in Portuguese, when she was in Year 1 (ibid.: 296-303). When asked whether it would be a good idea ‘to do more with your language in school’, Joana replied that it was a good idea “to do more lessons about Portuguese and so-- learn Portuguese and to learn about my language” (act. 2, Bird Y 3/1-2, 29.1.2018, 38-39). Her classmate Nylah explained that when she went with her parents to India, an uncle “taught me a bit of Hindi and a bit of Urdu. And my mum kept on talking Hindi and so I learnt to understand what Hindi is and then I started speaking it” (act. 1, Bird Y 3/1-2, 24.1.2018, 135-136). She was then asked by Joana,

- 147 Joana: So like-- do you enjoy doing it-- like learning all these languages? Like learning how to

- 148 speak Hindi and English and languages?
 149 Nylah: I like doing it but when I talk, I feel like I get something wrong, so it's like-- my mum says it's
 150 fine, fine to do but I still talk like I am not ready. She says I can only talk to her like this
 151 because she can teach me again if I get it wrong.

(ibid.)

I have included this passage for two reasons: First, it is exemplary for many instances during both participatory activities, showing how children engaged among themselves in a dialogue about experiences as plurilingual speakers. Secondly, I want to return with this example to a facet of children's plurilingual experiences that has been mentioned before in 7.2 on 'superdiverse voices' and could be noticed throughout the activities in all groups. The passages from Probal about arriving in the Italian and later the English school, from Amelija about learning Russian from her mother and attending the Lithuanian complementary school (see p. 129), from Sana about learning French as MFL and reading Arabic in the Mosque (see p. 132), as well as in this subsection, the experiences described by Nojus, Shriya, Florin, Joana and Nylah all show in various ways, how experiences of plurilingual children frequently include *experiences of learning*. Moreover, the children articulated often their *confidence* of learning languages/literacies as well as *ambivalences* around such experiences. In Nylah's case, when she was asked if she would like to do more with her languages in school, her response appeared to show both ambivalence and confidence around learning. Referring to her Arabic class, she described it as sometimes "actually quite embarrassing when you say the wrong words [...] so, I mean, the sentence doesn't make sense" (act. 2, Bird Y 3/1-2, 29.1.2018, 42-46). Yet, in relation to Hindi, the child foregrounded her confidence:

- 50 Th.: *Would it be good to do more with [...] Hindi in school for you?*
 51 Nylah: I think it would be easy learning the language for everyone. Because my mum normally
 52 speaks in that language at home, I normally, I normally understand it, so I just get the right
 53 words-- they are in the proper sentence. But once they get the words, they'll know where it
 54 is because Hindi is quite easy to learn.
 55 Th.: *My question was not so much about whether you would like to start teaching the other*
 56 *children in Hindi but whether you would like to learn more Hindi and maybe to do that in*
 57 *school as well?*
 58 Nylah: Yeah.

(ibid.)

Like Khalid before (see p. 196-197), Nylah addresses the question in relation to teaching other children the language. She refers to her own learning in everyday situations with her mother, describing learning processes around words and syntax (52-53) *I normally understand it...* In my view, the child

presents herself as a *confident plurilingual learner*, and her evaluation quoted before, *I feel like I get something wrong [...] I still talk like I am not ready* (149-150) does not necessarily contradict that description but, instead, could be seen as the child's awareness of the learning involved.

The element of 'learning' might seem a matter of course as language repertoires are not fixed but constantly evolving. Yet, I would argue that dialogic talk or other activities about children's experiences of *being a plurilingual learner* are important when exploring and creating possibilities for multilingual activities in a classroom. Such talk/activities would belong to the component of multilingual pedagogies, where children and educators explore their multilingualism, as described in 7.3, and they could precede further developments. However, to highlight the *plurilingual learner* is also conceptually important for the 'pedagogical space' in conjunction with teacher agency, and I want to address *what might be gained by this emphasis*. This question arises here, on the one hand, from the teachers' pedagogical motivations for multilingual activities with their, albeit hesitantly articulated, 'whole child' and 'empowerment' perspectives (see p. 173-178) and, on the other hand, from the ways *learning* featured in the children's descriptions of their plurilingual experiences (see 7.2 and above). With this question, I also return to facets of the pedagogical space as outlined in the stopover section 7.3.

The notion of the 'plurilingual speaker' has been used throughout the chapters for children who have, through their family socialisation and/or migration trajectories, more than one (named) language in their linguistic repertoire. In 7.1, I have used this notion in the context of how Sonia and Adriana were positioned in the classroom as plurilingual speakers who would become monolingual learners, while Bianca found herself in the position of a plurilingual speaker who is a monolingual pupil. To complement the perspective of the *plurilingual speaker* with an emphasis on the *plurilingual learner* is, in my view, useful for possibilities of multilingual pedagogies in the primary school for three reasons: First, it enables teachers to allow for a variety of plurilingual speakers in their 'superdiverse' classrooms: emerging bilinguals like Sonia, Adriana and Khadija; pupils with varying degrees of plurilingual literacy skills (those who attend complementary schools like Amelija or Brayden, or those who learn sometimes with parents/other family members like Nojus or Destiny, who borrows books in Twi from the local library); children, who learn a language which they had not acquired originally via their family socialisation but started to learn later in this context like Nylah and Amelija' (see p. 197-198 129); and pupils, who do not fit into any of these categories. Thus, within an analytical lens of subjectivation in a classroom that is characterized by a monolingual norm, as used in 7.1, an emphasis on the plurilingual *learner* could potentially provide teachers with a criterion to decide which

tasks, activities or settings may offer a child or a group of children the subject position of the *successful plurilingual learner who uses their entire linguistic repertoire for learning*.

Secondly, the emphasis on the plurilingual *learner* could then enable teachers to be more responsive to the many children who are *not* emerging bilinguals and for whom it is important to keep their ownership over what being bilingual means for them, or – as the episode from Bianca has shown (see p. 135-138) – who might be wary of losing this ownership. Children like Nojus (see p. 179-182), Bianca, Shriya, Khalid, Nylah (above) or the three girls in Ellie’s playground encounter (see p. 175) are all successful monolingual *pupils* in their respective ‘official’ classroom, who live the normalcy of their plurilingualism outside the classroom, and it would be the teacher’s pedagogical responsibility to design ‘possibilities’ without causing harm to the experience of normalcy. Such caution appears all the more important because – as Bianca’s episode has also shown – children are aware of wider society’s discourses, which tend to link languages other than English with immigration, and they can anticipate the discriminatory effects this might have. Thus, the emphasis on the plurilingual *learner* would offer teachers an opportunity to thematise among themselves and with their pupils various aspects like knowledge/skills transfer between languages, development of metalinguistic skills and other facets of what may be described as a normalcy *within* evolving plurilingual repertoires. These aspects are, in fact, important elements when developing tasks for and with those children, who have acquired (and are continuously acquiring) more academic language skills in spoken and written English than in other components of their repertoire. It might be said that thematizing learning on such a metacognitive plane has the potential to take multilingual activities beyond the acknowledgment of multilingualism and closer to learning as the key activity in school.

Thirdly, an explicit emphasis on the plurilingual *learner* might be seen as valuable because it can provide long-term perspectives. From the perspective of the plurilingual learner, the start of Reception marks a beginning, when children learn what ‘is done’ and how learning works in school, and to which of their dispositions and skills and, as one of those, to which of their language practices the new interactional environment responds. It could be said, therefore, that a long-term or spiral-curricular orientation is relevant for the learner in regard to both possible *multilingual-specific* activities and other *more general pedagogical* features within multilingual pedagogies. As Little and Kirwan (2019) documented for one primary school (see p. 23), the inclusion of children’s whole language repertoires throughout the primary years needs to be embedded in approaches of dialogic teaching and writing as self-expression (ibid.: 89), and pedagogical principles in the tradition of Dewey, Freinet and Freire feature prominently in other approaches of multilingual pedagogies (e.g. Cummins et al. 2011a; Schreger/Pernes 2014; Anderson/Macleroy 2016). Regarding this study, I would like to suggest that

the three features that emerged as common denominators of the ideas put forward by Ellie, Hira and Heather – *inviting the families to participate, enlarging the periphery of the official classroom, and pointing to activities where educators have considerably less control* than in other teaching/learning activities – can be usefully understood as falling into the latter category of general pedagogical features. Although they can be found in many intervention or whole-school-development studies (e.g. Kenner/Ruby 2012; Hélot et al. 2014; Little/Kirwan 2019) – and are not limited to multilingual pedagogies either, but point to challenges in primary education and to developments around multiliteracies pedagogies (e.g. Pahl/Rowse 2012; Pahl/Burnett 2013) – it is relevant for the ‘possibilities’ of multilingual pedagogies and for teacher agency that the three features emerged here from the teachers’ ideas and experiences. In this context, an emphasis on the plurilingual *learner* may allow teachers to foreground more explicitly that long-term/spiral-curricular considerations are important not only for the multilingual-specific activities themselves but also in relation to more general pedagogical features that underpin them. Ellie, Hira and Heather taught all in Lower Key Stage 2 classes, and what they saw as the ‘currently possible’ is inevitably influenced by the approaches that preceded this phase and by those that may follow in Upper Key Stage 2. In other words, how families’ knowledge is being included, how children are encouraged to make their out-of-school literacies and interests ‘official’ and ‘normal’ in the classroom and how teachers design activities, in which pupils’ agency and autonomy increases while their own control decreases, are all pedagogical considerations that would benefit from consistency as they require growth and some routine – on the part of the teachers and on the part of the pupils as plurilingual learners. On the whole, from the learner’s perspective, these features would be part of what ‘is done’ and how learning works in school. In this sense, what is possible in the middle years of primary school depends to a considerable extent on long-term perspectives throughout the primary phase. It could be said that this is self-evident, but I would like to argue that it is worthwhile to mention it in the context of ‘possibilities’ and teacher agency. Although a spiral-curricular angle cannot, in itself, fill the gap left by the negligence of multilingualism in the current curriculum and the resultant lack of meso level guidance, it might be seen as strengthening the projective dimension of teacher agency in multilingual pedagogies over the course of the primary school years.

As explained in 4.3 (see p. 48), the mind map activity was meant to acknowledge the children as experts for their plurilingual repertoires without expecting them to present their ideas in pedagogical formats. The ideas can be usefully considered in four groups: ‘interactive activities’, ‘explicitly literacy related learning’, ‘multiliteracies’ and ‘others’. I use these headings only for an overview, and there are also overlaps between the groups. The facet of *interactivity* might be seen as a shared element of those ideas, where children wrote or said that they wanted to *teach* the language: these ranged from

to share with friends and trade with people (Khalid, Florin)¹⁷ via *teach people* (Brayden) and “I would play a game and teach important words” (Mason, act. 2, Castle 15.3.2017, 294) to Sana’s explicit *be a teacher, teach people*. In all groups, many children mentioned games, e.g. “I would play a game to teach what this word or that means and then I translate it into English and then there it will be in Telugu and in English, and then they can try to match it” (Silu, *ibid.*, 272-274). Furthermore, audibility – as described before by Shriya, *everyone can hear your language...* (143-144, p. 196) – can be usefully understood as a common element of all those activities. It also features in ‘presentations’ about their languages (and in Khadija’s case, about Italy), which four children from Ellie’s Year 4 suggested, as well as in Sana’s suggestion to tell stories. On a somewhat smaller scale, children from Heather’s class mentioned to talk to another child who also speaks Farsi (Darya) or *tell your teacher your language* (Antonina). Others still mentioned video games, some of which they would play in languages other than English (e.g. Florin, act. 2, Bird Y 3/2-1, 31.1.2018, 183-184).

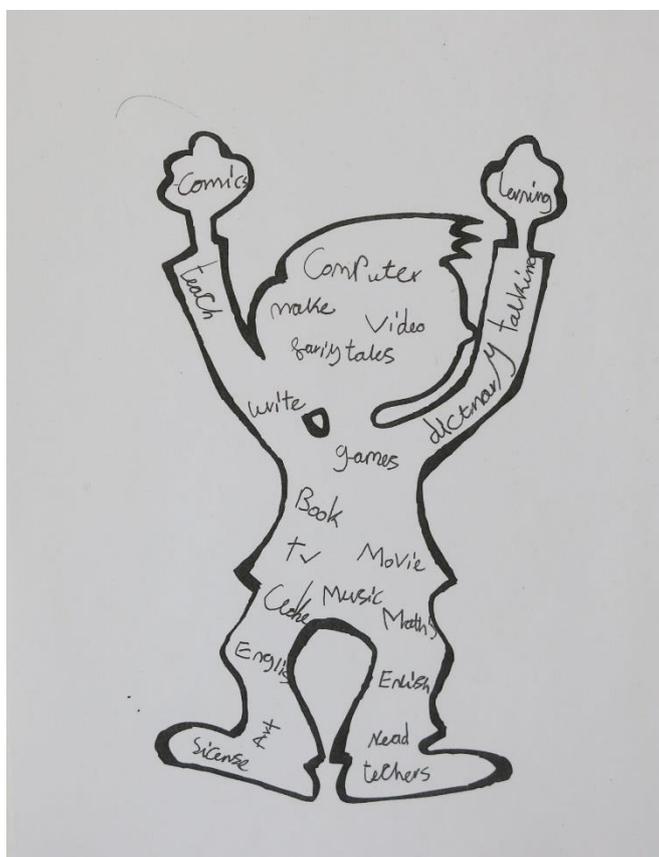
The second group of ideas relates *explicitly to literacy learning*, which I use here in the ‘traditional’ reference to reading and writing. However, this may include technical devices, as children described their use at home (e.g. Florin, see p. 196, for Romanian; Shriya for Gujarati, act. 2, Bird Y 3/2-1, 31.1.2018, 266-268). Pupils from Ellie’s class wrote to *learn more* (Emilija, Bianca), while Silu commented, “I also think to look up in the internet facts about it” (act. 2, Castle Y 4, 15.3.2017, 274). Other suggestions included *read stories and say them out loud* and *write stories and [...] tell the story* (Rasa Y 5) and *to read books and then make your own book* (Mariana Y 5). Books featured also in many other ideas the children put forward: Kacpar – he had not included his Polish reading in the ‘River of Reading’ (see 7.1) – wrote about *books in Polish and Spanish and lots of other languages*; Joana suggested *reading books, use a Portuguese Thesaurus or dictionary* and *Make a book out of Portuguese*; and Khalia mentioned *A Twi handwriting, Twi dictionary* and *Twi book*. Asked whether she could write ‘a bit in Twi’, the child replied, “I am still learning” (act. 2, Bird 29.1.2018, 120). Other ideas around writing were *write a story, poem* (Khalid) and *Do some recipes in Italian and Bengali* (Khadija). Children from Hira’s Year 3, Sana, Azayiz and Nadia (see pp. 132-134), wrote *get a Bengali teacher and teach everybody* (Sana) and *I will get a teacher, an Urdu one and just talk with her and if I learn I will know it* and *I will learn so much* (Azayiz). Nadia wrote *Instead of French we would have a teacher for every language we have in school. The teachers would pick the children up which speak the same language*. Finally, I want to mention in this context of ideas that related explicitly to learning literacy an exchange with Maurille, which points to the whole-child and empowerment perspectives.

¹⁷ If no additional reference is given, names refer to the sheet used for this activity; spellings have been corrected.

When we were talking about their ideas on the mind maps, Maurille did not respond initially, but had written *fairy tales* and *book*, among other suggestions.

- 74 Th.: What would you like to do?
 75 Maurille: Reading in French.
 76 Th.: Do you read in French at home?
 77 Maurille: Yes.
 78 Th.: [...] Which kind of stories do you read in French?
 79 Maurille: Fairy tales.
 80 Th.: Fairy tales. Did you bring them once to school?
 81 Maurille: No.

(ibid.)



ill. 8: Maurille's mind map

According to her teacher (int. Kelly 7.12.2017, 857-858), Maurille had been a very quiet child throughout her primary school years so far. She speaks French at home and said that she is 'not sure' whether the French teacher is aware of this; an uncertainty shared by her classmate Hamza regarding his French (act. 2, Bird Y 3/1-2, 29.1.2018, 20-25). Thus Maurille's mention of reading fairy tales in French at home could be seen in the context of 'the whole-child' perspective as described by Ellie as

‘seeing a different side of them’ (271, see p. 175). Maurille participated usually very shyly in classroom talk and her overall confidence seemed to differ noticeably from many other pupils, who assuredly and regularly participated (e.g. fieldnotes Bird Y 3/1, 24.1.2018, 35-37). Her hesitation to present her ideas here appears to mirror this situation, before she expresses in (75) *Reading in French* a wish that can be understood as the wish to show her French reading skills in school and/or as the wish simply to do what she does at home, i.e. reading also in another language than English. Maurille’s suggestion was not followed up in the interview with her teacher Kelly. Yet, I want to use this short extract to draw attention to an aspect that appears relevant for multilingual pedagogies and teacher agency. Maurille is a learner, for whom it would be important to develop her confidence and, literally, her audibility in the classroom, and who wishes to share her out-of-school reading skills in school. I would argue that her experience shows, how aspects of voice, of audibility and of being a confident (plurilingual) learner must be seen as coming together *in individual ways*. It would have needed a different inquiry to understand Maurille’s situation in more detail. However, the point to make here is that it is relevant for multilingual pedagogies to allow for, and to be aware of, a child’s individual situation; this may include decisions about what activities or tasks might be empowering for the child. Arguably, an awareness of pupils’ individuality should be a matter of course for primary school pedagogy in general, and there is also a connection with the argument made previously that multilingual pedagogies in the ‘superdiverse’ primary school need to take into account and respond to the range of meanings which speaking a language can have for children. Nevertheless, I mention this aspect here explicitly, because the link between becoming audible and learner confidence did not only concern Maurille.

In the extracts reported in the previous chapters, some children were less audible than others. Adriana is a case in point in 7.1, where Sonia and Bianca talked *about* her, while the girl herself did not participate in the English conversation. Moreover, Adriana’s situation differed considerably from the confidence with which Sonia already tried to navigate her own learning in Ellie’s classroom. Another example of being not – or much less – audible in the classroom was Daniel. In the episode in 6.1., he enjoyed his ‘reading voice’ in Romanian, but his teacher described the pupil’s disappointment not to participate more actively and independently in lessons yet, and how Daniel did not really want to share his ‘reading voice’ in English with the class so far (int. Hira, 27.6.2017, 377-383 & 485-488). Under the current monolingual circumstances, the question put to Maurille in (74) ‘What would you like to do [with the respective language]?’ – is simply *not* being asked in the classroom. It could be argued that this results in constellations, where pupils like Adriana and Daniel, who are less audible and whose learner confidence is still very fragile, have even fewer chances than more confident pupils to find out and to negotiate what their languages could mean for becoming a plurilingual learner. This

is, of course, the inherent logic of the monolingual norm in school. Here, however, I want to highlight the relevance of the individual ways in which a pupil's voice, audibility and learner confidence in the classroom may come together not so much in order to add a further element of complexity to the 'pedagogical space', but rather to foreground a possible link to teacher agency. As described in 8.2, all teachers in this study expressed a concern for children's learning experience and for a rapport with their pupils as fundamental features of their identity as teachers, their professional values and, by extension, their general agency to run their classrooms. What Ellie described as "knowing the children like knowing them as individuals is really like something I really try to do" (int. 8.2.2017, 8-9, see p. 158) is an important part of these features, and the awareness of children's individual situations can be best related to this aspect of teacher agency. As with the teachers' pedagogical motivations based on 'whole child' and empowerment perspectives before, there is no guarantee of inclusion of multilingual pedagogies in this context, but it may be seen as encouraging such possibilities.

The children's ideas around *multiliteracies* related to projects they were currently working on or had done recently. All six children from Ellie's class suggested to create a wiki. A class wiki was, as mentioned before, their current Computing topic and Ellie described how this type of formats is attractive both for her – "it goes with the PBL [Project Based Learning] where it is a bit more open ended, where you can just see what they know" (int., 24.3.2017, 94-95) – and for the pupils, who enjoy to access their peers' pages at home and comment on each other's work (ibid.: 98-106). Shriya suggested an animation movie like they had made recently in Kelly's class using the stop motion technique:

- 240 Th.: *What would you do with your Gujarati and the animation movie?*
 242 Shriya: [...] The imovie is the same as 'The Iron Man' and what you would do
 243 is, you have to take pictures [...]
 244 Th.: *And what would you do with the language?*
 245 Shriya: With the language I think . . . I don't know, you-- I am not sure
 246 Th.: *What would you do? Would you do subtitles?. Or would you just take*
 247 *your voice and tell the story in Gujarati?*
 248 Shriya: I think-- just take your voice [...]

(activities 2, Bird Y 3/2-1, 31.1.2018)

I have chosen this extract as it points to an almost self-evident aspect that is nevertheless very relevant for understanding conceptually the relation between children's ideas and teacher agency for the creation of 'possibilities'. As with the wiki pages, Shriya's and other children's suggestion to make a movie shows that multiliteracies formats are very motivating for pupils. However, while Shriya has been positive about the inclusion of Gujarati in school activities (see p. 196), her indecisiveness in

(245) *With the language I think . . . I don't know, you-- I am not sure* underlines the need for some pedagogical facilitation on the part of the teacher to modify/extend the format, which Shriya experienced so far, in order to include children's multilingualism. On the whole, the observations around the 'River of Reading' (see p. 124-125), the wiki (see p. 178-181), and the 'Iron Man' stop motion movie, where in all instances the monolingual norm had not been suspended, chime with the assertion that "in practice multilingualism has not been fully integrated into a multiliteracies pedagogy" (Macleroy 2016: 74).

Finally, the children wrote 'other' ideas, in which language featured in conjunction with other subject areas or topics, e.g. *history because so we will know what happened in the home language* (Mariana Y 5), *learn Vietnamese/Chinese medicine* (Brayden Y 5), *I would like to do a science experiment* (Anna Y 5); many children also referred to art: *Learn about Portuguese artists* (Joana) or *Do something arty from it* (Bianca). Through the ideas reported here as 'others', the children expressed primarily their individual interest in certain topics. Implicitly, they also thematised more fundamental insights, showing not only the awareness that *all* topics can be potentially accessed through the languages whose foundations they had learnt in their families, but also that there were topics whose knowledge could be accessed more profoundly through those languages.

Teachers and children came up with many ideas – the teachers somewhat more cautiously, and the children more freely when filling the silhouette diagram for a second time. In this chapter, I intended to present some of their ideas, while also pursuing the two research questions of how possibilities of multilingual pedagogies can emerge and how teacher agency might be enhanced by asking how these ideas could be related to the 'pedagogical space'. This term was used in 7.3 in response to what emerged, from the classroom observations, as a monolingual norm and, from the participatory activities, as the children's 'superdiverse voices' with the various meanings that having a language in their repertoire can have for them. At the same time, it emerged over the course of my research that 'pedagogical space' constitutes one of the four interrelated elements that potentially contribute to the achievement of teacher agency in multilingual pedagogies (alongside the elements classroom, teachers' professional identities and children with their linguistic repertoires). Thus, it assumed in 7.3 a provisional or exploratory status that allowed me to respond to my study's general tension between the absence of any reference to multilingualism in the current English primary curriculum and the expectation to encounter educators who achieve agency in relation to this very domain that the curriculum neglects. I also suggested that the 'pedagogical space' might be usefully seen as conceptual and concrete/practical, and that it needs to be sufficiently flexible to connect to teachers' 'small'

spaces of choices and routines, while also being sufficiently systematic to provide a frame of reference for decisions and developments (see p. 144).

Against this backdrop and by way of summarizing, I would like to suggest that the insights from this chapter allow us to trace a nexus that can potentially support the emergence of the pedagogical space. The data highlights that possibilities of multilingual pedagogies in a primary school under 'superdiverse' conditions could and should be seen as *co-constructed* by teachers and their pupils. That is, on the one hand, teachers would contribute not only with practical/concrete decisions and actions but also with their pedagogical motivation grounded in holistic and empowerment perspectives. Although these perspectives were formulated somewhat hesitantly, it is significant that for the educators they arose out of their experience of working with the children, and therefore, this pedagogical knowledge can be seen as 'already out there' in the classroom and as providing a link to teachers' professional identities. On the other hand, the pupils would contribute to this pedagogical space with their experiences as plurilingual children – speakers and learners –, with the meanings the languages in their repertoires have for them, with their language and literacy skills and with their ideas of what to do with those languages in school. Considering how the teachers talked about children's plurilingualism – e.g. Mike's 'standing there' (see p. 99) or Heather's "I talk with them about their lives and the different languages they speak" (see p. 91 & 169), but also Hira's and Kelly's lack of knowledge about children's complementary school attendance and literacy skills respectively (see pp. 187 & 182) and the enjoyment and normalcy the children showed in the participatory activities – it appears relevant to appreciate the way, in which teachers' and pupils' experiences could and should come together, literally as an *interaction*. This would be especially important for activities in which children and teachers explore their multilingualism and which should be a constitutive part of multilingual pedagogies. The superdiversity of children's voices – their different languages and the range of meanings they have for the children – requires dialogic approaches, and those can emerge best, if teachers have the opportunity to listen and children the chance to feel being listened to in a dialogue that might not yet very often take place around multilingualism. As Brayden put it, *you never really get to talk [...] you don't really think about languages* (314-315, see p. 191). The features described before as common denominator of the teachers' ideas include notably an interactive angle, too. For example, if the teacher intends to invite families to share their plurilingual knowledge, it is necessary to establish and sustain communication and trust with the families. If the teacher inspires pupils to bring into school their out-of-school language and literacy experiences in the sense of what I called enlarging the periphery of the official classroom, such an encouragement would also require interaction.

Such joined explorations of multilingualism would be constitutive for the then following possibilities, but they form only starting points. While the participatory activities belong broadly to a range of approaches that can initiate such interactions between educators and pupils, my research was not designed as an intervention study, and thus insights were not followed up by multilingual activities. When I was including occasionally some of the children's experiences in the interviews with teachers (see e.g. Darius's reading in Romanian, see p. 187, and Khadija's homework, see p. 179-180), it proved useful, but this was not done in a more systematic way. Thus, admittedly, the study stopped short of 'doing something with the languages', a fact Nylah addressed clearly with a rhetorical question on the way back to the classroom after the participatory activities, "So what is the whole point of doing it?" (research diary, 29.1.2018). However, to summarize further how possibilities could emerge, I would like to point to three aspects that arise, in my understanding, from the findings reported in this chapter:

First, the three teachers' pedagogical motivation and ideas point, on the whole, to a willingness to engage with multilingual pedagogies and to exert some agency in this regard. Even the two teachers who did not express their readiness citing a lack of time deemed a previous one-off activity successful (Kelly, see p. 182) and considered the acknowledgement of a child's bilingualism as important for his self-esteem (Mike, see p. 176). Although the teachers formulated their 'whole child' and empowerment perspectives implicitly, I would content that this angle can represent a sustainable link to primary school pedagogy as a whole. Thus, it refers to what I described in 7.3 as desideratum for the 'superdiverse' school to clarify what it wants to pursue *pedagogically*, complementing the social justice orientation with a reference frame for all plurilingual pupils. Secondly, the teachers suggested their ideas cautiously and mentioned a need for fundamental aspects of support like in-service training, and access to more ideas and resources that link to curriculum themes. It is therefore, in my view, useful for the 'pedagogical space' to include a kind of pool of approaches, formats and activities, from which teachers could choose and to which, at the same time, they could contribute. Such a *pool of practical possibilities* might be usefully linked to teachers' 'small' choices and classroom routines while also providing a more conceptual frame of reference for decisions, e.g. regarding the distinction between acknowledgement, inclusion and use of the languages other than English or concerning the interplay between activities in a classroom, in a year group or on the level of a school's broader ethos. Moreover, such a 'pool' could refer to the various aspects that are relevant within the workings of a primary school like various teaching/learning formats and resources, subjects, orality/literacy foci and, importantly, the spiral-curricular orientation. Thirdly, while the children put forward many ideas, it would be the educators' role to make choices and develop further pedagogical formats with the school having the task to supply resources. At the same time, creating possibilities in the 'superdiverse'

primary school requires that children are given an active role in choosing from and developing possibilities, and thus the 'pool' could also be seen as having a mediating role between children's ideas, families' or complementary schools' involvement and teachers' and schools' professional knowledge and resources – which returns us, in a sense, to the perspective of a co-construction of possibilities of multilingual pedagogies.

This chapter has pointed to the teachers' pedagogical motivations, which are grounded in 'whole child' and empowerment perspectives, as *potentially facilitating* their agency in multilingual pedagogies. This wider pedagogical concern, which the teachers articulated on the basis of their experiences with their pupils, can constitute a sustainable link between their professional values and multilingual pedagogies, and the teachers' pedagogical motivation and ideas point to their willingness to engage with such pedagogies and to exert agency regarding this domain. Yet, the fact that they articulated this link somewhat implicitly and put their ideas forward with caution highlights the precarious nature of the connection between their pedagogical views and agency in multilingual pedagogies. Thus, the teachers' pedagogical motivation emerged as *potentially facilitating* this agency. At the same time, their references to the need for support on the meso level, e.g. through continuous professional development, and for more resources further underscores the insecure character of teacher agency in this pedagogical domain. Throughout the chapter, possibilities of multilingual pedagogies were explored with a focus on the activities suggested by the teachers and on the plurilingual experiences and ideas shared by the children. The findings are also relevant for teacher agency. The proposed reciprocity between teachers and pupils in their interactions around multilingualism, an acceptance on the part of the teachers to have only partial knowledge and features common to the teachers' ideas – inviting family participation, amplifying the periphery of the official classroom and accepting to have less control than in other activities – all point to the relational character of teacher agency in multilingual pedagogies. Thus, the 'pedagogical space' for such pedagogies should be seen as co-constructed by teachers and their pupils. In addition to the conceptual aspects introduced in chapter 7, this space would also need to provide in practical terms a pool of approaches, formats and activities, from which educators could choose and to which they could contribute. That is, to *facilitate* teacher agency, the pedagogical space needs to be seen as a whole that integrates conceptual, practical and temporal components.

10. Conclusion

This study set out to explore teacher agency in multilingual pedagogies in the mainstream primary school. Given the lack of their official recognition in primary education, it has not come unexpected that multilingual practices were not encountered in the official classrooms in ways that would allow for a direct description and analysis of clearly articulated elements of such agency. This specific constellation required an exploration of the two foci – teacher agency and multilingual pedagogies – in parallel and in relation to each other while taking neither as a given. I will now discuss my findings in relation to the five research questions before addressing the study’s conceptual and methodological contribution and an outlook.

What constitutes, facilitates and hinders teacher agency in multilingual pedagogies?

In the previous chapters, the following aspects have been identified as *constituting* teacher agency in multilingual pedagogies: (1) general teacher agency, which includes supportive relationships at the workplace; (2) reflexivity that derives from a teacher’s pedagogical motivations, their professional experiences and their language experiences; (3) knowledge about multilingualism, multilingual learning and learners; (4) awareness of and knowledge about the pupils’ linguistic repertoires and the different meanings that speaking a language can have for them; (5) the capacity to make conceptual choices within multilingual pedagogies, and (6) a presence of possibilities for making practical choices.

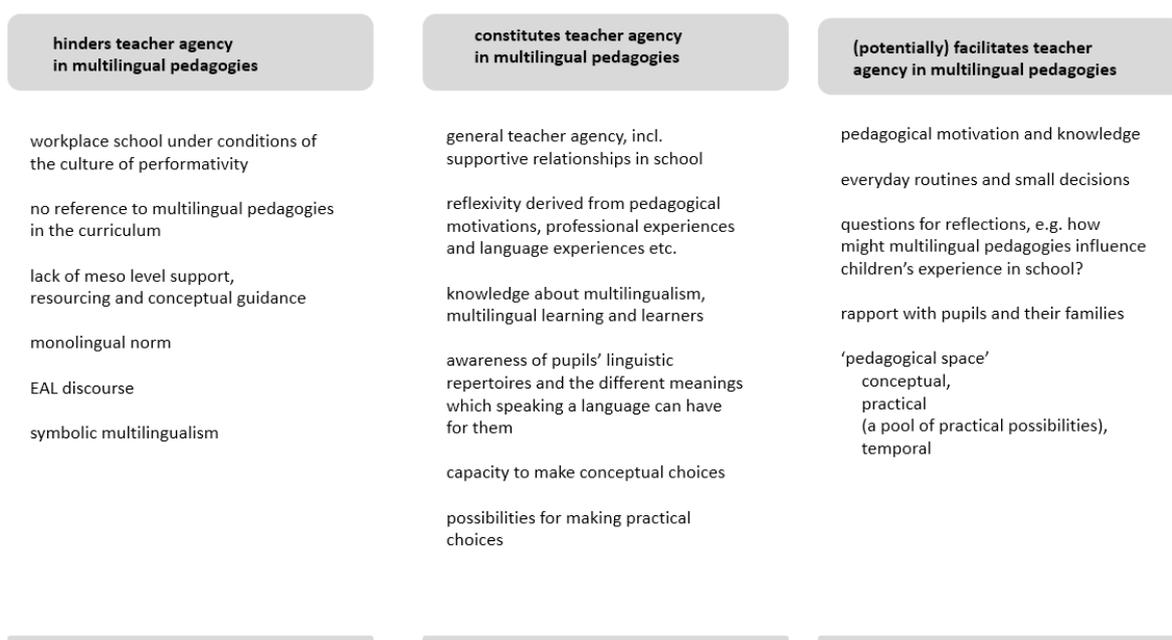


fig. 4: aspects that hinder, constitute and (potentially) facilitate teacher agency in multilingual pedagogies

Five aspects emerged as *potentially facilitating* teacher agency in multilingual pedagogies: (1) a teacher's pedagogical motivation and knowledge; (2) their everyday routines and small decisions; (3) opportunities to reflect on questions that thematise multilingual pedagogies, e.g. how such activities may influence children's experience in school or teachers' rapport with their pupils; (4) a rapport with children and families, and (5) a 'pedagogical space' with conceptual, practical and temporal components.

Finally, the findings point to five *hindrances* to such agency: (1) a workplace school characterised by the culture of performativity; (2) the lack of references to multilingual pedagogies in the school curriculum, which results (3) in a lack of support, resources and conceptual guidance; and the features of (4) a monolingual norm in the official classroom, (5) the dominance of an 'EAL discourse', and (6) the prevalence of a merely 'symbolic multilingualism' (fig. 4).

When now turning to the other four research questions and presenting responses to them, I will also highlight how the individual aspects that constitute, facilitate or hinder teacher agency relate to each other.

How can teachers' professional knowledge, experiences and attitudes function as affordances for multilingual pedagogies?

The teachers' professional knowledge, experiences and attitudes emerge from the findings as *potential* points of departure and affordances for multilingual pedagogies. They connect to the teacher's general agency and related aspects, such as their working consensus or classroom routines and to their professional and personal interests. Yet, there are no guarantees that educators' knowledge, experiences and attitudes will evolve into affordances for multilingual activities in the classroom. On the contrary, the findings highlight the precarious nature of teacher agency in multilingual pedagogies – a fragility that mirrors the official status of these pedagogies and the tensions around it.

The study's ethnographic approach has been well-suited to explore the tenuous character of teacher agency. The findings underscore clearly the necessity to acknowledge the teachers' general professional knowledge, experiences and attitudes as important *components* in further developments of multilingual pedagogies. As the analysis shows, the link between the teachers' knowledge/experiences and multilingual pedagogies is particularly relevant for realising such pedagogical approaches in superdiverse primary classrooms, because teachers need to explore the local conditions and the linguistic repertoires of the children, to which these pedagogies need to respond. Yet another and more fundamental connection is simultaneously thematised here. Given

that teachers' professional knowledge and identities are, to a considerable extent, mediated by teacher education, the findings suggest that the knowledge, experiences and attitudes of educators can only serve as affordances if multilingual pedagogies are seen as an integral part of the broader field of primary school pedagogy. That is, for teachers to be able to draw on their professional resources, requires to go beyond the restricted perspectives offered by the EAL discourse and the symbolic multilingualism, and to address multilingualism within a wider debate on, and practice of, pedagogy. As such, multilingual pedagogies would need to be adequately addressed in initial teacher education courses, provisions of continuous professional development and school development programmes.

The concept of teacher agency allows for an exploration of the teachers' choices and views in the contexts of both their pedagogical routines, motivations and experiences and of the school as workplace. Thus, it has been possible to identify aspects of teacher agency in multilingual pedagogies as described above in relation to the main research question. But the findings also point to the considerable constraints on this agency that are, as in other domains of pedagogy, characteristic for the relation between the school as institutional context and the teachers' professional identities and knowledge. That is, a tension persists between the possibilities defined by the status quo and potential pedagogical developments. This is all the more evident in a domain, where educators' commitments and pedagogical motivations are supported neither by policy initiatives nor by the guidance, resources and, crucially, the legitimisation that education policy provides for developments in mainstream schools. The answers to the next two research questions cannot circumvent or resolve this overall tension but are located within it.

How can teacher agency in multilingual pedagogies be enhanced?

A closer look at the aspects identified as *hindering* teacher agency and as *potentially facilitating* it (see fig. 4) shows a considerable power differential between them. The features which hinder the achievement of agency operate with much more force and influence than those which (potentially) facilitate it. When seeking to enhance teacher agency, it is important to ask how the latter aspects can be fostered and how they contrast with those other aspects that have been identified as hindrances. It would then be the task of continuous professional development provisions and school development initiatives to allow for a thematisation of these contrasting features, and the task of further research to design and investigate such interventions.

The study highlights the importance of considering all three types of aspects – the hindrances, the constitutive components, and the facilitating aspects – in future developments. The teachers spoke

about their time restraints, they took, to various degrees, reflective stances on monolingualism and multilingualism in school, and they described pedagogical motivations to include the entire linguistic repertoires of their pupils or mentioned obstacles to this. Developments which strive for an enhancement of teacher agency need to connect to this variety of experiences and positions and to thematise with educators all three kinds of aspects, including those phenomena which work by way of symbolic domination like the monolingual norm or through paradoxical effects, which educators do not necessarily perceive as working within this norm, such as the EAL discourse and symbolic multilingualism. Furthermore, it is important to thematise the school's workplace conditions under the culture of performativity in order to connect to the everyday experiences of teachers.

Since linguistic power relations frame the classrooms' status quo, it is vital to open up spaces for reflection. Reflexivity emerged as a central constitutive aspect of teacher agency precisely because it allows educators to relate to their pedagogical experiences and motivations, while also contrasting them with those aspects that hinder their agency in multilingual pedagogies. It is helpful to return here to the fine-grained processes of the agency model: actors can shift between their agentic orientations and reconstruct the configuration of the three dimensions of iteration, projectivity and practical evaluation through processes of dialogue and interaction (Emirbayer/Mische 1998: 1003). In doing so, "they can increase or decrease their capacity for invention, choice, and transformative impact in relation to the situational contexts in which they act" (ibid.). This offers a perspective on reflexivity and on the significance of small tensions or small decisions on the part of the teacher. Discussions about small situations like those reported from the fieldwork and explorations of the small tensions mentioned by the teachers can take place as part of reflective processes in various teacher education settings, paving the way for both an enhancement of teacher agency and new practices in the classroom.

However, reflexivity is not a kind of panacea in the face of structural hindrances. The reflexivity found among the teachers can respond to, and start to challenge, those hindrances that manifest linguistic power relations, such as the monolingual norm, the EAL discourse or symbolic multilingualism. While the processes initiated by the teachers' reflexivity can support shifts between the three agency dimensions of iteration, projectivity and practical evaluation, it is crucial that reflexivity vis-à-vis the status quo should be expected not only – and not primarily – from the individual teacher. Ultimately, it is the responsibility of education policy and of the professional field of primary school pedagogy, initial teacher education and continuous professional development to provide opportunities and time for reflexivity, which need to be taken into consideration also in the ways those provisions are designed. This clearly constitutes a challenge, as teacher education itself is under considerable

pressure that results often in a kind of ‘adaptive learning’, which prioritises government and school requirements along with practical knowledge for the immediate context over theoretical and broader pedagogical knowledge (Murray/Passy 2014: 502).

A further strand of findings that is relevant to the question of how teacher agency in multilingual pedagogies can be enhanced concerns the ‘two poles’ of agency under the current conditions of education policy in England. That is, maintaining the practices in the officially monolingual classroom can be just as much a manifestation of a teacher’s general agency as making choices and taking stances for alternative possibilities. Therefore, considerations and provisions that respond to the workplace experiences of educators are important for developing teacher agency in multilingual pedagogies. These issues need to be thematised with teachers to foster practical developments, but they also constitute a theoretical concern for broader debates in multilingual pedagogies, if one wants to avoid a decontextualised approach to teachers’ attitudes or their options. The ambivalences around the ‘two poles’ were apparent in this study. The frictions around the classrooms’ monolingual status quo that remain below a level where teachers perceive them as tensions requiring pedagogical responses, and the only cautiously stated motivations to link their whole child/empowerment perspectives to multilingual approaches in the classroom illustrate such ambivalences. To enhance teacher agency, it becomes then paramount to ask what the teachers might need to move their choices towards a clearer engagement with multilingual pedagogies.

How can possibilities for multilingual pedagogies in mainstream school emerge?

The findings in response to this question are intertwined with the enhancement of teacher agency, as discussed above. The following considerations address in more detail the potential emergence of multilingual pedagogies within the micro level context of a given classroom, but should be understood as subordinate to the previously described constellation of teacher agency and education policy. The findings refer to the network of the four elements *classrooms, teachers’ professional subjectivities, children’s linguistic repertoires and voices, and* (the ‘pedagogical space’ of) *multilingual pedagogies*, which had been inferred from the theoretical perspectives on multilingual pedagogies and the two agency models employed. To achieve teacher agency in multilingual pedagogies and to create possibilities for them, teachers must be able to draw on all four elements when making their choices and taking stances, while the processes involved need to be seen as bidirectional and closely interrelated (fig. 5).

Thus, agency can be exercised and possibilities for multilingual pedagogies can emerge only if a teacher has sufficient knowledge about the children’s linguistic repertoires, while inversely children

can only contribute this knowledge if the official classroom offers opportunities to do so, and after the teacher has chosen certain approaches and formats from the ‘pedagogical space’. The teachers’ choices, however, can only be made if based on their reflective stances and pedagogical knowledge about multilingual learners. On the whole, these processes need to be grounded in a classroom, where the educator has already established a working consensus, an atmosphere of cooperation and trust in such a way that pupils can learn confidently, enjoy their linguistic interactions and share, e.g. the variety of their plurilingual literacy skills – which, in turn, would increase the teacher’s capacity to make conceptual and practical choices for more multilingual activities.

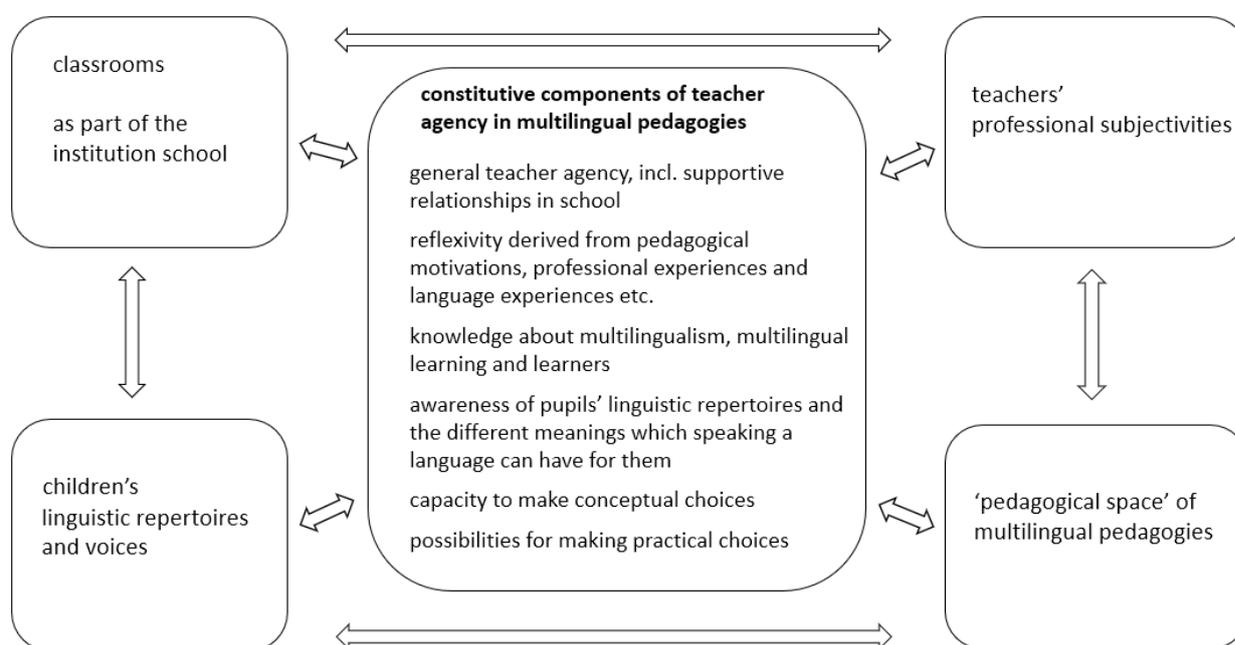


fig. 5: interrelated elements that can contribute to teacher agency in multilingual pedagogies

For possibilities to emerge, it is important to highlight that activities can start at various points within the network and might be initiated by teachers or children. Activities may start with the children showing their language repertoires, as in the playground encounter Ellie remembered or in the ‘River of Reading’ homework on which Heather reflected. There can be many dynamics involved, but it would be the teacher who needs to be attentive to the possibilities emerging in a situation and who needs to make conscious decisions about moving such possibilities into the official classroom. The ‘pedagogical space’ supports the teacher’s agency and the emergence of multilingual pedagogies most directly by fostering educators’ capacity to make conceptual and practical choices. In this study, I have developed the ‘pedagogical space’ as a conceptual response to the status quo, yet it is the element within the network that is currently least accessible for teachers and least to be taken for granted. On

the whole, analysing this network in more detail in a given school setting can provide a focus on particular elements and support tailored responses to strengthen teacher agency and further developments.

How could teacher agency be achieved in multilingual pedagogies?

For teacher agency in multilingual pedagogies to emerge and to be consistently and reliably achieved, education policy at the macro and the meso levels will need to ensure that teachers receive conceptual support and material resources, and that they are allowed some pedagogical flexibility to develop such agency at the micro level of their schools and classrooms.

This is not to say that education policy should be prioritised over aspects such as the teachers' general agency, their reflexivity and their awareness of pupils' linguistic repertoires, which the study has identified as constitutive of teacher agency in multilingual pedagogies. The findings caution against any decontextualisation of teacher agency, which would simplify the complex and fraught relationship between the overall mechanisms of England's education policy and teachers' capacity to make their own pedagogical choices. The development of multilingual pedagogies in the superdiverse primary school faces the challenge to transform current practices and can emerge neither as a bottom-up nor as a top-down process alone. It is for this reason, too, that the achievement of teacher agency is at the heart of future developments, in which both processes need to intersect. It might be argued that developments to achieve such agency could begin at any point of the variety of constituting and facilitating aspects. However, the aforementioned power differential between the hindrances and those aspects that potentially facilitate teacher agency in multilingual pedagogies is exacerbated by the fact that language ideologies coincide with an education policy that sets rigid parameters for what counts as pedagogically desirable and as knowledge in the current English primary school classroom. Therefore, to support teacher agency in multilingual pedagogies on the macro and meso levels and to achieve it as seen from the teachers' perspectives of their work in the classroom, the entire spectrum of aspects that constitute, facilitate and hinder this agency must be taken into consideration. The nexus needs to be addressed in initiatives within teacher education and school development programmes, which encourage teachers and over which they would need to feel some ownership.

Conceptual and methodological contribution

As discussed in the previous section, the various aspects identified as relevant to teacher agency (fig. 4) are interrelated and the consideration of this nexus is vital for enhancing and achieving teacher agency in multilingual pedagogies. The conceptual lens of teacher agency allowed for the exploration of a wide variety of aspects, and I see it as the specific contribution of my study that it thematises the nexus between them.

Multilingual pedagogies are a domain where pedagogy, language education, educational linguistics and sociolinguistics are brought together with different emphases in the context of various educational settings. How those emphases are chosen and discussed depends to a large extent on local conditions, while there remains inevitably a tension between the often 'globalised' discussions of multilingual pedagogies and the necessity to link them to local contexts. This study helps to understand the local in two ways: first, in relation to practices of situated pedagogies in the primary school classroom under superdiverse conditions, and secondly, in relation to the circumstances of English education policy. The English primary school faces the considerable obstacle that the 'local' is framed by a highly centralised education system, which strongly regulates both input and output in compulsory education. How pedagogical practices can respond to local conditions needs to be considered, therefore, in relation to this national education policy. In this sense, the study makes a contribution to an understanding of the current state and future developments of multilingual pedagogies in the mainstream primary school in England. The findings can enable teacher educators to thematise possibilities in the classroom without releasing education policy from its responsibility to proactively support such developments, while they also emphasise the importance to reflect on the role that teacher education itself plays in those developments.

I locate my study at the intersection of primary school pedagogy and the new sociolinguistics of multilingualism that takes into account "the particular cultural condition of our times, while retaining a central concern with the social and institutional processes involved in the construction of social difference and social inequality" (Martin-Jones/Martin 2017b: 1). The intersection constitutes a challenge for both primary school pedagogy and the sociolinguistics of multilingualism. The primary school is a setting where discourses of pedagogy as well as society's language ideologies are constantly reproduced, and where teachers – as practitioners of this pedagogy – make practical decisions based on those dominant pedagogical concepts and language ideologies. At the same time, perspectives of sociolinguistics of multilingualism foreground, among others, processes of fluidity in language practices and of negotiations around what speaking and learning a language means. These perspectives combine a critique of monolingualising ideologies with a critique of how languages are

conceptualised as numerable and named, thus unsettling practical assumptions that play out in schools. Perhaps even more than the monolingual norm itself, it is the EAL discourse and symbolic multilingualism, as identified in this study, that reveal the school's pedagogical difficulties to respond to the children's plurilingual experiences. And yet, the small tensions and ambivalences around the official classrooms' monolingualism point to the difficulties on the part of the teachers to reconcile the status quo with their general pedagogical motivations and understandings. To become practical in mainstream schools, critical perspectives on multilingualism would need to engage with those difficulties and the teachers' experiences.

Against this background, the study draws attention to the fact that the mainstream primary school is placed in a unique position to reproduce or to transform monolingualising ideologies and pedagogies. The findings from the participatory activities and the analyses of the EAL discourse and symbolic multilingualism, in particular, demonstrate how pedagogy and the sociolinguistics of multilingualism need to be brought together to develop multilingual pedagogies in and for the superdiverse classroom. The point to make here is not so much which of the possible disciplines – i.e. primary school pedagogy, language education or educational linguistics – might be seen as the principal reference for forging such pedagogies, but to highlight the necessity to move research and developments of multilingual pedagogies closer towards the mainstream school under superdiverse conditions. The study is thus an invitation to the sociolinguistics of multilingualism not to give up on the mainstream school as a place of inquiry and to primary school pedagogy to engage with sociolinguistic perspectives on multilingualism. It might be argued that the superdiverse primary school is a very common kind of school, but the implications of the superdiverse conditions, which importantly include the various meanings that speaking a language can have for children, need to be explicitly addressed when discussing further development of multilingual pedagogies.

I see it as the study's methodological contribution that the ethnographic approach allowed for a thematisation of the complexity encountered in the classrooms and at the intersection of pedagogy and sociolinguistics of multilingualism. By making the teachers' and children's experiences and voices audible, it has become possible to highlight them as indispensable elements in further developments. The conceptualisation of the 'pedagogical space' has been proposed to foster such developments in multilingual pedagogies. The participatory activities with the children – including the simple but in the context of the classroom rarely asked question about their ideas for multilingual activities – are a significant component of a 'pedagogical space', to which pupils and educators contribute with their voices and experiences. These activities that combined a visualisation of plurilingualism and a dialogue between the researcher and the children as well as among the children allowed for insights into the

children's plurilingual voices. Thus, the participatory activities in this study can be situated within the critical, biographical and visual approaches relevant to the new sociolinguistics of multilingualism (Martin-Jones/Martin 2017a), while overall such activities themselves constitute an overlap with pedagogical approaches that respond to pupils' out-of-school experiences and strive to connect to them.

Outlook

My study suggests a range of follow-up inquiries in various related research areas. In the diverse domains of teacher education, such as initial teacher education and continuous professional development initiatives, it would be desirable to conduct research that designs, supports and evaluates formats that thematise and develop multilingual pedagogies for the superdiverse primary school along – and beyond – the lines of argument presented in this study. Such inquiries and projects can support a single school or a local network of schools, or they can be linked to and integrated into school development programmes. Alternatively, and at a smaller scale, it would be useful to move some of the aspects addressed in this study to an intervention stage and to examine in more detail what support teachers need to extend their agency. Moreover, the perspectives of parents on multilingual pedagogies would be important, both in their own right and regarding the question of how the cooperation between teachers and families can be strengthened. In addition, the research findings clearly suggest exploring and including children's ideas and plurilingual experiences in the development of multilingual activities in different year groups in the primary classroom. Finally, the concept of the 'pedagogical space' with its twofold orientation towards conceptual and practical developments would deserve further research as part of such follow-up inquiries or on in its own right.

At the time of completing this thesis, it is difficult to foresee how the new post-Brexit UK immigration rules will impact on England's superdiverse primary schools. While the development of multilingual pedagogies should – inside and outside of schools – be decoupled from an immediate association with immigration, children new to English are often those who appear to question the schools' monolingualism most noticeably, as the classrooms of this study have shown. It appears now much less likely that emergent bilingual children from working class families, such as Sonia, Adriana, Daniel or Khadija, will find their way into English primary classrooms in the near future. Even more uncertain are the prospects for children such as the two boys from Syria mentioned by Heather to reach the shelter of classrooms in England.

What can be more easily envisioned is the enormous potential that engaging with the experiences of teachers and of plurilingual children can have for advancing multilingual pedagogies. While the dialogue with teachers' professional experiences and pupils' voices should be seen as vital for developments in many fields of education, it is even more important for the domain of multilingual pedagogies in the primary school. It will require both an empowerment of teachers and the political will to provide resources for new developments in order to open up space for the teachers' pedagogical energy and imagination.

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