An Exploratory Investigation into the Communicative Practices of Young Children in a Super-Diverse, Early Years Setting

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Abstract

In recent years, super-diversity has become an important lens through which researchers can understand the impacts of the increasingly heterogeneous nature of immigration. In the field of education, a vast body of research explores bilingual settings, but few studies have been conducted with *super-diverse* participants. The aim of this thesis is, therefore, to investigate the communicative practices of young children in a super-diverse, Early Years, setting. Drawing on Rogoff's interpretation of sociocultural theory, a year-long ethnographic study with thirty children, aged four to six, was conducted. Data collection began when the class started the final term of their Early Years Foundation Stage and continued until the Easter holidays of Year One. The study aimed to promote children's rights and participation by using data from the observations to co-create cartoons with the participants - a technique that yielded opportunities for collaborative interpretation of the data. Ethnographic data was combined with language portraits by the children and semi-structured interviews with their parents to provide an in depth, qualitative, portrayal of the children's communicative practices in the setting. The process of data analysis was inductive, drawing on elements of grounded theory and thematic analysis. The results demonstrate that the children's communicative practices were complex, drawing on funds of knowledge, multimodal and multilingual repertoires. The children often created a third space that fused knowledge and experiences from their home and school activities. A significant finding was that the complex, creative characteristics of the children's communication and third space creation reduced as they progressed through Year One, where they had to take on an increasingly homogenised role in line with the expectations of formal schooling. The findings are important as they reveal how children navigate being at the nexus between increasing diversity of communities on the one hand, and the increasing standardisation of educational settings on the other.

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Thank you to the school, the teachers and the children who participated in this study. It is only through their openness and willingness to share their worlds with me that this thesis possible.

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Publications arising from this thesis

The following publication arose from this thesis:

Fashanu, C., Wood, E. and Payne, M. (2019). *Multilingual Communication Under the Radar: How Multilingual Children Challenge the Dominant Monolingual Discourse in a Super- Diverse, Early Years Educational Setting in England,* English in Education. 54(1), 93-112

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Chapter 1 : Introduction to the research

1.1 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to summarise the rationale for this research. It will first explore the author's personal rationale by presenting a brief summary of the researcher's previous education-related experiences that led to the conception of this study. Next, there is an overview of the researcher's positionality. This will be followed by a section contextualising the current study and identifying a clear gap in the literature. Having established the rationale for the research, the researcher's positionality and the gap in the literature, the research questions that guided the project will be presented. Following this, there will be a brief explanation of the theoretical paradigm that informs this project. Finally, the chapter will provide an outline of the structure of the thesis.

1.2 Personal rationale

Prior to embarking on my Doctoral studies, I worked as a primary school teacher in Year One at the school where the present study was conducted. During the three years I taught there I was frequently surprised by the children's incredibly varied backgrounds and the ways their previous experiences shaped their communicative practices. I observed numerous occasions where children from different walks of life came together to share their understandings of the world and to learn from each other. I then became aware of my own practice as a teacher as there appeared to be a disconnect between my professional agenda (to assist the children in meeting certain prescribed goals) and the children's interests (to express themselves and to learn from each other about their varied backgrounds, experiences and ways of communicating). One particular incident sparked my intrigue in relation to this topic: I was collecting in the students' 'home readers' and I asked a Roma Slovak boy where his was. He answered, 'I left it at home, wallah.' I was taken aback by his response and asked him to clarify what the term 'wallah' meant. In response he smiled cheekily, and said 'it's African for not lying'. This simple incident highlighted to me the idea that children were not only learning the prescribed goals through the lessons I planned meticulously in line with the National Curriculum, they were also learning languages and concepts from each other.

1.3 Researcher positionality

Like Greenbank (2003), I hold the opinion that research cannot be 'value-neutral'. Furthermore, it is my belief that recognition of the researcher's personal involvement not only helps to reduce the potential for bias, but indeed the researcher's personal involvement is 'the condition under which people come to know each other and to admit others into their lives' (Oakley, 1993, p.58). It follows that in order to make research more 'trustworthy' the researcher must interrogate their personal histories, experiences and assumptions and the potential for these to influence the research process (Aubrey, David, Godfrey, & Thompson, 2000). Thus, I now present a summary of relevant personal perspectives, and how these may influence the research.

Potentially the reason I took such an interest in the children's multilingual and intercultural exchanges is because I have a particular interest in living abroad and learning languages. I have lived in Peru, Catalunya, Portugal, Australia and Singapore, and in each location. I encountered different cultures. On a personal level, I feel that I have benefitted from these experiences in numerous ways, and I believe multicultural communities are enriched by the mixing of different languages, practices and viewpoints. Therefore, I believe that others may also benefit from living in multicultural communities and sharing experiences with one another. However, this perspective is a potential source of bias, and I shall therefore endeavour to underpin such views with academic literature in order to avoid the influence of my subjective assumptions.

The research project is also influenced by my personal views of children and childhood. As the participants in this research project are young children, aged 4-6, it is necessary to explore the theoretical perspectives that informed the methodological choices and interpretation of the findings (Punch, 2002a). The 'new sociology of childhood' programme of research in the UK which commenced in the 1980s has catalysed a plethora of research which is aimed at improving our understanding of children's experiences and perspectives, emphasising 'research with' rather than 'research on' children (Darbyshire, Schiller, & MacDougall, 2005). Similarly, current social studies of childhood typically view children as fully formed, competent social agents, as human 'beings' (Christensen & James, 2008; Qvortrup, 2004; Uprichard, 2008). This view holds childhood as a significant present state and considers

children to be active social agents and competent beings (Brooker, 2011; Christensen & James, 2008; James, Jenks, & Prout, 1998; Qvortrup, 2004).

However, there is a clear danger that, by constructing children as fully competent beings, their vulnerability may be over looked: typically children do not have the same rights as adults (Masson, 2004); their physical size and relative strength is less than adults (Lahman, 2008); they hold a lower place in the hierarchy of organisations (Christensen, 2004) with less power than adults (Spyrou, 2011); they are subject to 'adult policing' (Fine & Sandstrom, 1988). As a result, Lahman (2008) reminds us that it is important to bear in mind that children are simultaneously *'competent yet vulnerable'* (p.285, italics in the original).

I thus adopt the perspective that children are, indeed, competent social actors with views and opinions that are no less important than those of adults. Having said this, the social category of 'childhood' is constructed in a way that leads children to be particularly vulnerable, and extra measures must therefore be taken to afford children maximum opportunity to have those views and opinions heard.

The final aspect of my positionality is in relation to the participants. As outlined earlier, the participants of this study are children which, in my view, created a delicate power imbalance between us. Christensen and James caution that assuming there is a 'boundary' between research with children and research with adults 'would lead researchers back to have misleading and reified ideas about children' (Christensen & James, 2008, p. xv). This sentiment is echoed by Thomson (2007) who argues that the very act of pre-labelling participants prior to their entry into the research space risks unintentionally fixing expectations to a particular category, thus reproducing or reinforcing the power relations that participatory research hopes to dissolve. However, my own view aligns with the opinion of Christensen (2004) that there is an inherent power relation between the researcher and the researched, and this 'may be reinforced by more general cultural notions of power and control in generational relations between 'children and adults' (Christensen, 2004, p.168). It should also be noted that the research was conducted in a school which further exacerbated these cultural hegemonic constructions of 'child' and 'adult' as, in schools, adults typically hold authority over children. For example, non-familial adults may sanction children for disobedience, which is generally not the case in other spaces children occupy outside school. Some recommend the researcher adopt the role of 'least adult'

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(Mandell, 1988), an approach that is designed to avoid problematizing the socially and culturally constructed category of an 'adult'. However, in my research I took on the role of a 'different sort of adult' (Christensen, 2004, p.174). I did this by actively avoiding behaviours that are traditionally expected of adults, particularly within schools, and instead I let the children lead the interactions, by respecting their wishes and by upholding their views.

1.4 Research context and gap in the literature

The research is conducted in a 'super-diverse' (Vertovec, 2007) environment. The concept of 'super-diversity' was introduced by Vertovec (2007) who describes how the dynamic interplay of variables such as channel(s) of migration, legal status, human capital (e.g. level of education, access to employment, transnational connections, level of civil integration), and responses by local authorities, services providers and local residents make super-diversity *qualitatively* different to previous patterns of diversity (De Bock, 2015; Sepulveda, Syrett, & Lyon, 2011; Vertovec, 2007).

Sheffield, the site of my own research, is an example of a super-diverse city. For example the City Council's Corporate Plan 2015-18 notes 'The city's communities are more diverse than at any point in the past' (Sheffield City Council, 2015, p.7). This is supported by Sheffield's local migration profile (Migration Yorkshire, 2019, p.28) which provides evidence that demonstrates different indicators of diversity, such as 23% of primary school children in Sheffield have a first language that is not English. In addition, the reasons for migration documented by this report include work, education and protection, with each of these channels of migration being subdivided into smaller clusters, for example those seeking protection could be: asylum seekers receiving different levels of support and accommodation; unaccompanied asylum seeking children; refugees who were previously asylum seekers in the UK or refugees who have been resettled in Sheffield directly from another country through specific protection programmes.

While the existence of super-diversity is widely accepted, "understanding the implications of this remains topical and relevant" (Meissner & Vertovec, 2015, p.6). Researchers are now looking at the impacts of super-diversity on multiple aspects of communities, such as healthcare (Phillimore, 2011), enterprise (Sepulveda et al., 2011), religion (Burchardt, 2016), education (Moore, 2018; Payne, 2015); food (Sif Karrebæk, 2018) and language (Blommaert

& Rampton, 2011). This research project aims to add to this field of knowledge by exploring the communicative practices of children in an Early Years classroom setting through their transition into Year One (Y1) of the National Curriculum, and the consequential ways in which communication is embedded in social contexts.

1.5 Research aim and research questions

"In the same way an architect needs to know the purpose of the building before designing it… social researchers must be clear about their research question before developing the research design." (De Vaus, 2005, p.17). The overarching aim of the research is to answer the following research question:

How do the intersections between different socio-cultural contexts contribute to children's multimodal communicative practices in a super-diverse environment?

After the initial phases of data collection and coding, I developed three subsidiary research questions. The process of the development of each question is elucidated in this section. Once I had decided on the broad areas of the questions that I had developed, I realised that they were consistent with Rogoff's three planes of analysis: the personal, interpersonal and cultural-institutional aspects of an activity (Rogoff, 1995; 1998; 2003). Thus the three subsidiary research questions were strengthened by drawing directly on Rogoff's ideas and terminology.

The first sub subsidiary research question focuses on individual children and considers their perspectives regarding the origins of their repertoires of communication, and adopts the stance that "In order to understand children we must be cognisant of the social, cultural and historical practices in which they live and learn" (Hedegaard, Fleer, Bang, & Hviid, 2008, p.1). It considers how children draw upon communicative resources they have learned outside of school as active members of communities and multigenerational families by applying a 'funds of knowledge' (Moll, Amanti, Neff, & González, 1992) theoretical framework. Thus, the first subsidiary research question is:

1. How do the repertoires individual children learn in out-of-school socio-cultural contexts contribute to their multimodal communicative practices in a super-diverse environment?

The second subsidiary research question focuses on the interpersonal aspect of communicative activities. The question was developed as part of the ongoing, iterative process of data analysis as described in Section 3.4. It became clear to me as I observed the participants communicating with each other and myself, that communicative resources are not only produced and used by an individual in response to their own personal experiences in out-of-school and in-school contexts, communication is continually modified and new ways of using communicative resources are created in real-time as one person communicates with another (Bakhtin, 1975 - see Section 2.3.2 for further discussion). Thus, the second subsidiary research question was developed to capture this process:

2. In what ways does interpersonal communication with others, who in turn draw upon their own resources from different socio-cultural contexts, contribute to children's multimodal communicative practices in a super-diverse environment?

The third research question focuses on the relationship between the cultural-institutional context of communication and the communication event. It asks how social realities are produced and sustained by particular contexts, while emphasising children's agency and capacity to choose the tools of communication; to explore how children take into account their audiences and the contexts of communication when selecting which language resources to use, and for what particular purpose (Potts & Moran, 2013).

3. What is the relationship between the cultural-institutional contexts of communication and the resources children draw upon to communicate in a super-diverse environment?

1.6 Theoretical paradigm

This research is situated within the interpretivist paradigm: a theoretical lens that focuses on not only perceiving the world, but understanding that our perceptions of the world are

always interpreted through a dynamic meaning system that is continually negotiated with others through a socially and culturally situated framework of meanings (Hughes, 2001, p 35-36). The objective of my research is to explore the participants' experiences and perspectives in this context, and thus interpretivism is appropriate as it embraces multiple interpretations of events and situations (Cohen, Manion, & Morrison, 2011).

The ontological assumption of the interpretivist stance is that reality exists in the form of multiple interpretations (Guba & Lincoln, 2005) and that people's experiences of reality are socially constructed (Greig, Taylor, & MacKay, 2007). The epistemological stance of interpretivism holds that individuals create, modify and interpret the world they perceive around them (Cohen et al., 2011). Thus the researcher seeks to explore how people interrelate and how they construct ideas about the world (Thomas, 2013) and, ultimately, to understand their subjective human experience of the world. Following from this, the researcher also forms part of the research and their assumptions, values and beliefs are intertwined with the research process (Hammersley, 2013). Consequently, interpretivism accepts that these understandings of human experience are subjectively interpreted by the researcher, or as Geertz (1973) explains, the 'data' is the researcher's constructions of other people's constructions of situations (Geertz, 1973 p.9).

This study is based on the premise that multiple interpretations of reality exist and it thus embraces the chaotic, multi-layered essence of different people's interpretations of reality. The aim of this research is, therefore, not to generate universal theory, but rather to delve into the multifaceted experiences of humans in different contexts, as phenomena are neither time- nor context- free (Lincoln and Guba, 1985). That said, exploring the complexity of human experience in real-life contexts yields data that holds great depth, value and significance (Cohen et al., 2011). The findings presented in this thesis thus contribute to existing theory as third space and sociocultural theories will be utilised as explanatory frameworks to analyse the data. In addition, they are aimed at assisting teachers, teaching assistants and all other adults who are operating in a multi-cultural environment to better understand the ways in which their children develop their comprehension of concepts and, through this, are able to further improve the quality of their education. In order to achieve this, qualitative methods are used as they allow the researcher to understand 'the

meanings, purposes and intentions people give their own actions and interactions with others' (Smith, 2008, p.460).

1.7 Structure of the thesis

Chapter One: Introduction

This chapter provides the rationale for the study from a personal perspective and also explores the researcher's positionality. The introduction situates this thesis in relation to current academic literature, which also provides a context for the research. This chapter then presents the research questions and the associated research paradigm that guide this project. The next paragraphs summarise the content of the remaining chapters within the thesis.

Chapter Two: Literature review

The literature review explores contemporary theoretical ideas and recent studies that form the foundation for the current research.

Chapter Three: Methodology

The methodology provides a justification for the chosen research approach. It explores all aspects of the research design including theory, methods of data collection and analysis, and ethical considerations.

Chapter Four: The data

This chapter presents the data that was gathered and is accompanied by an analysis of the data in relation to recent academic literature.

Chapter Five: Discussion

This chapter brings together the findings and discusses them in relation to the literature. It demonstrates how current understandings of the 'third space' can be extended to incorporate the collective nature of interactions and the potential for transformation

Chapter Six: Conclusion

Chapter 6 synthesises the findings and analysis to demonstrate how the research questions were answered. The conclusion also acknowledges the limitations of the study, provides suggestions for future research and indicates this study's original contribution to the field of knowledge.

Chapter 2 : Literature review

2.1 Literature review introduction

My research sits in the intersections of this Venn diagram and, as a result, the literature review is written in three parts (Fig. 2.1):
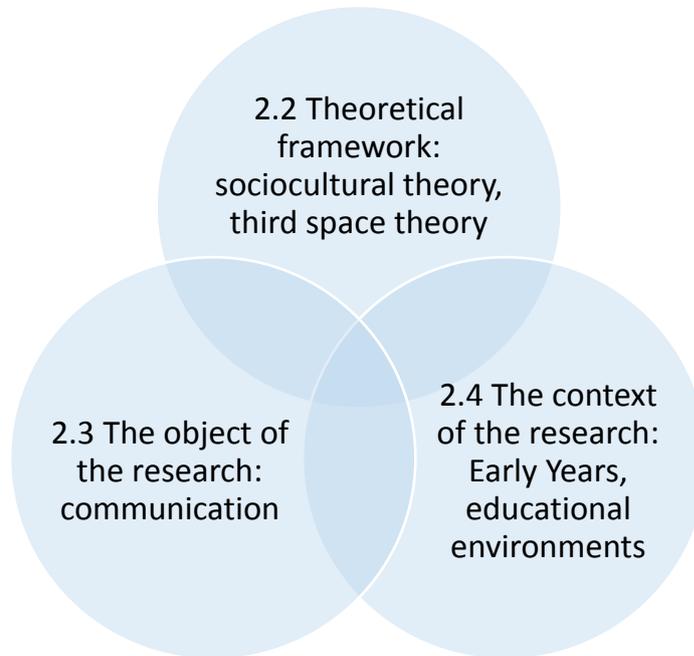
Figure 2.1: Overview of literature review, highlighting theoretical framework

2.2 Theoretical framework

The first section of the literature review will present the theoretical concepts that inform my study (Fig. 2.1). The following diagram (Fig. 2.2) is a visual representation of the key concepts that form the theoretical foundation for the research. First and foremost, are the sociocultural theories that provide the foundation for the research, and which draw on contemporary interpretations of Vygotksy's original work. Two key ideas from sociocultural theory will be explored: contexts and agency, and the theoretical issues and developments that have occurred around these notions will be examined. Following this, there will be a discussion on 'third space theory'- a theory that is underpinned by the concepts 'contexts' and 'agency' (Fig. 2.2)
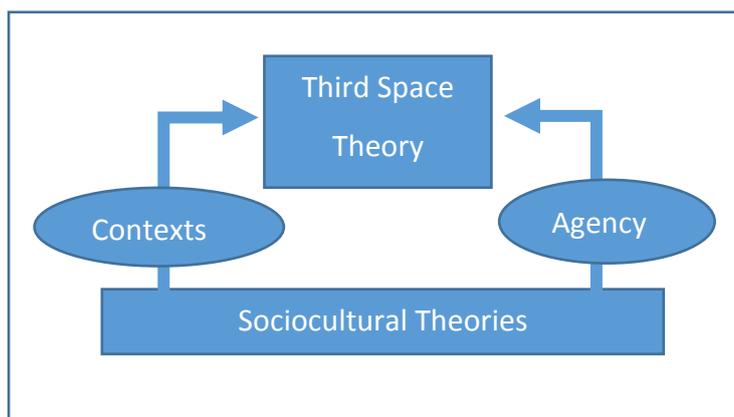
Figure 2.2: Overview of theoretical framework

2.2.1 Sociocultural theories

This section reviews Lev Vygotsky's (1896-1934) sociocultural theory by first describing its original ideas and then reviewing more recent adaptations.

Sociocultural theory provides a coherent theory of learning and development that denies the separation between individuals and their social environments by conceiving of both as mutually constitutive elements of a single, interacting, system (Cole, 1985). Vygotsky believed higher mental processes to be the result of social interactions and central to his theory was the idea of 'mediation', in which socially constructed psychological tools, such as language, are seen as devices for mastering higher mental activity (Daniels, 2016). Vygotsky created a metaphor, the *zone of proximal development* (ZPD), to explain the way in which social and participatory learning takes place (John-Steiner & Mahn, 1996). This has been interpreted pedagogically as a dyadic space in which adults support children in learning-led development. Such an interpretation gives insufficient attention to peer interactions that are also a fruitful source of the ZPD, as the data in this study will demonstrate. In this sociocultural framework, language is a tool that plays a crucial role in cognitive development: when an adult's word directs a child's attention towards an object, the word has both an indicative and symbolic function. Over time the child develops the ability to abstract features of objects, generalise these into culturally determined categories, and ultimately form relationships among the categories (Wertsch, 1985). Through this process a child can move from experiencing the world on a purely empirical basis, to possessing

concepts of the world, and these concepts may be voluntarily manipulated by the child through processes such as memory, attention, planning, learning (Lantolf & Thorne, 2006).

Cole, Engeström, & Vasquez (1997) identify four directions in which sociocultural theory has been taken, and explain how each line of inquiry offers a different concept as a unit for analysis:

1) Mediated action (Wertsch, 1991, 1994, 1995; Wertsch et al. 1995)
2) Situated learning (Lave, 1988; Lave & Wenger, 1991)
3) Participation in sociocultural activity (Rogoff, 1995, 1998, 2003)
4) Activity theory (Leont'ev, 1978, 1981; Engeström, 1987)

All four approaches are united in their effort to investigate the development of cognition in context by exploring the relationship between people acting and the settings they are acting in. Importantly, they all reject deterministic and reductionist accounts of the relationship between cognition and context, however ideological tensions exist between these traditions (Cole et al., 1997). One area of discord is the proper unit of analysis: for Wertsch and his colleagues it is the 'mediated action' (Wertsch, 1991; Wertsch et al., 1995) which emphasises the cultural tools used to mediate action, while accounting for agency by explaining that cultural tools in themselves are powerless, and only have impact when an agent uses them (Cole et al., 1997). By contrast, situated learning theorists consider the basic unit of analysis to be the "everyday activity of persons acting in [a] setting" (Lave 1988). Similarly, Rogoff (1990) believes the basic unit of analysis to be the active participation of people in socially constructed practices, however Rogoff introduced the term 'planes of analysis', meaning the researcher can study, or 'foreground', one aspect of a unit of analysis in detail, while the rest of the unit remains in the background (see Fig. 2.3 and accompanying discussion below). Meanwhile, activity theorists believe the locus of inquiry should be an activity, which consists of subject, object (motive), actions and operations (Leont'ev, 1978, 1981).

Daniels (2016) acknowledges that the distinctions between the different directions are becoming increasingly blurred, for example Roth's (2004) introduction to activity theory draws on the work of Lave (1993) to enhance the work of Engeström (1996). As these approaches are not discrete, this study will draw on elements from multiple contemporary sociocultural theories, however there will be a particular focus on the work of Barbara

Rogoff. Rogoff's theory emphasises how development occurs through participation in cultural communities. Rogoff builds on "Vygotsky's interest in the mutuality of the individual and the sociocultural environment" (1995, p. 140) and suggests the use of 'activity' or 'event' as the unit of analysis. She argues that activities are comprised of three inseparable and interdependent planes (see Fig. 2.3), and that one plane may become the focus for analysis at one time, however the other two necessarily remain in the background of the analysis (Fig.2.3):

Plane of analysis	Developmental Process
Personal/individual	Participatory appropriation
Interpersonal	Guided participation
Cultural-institutional Processes	Apprenticeship

Figure 2.3: Rogoff's planes of analysis, adapted from Daniels (2016, p.88)

Rogoff shares Vygotsky's interest in the 'mutuality of the individual and the sociocultural environment' (Rogoff, 1995, p. 139). While the personal, interpersonal and cultural aspects of human activity cannot be separated, Rogoff suggests that it is possible to view an event by using the three planes as different analytical lenses (Rogoff, 2003).

The personal plane of analysis focuses on how the individual changes through their involvement in an activity. Rather than 'acquiring' static tools and resources to use in subsequent situations, Rogoff argues the case for 'participatory appropriation' which highlights the dynamic processes involved in participating in an activity, such as thinking, remembering, planning and acting. As people participate, they do not simply internalise external pieces of knowledge, rather, through participation, people transform themselves, others and the event (Rogoff, 1995).

The term 'guided participation' refers to the processes and systems that involve more than one person in an activity. This can refer to direct interaction or side-by-side joint participation and observation of others. The goals of the joint activity may be explicit, implicit or even emerging, but they are 'guided' in the sense that they are directed towards activities that are valued by the community. The focus of the interpersonal aspects of an

event can range from didactic interactions with specific targets, to interactions with no particular goal other than to pass time enjoyably (Rogoff, 1995).

The final plane of analysis is 'apprenticeship' and highlights how people's engagement with activities is culturally organised. These cultural-institutional aspects of an activity include the setting, resources, institutional structures, arrangements, cultural constraints and technologies that are available and valued in the community in which the activity is taking place (Rogoff, 1995).

While many interpretations of the zone of proximal development examine the interaction between children and their partners, Rogoff's understanding of sociocultural theory incorporates the cultural community as an integral part of learning:

> "The nature of the problem that the partners seek to solve, the values involved in determining the appropriate goals and means, the intellectual tools available (such as language and number systems, literacy, and mnemonic devices), and the institutional structures of the interaction (such as schooling and political and economic systems)" (Rogoff, Mosier, Mistry & Göncü et al., 1993, p.211).

Rogoff's theory emphasises the mutually transformative process of learning: the cultural tools a child uses to participate in an activity are continually adapted and transformed in each specific circumstance in which they are employed, and thus transformed by new generations (Rogoff et al., 1993).

Rogoff's ideas will be explored in greater detail throughout the following sections of the theoretical framework, but first it should be noted that Sociocultural theory has two central tenets: first, agency to use and transform cultural tools; and second, contexts which impact, enable and inhibit agency. The relationship between these two ideas is often articulated as the 'agency-structure' dualism as discussed in the following sections.

2.2.1.1 Agency
This section describes how sociocultural theory resolves the 'structure-agency' debate that challenges theorists in the social sciences to produce a non-deterministic account of human development and functioning.

According to Vygotsky, all human activity is mediated by symbolic means, such as tools and signs, that are culturally constructed, historical in origin and social in content, thus all human action, including thought, is social in essence (Scribner, 1990). However, Stetsenko asserts people are "participants and agents in the unfolding dynamics of social life" (2007, p. 110). This presents a theoretical challenge: how does one account for "the self as a profoundly social phenomenon, yet at the same time as real, agentive and unique?" (Stetsenko & Arievitch, 2004, p.476).

Key to Vygotsky's theory is that tools are instruments, and that the users of these tools are active agents who control how they are used. In a purely deterministic account of human functioning, every stimulus would have a direct reaction. By employing the notion of 'mediation', Vygotsky modifies the simple deterministic stimulus-response model by the use of an auxiliary stimulus, depicted by Figures 2.4 and 2.5:
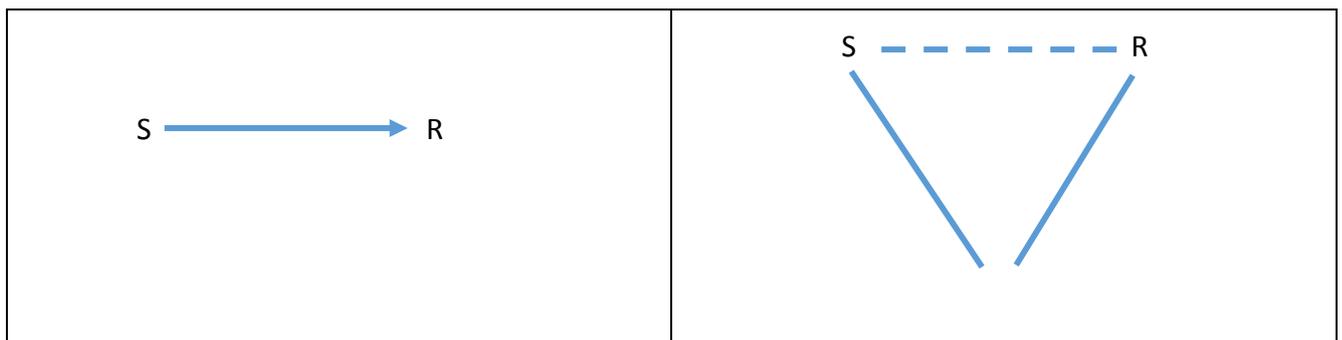
Figure 2.4 Simple stimulus-response process (Vygotsky, 1978, p.39)

Figure 2.5: Mediated stimulus-response process (Vygotsky, 1978, p.40)

Vygotsky explains Figures 2.4 and 2.5 with the following text:

"Because the auxiliary stimulus possesses the specific function of reverse action, it transfers psychological operation to higher and qualitatively new forms and permits the humans, by the aid of extrinsic stimuli, to control their behaviour from the outside" (Vygotsky, 1978, p.40).

This explanation emphasises two concepts: 1) individuals are active agents in control of their development and 2) the tools for mediation available to a person in a particular place and at a particular time will depend on the sociocultural context (Daniels, 2016).

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Importantly, more recent accounts of human subjectivity extend Vygotksy's approach to resolving the apparent 'structure-agency' dualism. One line of inquiry which Stetsenko & Arievitch name the '*self as fused with context/practice*' (2004, p.478, original emphasis) underlines the relational and inherently social nature of cognition, as seen in the work of Lave (1988), Lave & Wenger (1991) and Rogoff (1995, 2003). This perspective describes how learning is situated, particularly within a community, and cognition is conceptualised as being "distributed-stretched over and not divided among - mind, body, activity and culturally organised settings (which includes other actors), across persons, activity and setting" (Lave, 1988, p.1). In the context of this research, it can be seen that children participate in collaborative interactions to carry out specific, culturally defined tasks under the guidance, or mediation, of other individuals within their community (Lantolf, 1994). Lave and Wenger (1991) describe how learning is necessarily situated, and newcomers (or 'apprentices') join communities of practice by 'legitimate peripheral participation' as they are immersed in the community and learn to be part of the community along with other members of the community; be them adults or more knowledgeable peers.

In a similar vein to Lave and Wenger (1991), Rogoff refers to cognition as being "beyond the skull" (2003, p.271) and firmly takes the view that individual development, social interaction and cultural activity are interrelated and cannot be separated (1990).

With regards to the process of learning, Rogoff (1995) challenges two widely used terms: 'acquisition' and 'internalisation'. She argues that both terms imply a separation between a person and the social context, and assume that cognition is a collection of stored possessions. Instead, Rogoff uses the term 'participatory appropriation' to emphasise how learning and development are dynamic processes. Essentially, 'through participation, people change and in the process become prepared to engage in subsequent similar activities' (1995, p. 150). From this perspective, pieces of knowledge are not static entities transmitted from one person to another, rather learning is an active, mutual process involved in people's participation in cultural activities. This means that thoughts, representations, memories and plans become active processes of thinking, re-representing, remembering and planning. Rogoff believes her understanding of the concept 'internalisation' to be more loyal to Vygotsky's original intention, and that other interpretations of the word are misleading.

One clear example of Rogoff's theory can be seen in her critique of the study of culture (Rogoff, 2016) which posits that the notion of 'culture' is often misunderstood. She argues culture should not be thought of as a collection of static characteristics relating to particular ethnicities. Instead, she proposes a focus on people's participation in cultural practices as a means to highlight "the active and interrelated roles of both individuals and cultural communities" (2016, p. 182). In this example we can see how Rogoff's conceptualisation of Sociocultural Theory emphasises active participation in cultural processes, as opposed to passive transmission of cultural characteristics.

2.2.1.2 Contexts

This section describes how contexts play an important role in shaping human experience, and, by extension, communication. It will review literature related to two facets of contexts: The first context, 'communities' is how the environments, communities and cultures influence children's experiences, and therefore their communicative practices. The second aspect, 'immediate spaces' is closely related, but focuses on the immediate context of interactions. In the context of this research, this means the actual physical spaces the children occupy within the school setting, combined with the intended purpose of these spaces and also the activity they are engaged in while occupying these physical spaces. While both aspects examine the ways in which contexts impact the sorts of communicative practices children engage in, the former is in a broader, more general sense, while the latter zooms in on the immediate context of a specific interaction. This relationship between contexts and the communication that occurs within them is the focus of sociolinguistic research: on a broad level, sociolinguistics is interested in the variability of language use from one community to another as children learn to speak through a process of 'language sociolisation' (Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986; Ochs & Schieffelin, 2011). On the more specific-context level, sociolinguistics is also interested in 'context' as the 'field of action' within which a 'focal event' is situated (Duranti & Goodwin, 1992, p.3) (see Fig. 2.6) below:

Context

Focal event
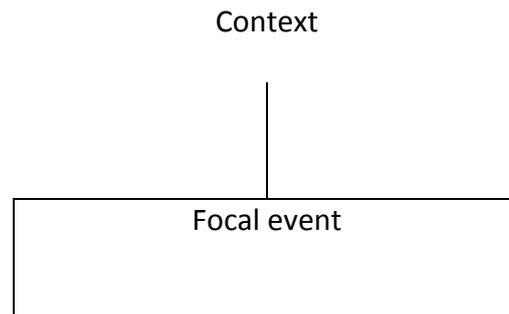
Figure 2.6: The notion of context (Duranti & Goodwin, 1992, p.3)

The field of sociolinguistics and its contribution to this study will be explored further in
Section 2.3.1. Rogoff, (2003) takes a different stance regarding the relationship between
contexts and communication, arguing that the personal, interpersonal and cultural aspects
of human activity are *mutually constituting* and cannot be separated (Rogoff, 2003, p.50-52;
see also Section 2.2.1.2.1 for further discussion). One aspect may be foregrounded as the
analytical lens, but the other aspects do not disappear - they are still present in the
background. To illustrate the point, Rogoff provides a series of photographs: Figures 2.7, 2.8
and 2.9:

Figure 2.7: Individual as the focus of
analysis

Figure 2.8: Interpersonal as the focus
of analysis

Figure 2.9: Cultural-institutional as
the focus of analysis
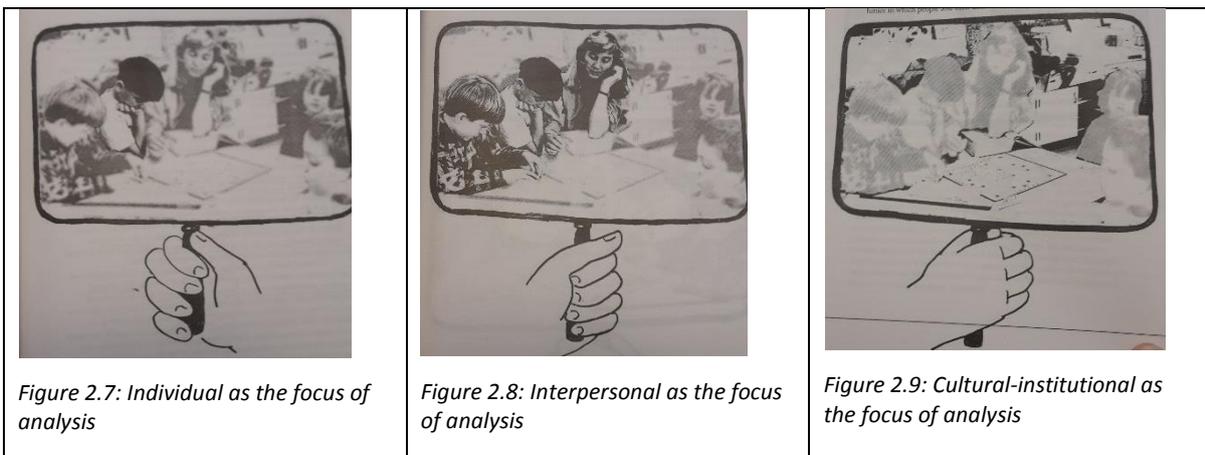
In the first image, Figure 2.7, the individual child is the focus of analysis, yet the
interpersonal and cultural-institutional information is still available in the background. The
second image, Figure 2.8, portrays an interpersonal focus of analysis, such as who organised
the game of scrabble and for what purpose. The third image, Figure 2.9, adopts a cultural-
institutional focus of analysis, which might look at how this particular setting developed
certain practices, and how these connect to wider societal trends and policies etc. The
activity is constituted by all three aspects, and neither of these aspects can be studied in

isolation from the others. The researcher chooses what the focus of analysis is, as indicated by the hand holding the lens in all three images (Figs. 2.7, 2.8 and 2.9).

2.2.1.2.1 Communities

The core foundation of sociocultural theory is that social experience plays a dominant role in learning, as Vygotsky states, "*An interpersonal process is transformed into an intrapersonal one*. Every function in the child's cultural development appears twice: first, on the social level, and later, on the individual level" (1978, p.57, original emphasis). It is not that context and the individual are two separate factors influencing or being influenced by the other, rather context and the development of individuals are integrated (Robbins, 2005).

By emphasising the *cultural* nature of human development, Rogoff (2003) draws attention to how different cultural communities may have different expectations with regards to children. As an example, Western perspectives tend to have expectations of what a child should be able to do by a certain age. This approach stems from the work of developmental psychologists, such as Jean Piaget (1896-1980), whose theory of cognitive development had the appeal of employing a scientific measure to ascertain what could be considered 'normal' development in a child. The education system in England has adopted this approach to child development in the Early Years Foundation Stage (EYFS) (DfE, 2017) and constructs the idea of a 'typically developing child' through curriculum and policy documents. The EYFS sets out indicators of a 'good level of development (GLD)', ensuring children are 'school ready' (see Sections 2.4.2 and 2.4.3 for further discussion. However, Dahlberg, Moss & Pence (1999) point out that this view is problematic as it assumes children are: "starting life with and from nothing --- as an empty vessel or tabula rasa ... [needing] to be filled with knowledge, skills and dominant cultural values which are already determined, socially determined and ready to administer - a process of reproduction or transmission" (p. 44).

An alternative view, 'funds of knowledge', is underpinned by the idea that children have wealth of 'cognitive and cultural resources' (Moll et al., 1992 p.134) developed as they engage in household practices. The researchers shifted the paradigm away from the households in the study being viewed as 'poor' economically and in terms of children's experiences, to a positive view of the home, family and community as funds of knowledge with great potential that teachers can learn from, and thereby bridge the students' school and home worlds. González, Moll & Amanti (2005) stated 'the concept of *funds of*

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knowledge…is based on a simple premise: People are competent, they have knowledge, and their life experiences have given them that knowledge.' (p.iv). Children demonstrate interests that are accumulated from their everyday engagement with activities in the home, school and community, including popular culture (Chesworth, 2016). Indeed, emerging research highlights how children's engagement with digital media extends the original conceptualisation of 'funds of knowledge' to include the digital (Scott, 2016).

A further development from the 'funds of knowledge' approach is 'funds of identity' (Esteban-Guitart & Moll, 2014) which refers to 'the historically accumulated, culturally developed and social distributed resources that are essential for a person's self-definition, self-expression, and self-understanding' (p. 31). Blommaert (2005) states "Identity is who and what you are" (p. 203) and involves situating oneself in relation to 'groupness' and 'socially constructed categories' (p. 204), however Bommaert (2005) is also careful to emphasise that this concept is not as simple or straight-forward as it sounds. Typically, aspects of a person's identity may include gender, race, class, sexual orientation or religious affiliation, however, the provision of such essentialised categories risks excluding a person's agency (Norton, 2013). That said, the significance of a child constructing a personal identity is widely accepted and echoes the importance of these factors in a child's immediate environment (Morrow & Connolly, 2006; Woodhead, 2008a). The notion of 'funds of identity' highlights how people actively use funds of knowledge to define themselves (Esteban-Guitart & Moll, 2014). This resonates with Norton's (1997) definition of identity that conjectures identity is "how people understand their relationship to the world, how that relationship is constructed across time and space, and how people understand their possibilities for the future" (Norton, 1997, p.410). To complicate things further, Brooker (2008) describes how complex modern societies have led to a widely accepted understanding that "children may be viewed as acquiring a complex bundle of mixed and sometimes competing identities through their diverse early experiences" (Brooker, 2008, p.10). Through globalisation, there is increased movement through social and spatial environments which intensifies the plethora of identity markers available to a person (Blommaert, 2005). Furthermore, children's identities are continually constructed, "constructed, co-constructed and re-constructed" (Woodhead, 2008b, p.6) through interactions with peers, family members, teachers and others.

Rogoff (2003) presents numerous examples of how developmental expectations of children vary according to different circumstances and traditions, thus discrediting universal assumptions regarding child development. Furthermore, adopting an ethnocentric view of child development is particularly inappropriate in the modern world where globalisation has led to increased migration and communities have become more diverse, or even super-diverse, as discussed in the introduction (Section 1.4). In this way, Rogoff modernises Vygotsky's ideas which were written in a time when there was far less migration and therefore communities were relatively more homogenous.

In addition, the process of *how* children learn from their communities is relevant to this thesis. While Rogoff acknowledges the importance of Vygotsky's ZPD, she states that it appears to be more suited to direct instruction involving adult-child dyads, while in reality children are continually learning through everyday experiences. Rogoff et al. (2015) make the distinction between "Assembly Line Instruction (ALI)" and "Learning by Observing and Pitching In (LOPI)" (p.2). The characteristics of ALI emphasise how endeavours are controlled by the expert who unilaterally transmits information to the learners, who, in turn, do as they are told. In the ALI model, communication often takes the format of "known-answer quizzing" (Rogoff et al., 2015, p.11) during which the adult directs questions such as "where is your belly button?" to a child. The adult knows the answer to the question already, and the intention of the question is not to uncover knew information, but to test the child's existing knowledge and, as necessary, teach the child. Learning of this kind is often out of context with no genuine purpose other than to transmit isolated skills and information to the learner. The LOPI model, on the other hand, provides children with genuine opportunities for participation in meaningful activities that contribute to family and community endeavours. In contrast to known-answer quizzing, communication in the LOPI model is collaborative, includes verbal and non-verbal communications and is coordinated through shared reference in collective endeavours. Instead of learning being decontextualised, as can be seen in the ALI model, the goal here is for the individual to learn consideration and responsibility along with information and skills through participation in tasks with the community. Instruction occurs in the form of appraisal of the learner's mastery and feedback from the adequacy of contribution (Rogoff et al., 2015, p.4). Rogoff explains how the notion of 'guided participation' is meant to "include but go beyond

interactions that are intended as instructional" (Rogoff, 2003, p.284). Evoking Lave and Wenger's idea of 'legitimate peripheral participation' in communities of practice, Rogoff theorises that when children are mutually involved in shared endeavours with members of their community, they engage in a process of learning that can be both direct and tacit. It is important to note that, in line with the previous discussion on agency, children do not passively internalise the traditions and practices of their communities, "children also extend and modify traditions through their participation" (Rogoff, 2003, p.295).

2.2.1.2.2 Immediate spaces

If we accept that participation and agency exist in dynamic interplay with society, then Stetsenko (2007) urges researchers to explore the ways in which contexts encourage or hinder the development and expression of agency. In this section I will consider how immediate contexts impact human experience and communication as a result.

Human activity exists within spatio-temporal structurations, as Friedland and Boden (1994) explain, "social actors and social actions are *embodied*, which means that they *always* entail genuine engagement of concrete moments in time and particular points in space" (1994, p.6), noting that both 'time' and 'space' are social constructions (Giddens, 1984). Time is measured according to an artificial clock and divided into periods according to social conventions. In a similar way, the organisation, structure, use and meaning of space are socially produced. Soja (1989) draws attention to the dialectical character of the relationship between social and spatial structures, as depicted in Figure 2.10:
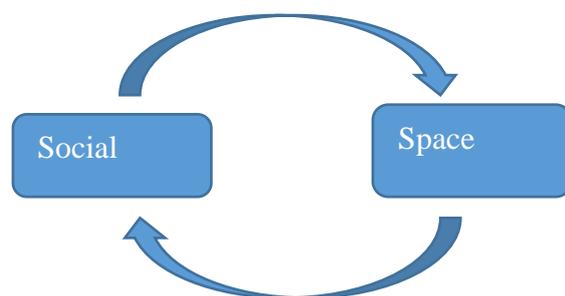
Figure 2.10: The social-spatial dialectic, adapted from Soja (1989)

The socio-spatial dialectic highlights how "social practices produce space just as space produces social practices" (Jones et al., 2016, pp. 1129-1130). The site of this research

project is a school, and numerous theorists have analysed the social-spatial dialectic present in educational institutions, as will now be demonstrated.

 The post-structuralist philosopher, Michel Foucault, posited that the architecture of institutional sites contributes to the flow of power and discipline (1979). Within schools, time is controlled through the use of timetables and bells while space throughout the school is regulated with partitions and doors. Inside each partitioned classroom, the layout is arranged in such a way to control bodily positioning, movement and gesture in order to facilitate surveillance (Giddens, 1984). Gallagher (2010) draws parallels between Foucault's 'panopticon' and a primary school by looking at how its structure, including the physical layout, encourages surveillance and self-surveillance. Each setting, including the different spaces within a setting, has specific social and cultural codes that govern which knowledge and ways of interacting are permitted, expected and valued within the space (Johansson, 2007) – and, by implication, which are not permitted. As children occupy different spaces within schools, they regulate their conduct through a process of governmentality: the children learn what are acceptable ways of behaving in certain spaces, and they govern themselves and others in accordance with these normalised routines (Pike, 2008). These observations are consistent with Foucault's belief that educational institutions are political sites where certain knowledge and practices were privileged, thus maintaining or modifying the dominant discourse (Foucault, 1972). Thus, by examining the effect of the social-spatial dialectic present in schools, it is possible to highlight how the lives of individual children can be profoundly shaped by characteristics of the particular spaces they occupy, such as classrooms (Kraftl, Horton & Tucker, 2012). For example, an ethnographic study by Kernan and Devine (2010) revealed that the indoor spaces of early childhood education and care settings in Ireland were seen as confining and restrictive, while the outdoor spaces were associated with freedom.

The relationship between the intention behind the construction of spaces and conduct within spaces is relevant to this study of children's communicative practices. Gallagher (2010) demonstrates how the layout of the classroom in his investigation was intended to achieve maximum visual surveillance, but was also used to conduct 'sonic surveillance' and enforce the school's regime of 'quiet'. Importantly, Gallagher (2010) notes how the children's communication in the more formal lessons was highly restricted, while the

lessons which permitted more fluid, autonomous uses of space resulted in more informal discussions. Similarly, Gutiérrez, Baquedano-Lopez, Tejeda (1999) observed how multilingual children often engage in 'counterscript' language practices in the unofficial spaces of the classroom, while they participated in sanctioned and legitimate curriculum in the official spaces. Both studies draw attention to the ways in which children resist the dominant ways of communicating within educational institutions and instead seek opportunities to interact and converse outside the boundaries of officially sanctioned dialogue.

A final theory that draws together the ideas of agency and contexts in educational settings is the notion of 'peer culture' (Corsaro, 1988; Corsaro & Eder, 1990). Corsaro (1988) suggests that preschool children create peer cultures in response to their teacher's rules and boundaries in order to '*challenge adult authority and gain control of their lives*' (p.20, emphasis in the original text). Children in educational settings creatively appropriate cultural routines and social knowledge from 'adult world' to develop unique, stable sets of interaction with their peers and create their own peer culture (Corsaro & Eder, 1990).

In summary, when considering the contexts in which interactions occur, it will be necessary to consider both the wider communities of practice the children are part of when outside the school, and also the immediate contexts for communication that the children occupy within the school.

2.2.1.3 Sociocultural theories: concluding thoughts

In this section, I have provided a brief overview of Vygotsky's sociocultural theory and I have summarised the subsequent line of inquiry that has been developed by Rogoff. I have demonstrated how sociocultural theory bridges the structure-agency dichotomy though the notion of mediation. In addition to this, Rogoff (1995; 2003) explains that cognition is not comprised of static pieces of knowledge and thoughts; it is dynamic and shared among members of a community of practice, for example, characteristics of culture are continually transformed as they are appropriated by new members of a community.

Contexts play an integral part in shaping human experience and therefore communication. This can be seen on a broad scale, where people use the cultural tools available to them in a particular space and time to communicate. The influence of immediate contexts has also

been presented, using the example of spaces in schools which are constructed intentionally to re/produce certain discourses in children. The following section will bring these ideas together as it looks at what happens when the intentions of spaces conflict with the values of people within those spaces, who then create 'third space'.

2.2.2 Third space theory

This section will explore the idea of the 'third space' - a notion that affords boundaries to a territory that is itself fluid, flexible and multi-layered, a bridge between communities of practice that have tensions or even conflicts in their values.

According to Soja, "Thirdspace [note the difference in spelling] is a meeting point, a hybrid place, where one can move beyond the existing borders… a Thirdspace consciousness is precondition to building a community of resistance to all forms of hegemonic power" (2009, p.56)

The concept of a 'third space' was inspired by the work of Lefebvre who saw the third space as a site of political choice, where individuals could exercise their right to be different against increasing political forces of homogenisation and hierarchical organisation (Lefebvre, 1991).

Soja (1996, 2009) describes how, in Lefebvre's conceptualisation of the third space, the first space (spatial practice) is comprised of physical forms which can be empirically measured, such as houses, cities and streets; the second space (representations of space) reflects the layout of the space, conceptualised by planners, urbanists and artists etc.; the third space (relational spaces) is lived: it is experienced by its inhabitants and users whose imagination seeks to change and appropriate, "linked to the clandestine or underground side of social life" (Lefebvre, 1991, p.33). Figure 2.11, below, is Soja's (2009) adaptation of Lefebvre's trialectics of spatiality:
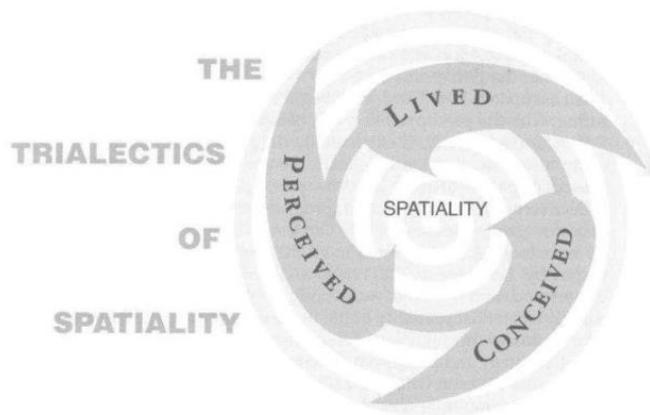
Figure 2.11: The trialectics of spatiality (Soja, 2009, p.55)

The notion of third space has been adapted to form different, yet complementary, models and applications. While the conceptualisations of the third space presented here are different in their particular details, they all share common threads: a space of resistance, a meeting point, a hybrid place of possibilities, transformation, and creativity.

This research project set out to explore what happens when a community of practice is comprised of a diverse group of multilingual individuals, who bring with them varied sets of socially defined ways of doing things (Wenger, McDermott & Snyder, 2002). Thus, the work of Homi Bhabha is also relevant to this project as it provides insights into how the collaboration between members of diverse communities in liminal spaces leads to transformative interactions in the 'third space', a process he names 'hybridity' (Bhabha, 1994). Bhabha urges his readers to "focus on the moments or processes that are produced in the articulation of cultural differences. These 'in-between' spaces provide the terrain for elaborating strategies of selfhood-singular or communal- that initiate new signs of identity, and innovative sites of collaboration, and contestation, in the act of defining the idea of society itself" (Bhabha, 1994, p.2).

This conceptualisation of the 'third space' is reminiscent of what Gee termed 'borderland Discourses' (1990, p.189), where people from diverse backgrounds interact at the peripheries of officially sanctioned spaces, such as schools, to maintain their identities. He gives the example of Puerto Rican teenagers whose values and social practices conflict with those of the school. They transform conventional uses of writing and reading for their own purposes in what Gee believes to be 'a form of self-defence against colonialization' and resistance to power.

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Moje et al. (2004) explore the intersections and disjunctures between home, community and peer discourses and those of school. Their research shows how Latino students have funds of knowledge that are situated in home and community practices and shape the discourses they use or try to learn at school in the United States of America. Children's interests are stimulated and their ways of knowing, reading, writing and talking are shaped by their engagement in activities and experiences with their families and communities beyond the school (Moje et al., 2004, Hedges, Cullen & Jordan, 2011). Moje et al. (2004) conceptualise the third space as the integration of knowledges and discourses drawn from the 'first space' (home, community, peer networks) and the 'second space' (formal institutions, such as work, school, church). Levy (2008) uses Moje et al. (2004)'s conceptualisation of the 'third space' to demonstrate how young children attempt to integrate their home and school experiences to form their own constructions of reading.

This idea that children *create* in the third space is echoed throughout the literature as third space theory has been connected with complexity theory and activity theory to emphasise the potential for third spaces to produce new knowledge and activity. Waterhouse, McLaughlin & McLellan (2009) describe third space as "not simply a place for the sum of others, or the merger between differences… it is a place for transformation and creativity and it helps to illustrate the newness of what is created" (2009, p.6). Cole (1998) uses cultural historical activity theory (CHAT) to explore what he calls 'hybrid subcultures' in 'polycultural' classrooms. Cole emphasises that in the third space "new forms of activity are created that "re-mediate" social rules, the division of labour, and the way in which artefacts are created and used" (1998, p.303). In a longitudinal study of a Spanish immersion classroom, Gutiérrez et al. (1999) examine the transformative potential of hybrid language practices in the third space. They draw attention to how communication in line with the sanctioned and legitimate curriculum was more prevalent in official spaces, while 'counterscript' language practices occurred in the unofficial spaces of the classroom. In the context of their study the teacher embraced spontaneous discussions generated by moments of tension between the expectations of the school and the personal life experiences of the students as she saw these moments as opportunities to promote learning.

The following box summarises the characteristics of 'third space' identified by reviewing the literature (Table 2.1):

- A 'bridge' (Gutiérrez et al., 1999 ; Moje et al, 2004)
- A navigational space (Hicks, 1995, 1996; Moje et al, 2004)
- A space of cultural, social and epistemological change (Moje et al, 2004;
- A 'conversation' (Moll & González, 1994; Moje et al, 2004)
- A meeting point (Soja, 2009)
- A hybrid place (Bhabha, 1994; Soja, 2009)
- Agency (Lefebvre, 1991; Bhabha, 1994)
- Linked to clandestine, underground activities (Gee, 1990; Lefebvre, 1991)
- Identity maintenance (Gee, 1990; Wilson, 2000)
- Resistance to power/homogenising forces (Gee, 1990; Lefebvre, 1991)
- Creativity and transformation (Cole, 1998; Gutiérrez et al., 1999)

Table 2.1: A summary of the key characteristics of 'third space'

In this research, third space theory combines the key elements of sociocultural theory: context and agency. Third space theory takes into account context in terms of society, culture and the home-school dynamic, but it also incorporates spaces as the immediate contexts for interactions. The third space is shaped through the agentic contributions of people who imagine new positions and appropriate spaces for their own purposes, and detailed examinations of people's actions in the third space demonstrate how it can become a site for subverting the officially sanctioned discourses and culturally accepted ways of being and behaving in classroom contexts.

2.3 Communication

The second section of the literature review will investigate relevant elements of the object of the research: 'communication'.

In the first part of the literature review sociocultural theory was presented by exploring two aspects in detail: context and agency. These two themes will continue to run through the literature review as I now turn to present a discussion around 'communication' as this thesis is centred on the communicative practices of young children in super-diverse environments.

First, the field of sociolinguistics will be explored as it provides the foundational concepts for seeing communicative practices as being influenced by (and, in turn, constructing new) social, historical and cultural identities. Contemporary sociolinguists have focused on communicative practices in super-diverse environments which are informative for this thesis. Following this, there will be a brief explanation of how communicative resources are conceptualised within the theoretical framework in which I am researching. Finally, there will be an examination of how identities are negotiated through communicative practices by drawing on the work of Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004) who analyse the linguistic choices people make in order to construct identities (agency) in relation to language ideologies that surround them (context).

2.3.1 Sociolinguistics

The introduction to this thesis (Section 1.4) presented the notion of super-diversity. Using a sociolinguistic perspective, the following discussion considers ways in which super-diverse communities have given rise to new paradigms of communication.

Over the recent decades and stemming from the pioneering work of Gumperz and Hymes (1972), sociolinguistics has had a significant impact on the fundamental ideas about languages. Much of the thinking within the field of language study (for example Chomskyan linguistics, e.g. 1957; 1965) started from assumptions of the homogeneity, stability and boundedness of social groups, however, sociolinguistics focuses on language variation as a universal property of all languages. From this perspective, 'standard' and 'non-standard' varieties of languages are viewed as equally valid and coherent systems that allow the user not only to communicate a wide range of semantic content, but also to signal their social identities, such as their geographical background, social status and role in society (Fasold and Connor-Linton, 2014). However, globalisation and super-diversity have led contemporary sociolinguists, in particular Jan Blommaert, to revise the original concepts that underpinned sociolinguistics, leading to mobility, mixing, political dynamics and historical embedding becoming the focus of many recent studies in this field (Blommaert & Rampton, 2011). In a piece entitled 'Repertoires revisited' Blommaert and Backus (2011) state that the sociolinguistic term 'repertoire' was seen as a triad, as demonstrated by Figure 2.12:

Language

resources

Repertoire

Knowledge of

language

Community
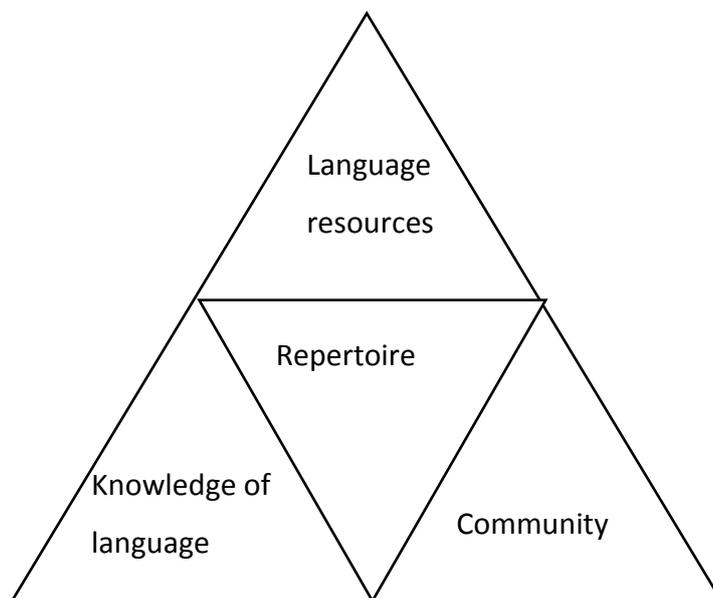
Figure 2.12: The triad of repertoire adapted from Blommaert and Backus (2011)

These authors argue that repertoires can be 'truncated', specialised and dynamic, changeable and negotiated (Blommaert, 2010; Blommaert & Backus, 2011), particularly in the super-diverse context, when speakers of multiple languages from multiple geographic regions and sectors of society co-exist and intersect within communities, and their membership within communities is dynamic (Rampton, 1995a; Blommaert, 2010). As such, the following Table (Table 2.2) summarises the key revisions in terminology and definitions suggested by contemporary sociolinguists:

Traditional Sociolinguistic concept	Reason/s for modification	Contemporary concept
Resources: People draw upon linguistic resources when speaking, related to communicative competence as one's command of a certain language is	No one knows all the resources of a language (Blommaert, 2010), resources develop biographically (Blommaert & Backus, 2011)	Resources are language materials that allow us to produce not just linguistic meaning, but also social and cultural images of ourselves (Blommaert & Backus, 2011)

identified by provenance of its resources (Hymes, 1974)		
Communicative competence: the knowing 'what' and knowing 'how' to use a language, someone's inventory of linguistic resources (Hymes, 1972), repertoires presuppose competence.	Uneven distribution in a person's spoken and written production and Reception of different languages (Blommaert & Backus, 2011).	Competence tied to spatio-temporal context (Blommaert, Collins, & Slembrouck, 2005)
Speech community: a social community sharing knowledge and rules for the conduct and interpretation of speech, (Hymes, 1974) Speech communities share repertoires	Languages are mobile, not static (Blommaert 2010) Speakers of different languages, origins, backgrounds and experiences frequently communicate (Pratt 1991)	Community of practice: recognises a 'community' may include a wide range of social relationships and includes all forms of multimodal communication (Wenger, 1998)

Table 2.2: A summary of contemporary developments in sociolinguistics

Importantly, globalisation has accentuated the necessity for a change in perspective from languages as static objects, tied to fixed, bounded locations to a view that focuses on the use of languages in practice. Blommaert (2010) proposes the paradigm of '*sociolinguistics of mobility*' (p.5, emphasis in the original) that distinguishes 'language-in-motion' from 'language-in-place' (Blommaert, p.5). Blommaert argues the former approach is more genuine is encompasses "actual language resources deployed in real sociocultural, historical and political contexts" (2010, p.5). As will be seen in chapter 3, the class in which this research was undertaken presented a clear example if the impact of globalisation in that twenty-seven out of the thirty participants spoke other languages in addition to English. Between these twenty-seven children, fourteen different languages were spoken, which indicates the wide range of backgrounds from which the children and their families came.

2.3.2 Communicative resources

Sociolinguistics focuses on the variability of linguistic features in relation to social and cultural concepts. In doing so, researchers supporting this approach are rejecting the traditional idea that distinct languages 'exist', bounded by structured sounds, grammar and vocabulary (Joseph & Taylor, 1990). Rather, sociolinguists highlight the ways people actively control the way they speak by changing the style, register or code of what they are saying, "acting as [a] powerful instrument... of persuasion in everyday communicative situations for participants" (Gumperz & Cook-Gumperz, 1982, p.7).

This means a person's repertoire is more than just a cumulative inventory of static language elements that an individual deploys in order to communicate. Repertoires are continually constructed, shaped and re-created in different contexts through interactions with others and the environment. As Bakhtin (1975) observes, when a person uses a word, he/she appropriates the word, adapting it with his/her semantic and expressive intention. Furthermore, Bakhtin argues that: "Prior to this moment of appropriation, the word does not exist in a neutral, impersonal language…, but rather exists in other people's mouths, in other people's contexts, serving other people's intentions; it's from there that anyone must take the word and make it one's own" (Bakhtin, 1975, pp.293-4). In line with Rogoff's (1993, 1995) view of learning as an active, participatory process (as discussed in Section 2.2.1), communicative resources are not simply fragments of external languages that exist, they are continually re-appropriated and transformed as part of an active process of communication.

In a super-diverse context, elements of truncated language combine to form 'multi-lingual repertoires' (Blommaert, 2010, p.8) that reflect the mosaic-like learning environment, with many fragments of literacies and communications combining in unstructured ways as a result of the informal process of additional language acquisition (Blommaert, 2010). Contemporary sociolinguists have demonstrated how the complexities presented by modern-day, diverse communities are further confounded by increased engagement with digital media. Online sites facilitate communication on a global scale which, in turn, leads to hybrid and non-standard linguistic practices. For example, the linguistic and literacy practices of hip-hop culture have traversed the globe and permeated the language of people who are not accepted members of any group associated with hip hop in a process akin to 'language crossing' (Rampton, 2005; Pennycook, 2007; Stæhr & Madsen, 2014).

In addition to linguistic resources, studies in the field of multimodality have demonstrated how visual, gestural, kinaesthetic and three-dimensional modes play a key role in communicative practices, thus shifting the emphasis away from writing and speech (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 2001; Kress & Street, 2006). Taylor (2014) explains that verbal language is always nested in a framework of multimodal communication. Taylor (2014) provides evidence to support the proposition that "embodied modes such as gesture, posture, facial expression, gaze and haptics work in conjunction with speech in children's collaborative construction of knowledge" (p.401). This approach is consistent with previous

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conceptualisations of sociolinguistics such as that of Gee (1999) who states that "activities and identities are rarely ever enacted through language alone" (p. 7).

From a multimodal perspective, gestures, facial expressions, *et cetera* not only supplement verbal communication, but have the potential to be equally as capable of contributing to meaning (Kress, 2012). Thus, Taylor (2014) explains that even though verbal language is often perceived to be the dominant mode communication, silence is not synonymous with an absence of communication. Kendon (1983) described an ordering of gestures that was later transformed into Kendon's continuum by McNeill (1992). This continuum begins with gesticulation and moves through language-like gestures, pantomimes and emblems, culminating in sign languages that are complete linguistic systems. The continuum demonstrates how gestures can range from being dependent on verbal communication to being capable of communicating meaning in the absence of speech.

Section 2.2.1.1 (Agency) described the concept of 'mediation'. Vygotsky (1962) believed speech to be the primary mediating tool through which we communicate, however he also considered art and drawings to be tools through which people can convey experiences and thoughts (Brooks, 2009). Furthermore, it is also possible to apply Blommaert's concept of 'truncated multilingual repertoires' to multimodal communication in a super-diverse context. For example, Gullberg (2006) draws on the work of Kendon (1997) to argue that, while a great deal of emphasis is placed on verbal communication during second language acquisition (SLA), learners also undergo "the SLA of gestures" (p.104) that have culture-specific meanings (Gullberg, 2006).

In order for people to negotiate meaning successfully is has been argued their communication must be based on 'mutual knowledge' (Smith, 1982) or 'common ground' (Clark, 1996). As an example, the pragmatic connection between 'referring expressions' (in particular proper names) and the entities to which they refer, will be defined by sociocultural parameters and, if these are not shared, then members of different communities may run into difficulties in communicating (Yule, 1996).

Importantly, people act on their individual beliefs and assumptions about what is common ground. However, the dynamic, fragmented nature of super-diverse environments has real implications for the conceptualisation of this common ground. For example, in an

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anthropological study of the town of Sohar in Oman the researcher took a rather hard-line approach describing how, aside from linguistic barriers, the "disorder entailed in the religious, social, ethnic, class and cultural pluralism of Sohar" (Barth, 1992, p.nn) created severe problems for communication. This account highlights the point that recognising common ground is, in itself, an important and sometimes difficult task (Rampton, 1995b). Furthermore, the field of intercultural communication posits that communication is strongly connected to the cultural context within which it occurs. In order for a 'sender' to transmit a message effectively to a 'receiver' of a different culture, they must exercise sensitivity and awareness of differences in cultural knowledge (Chen, 2007). A failure to appreciate this important requirement can result in the receiver failing to understand the message and then speaking or acting in a way that is, from the perspective of the sender, inappropriate

Beyond the content of communication, its structure can also entail cultural differences. It is generally accepted in Western conversation analytic studies that conversations take place on a turn-by-turn basis (Atkinson & Heritage, 1984). However, there are many aspects of conversation conventions and organisation that are culturally shaped, and consequently the ways in which meaning is constructed may be different from one cultural group to another (Wierzbicka, 2003).

2.3.3 Language and identity

The discussion on sociolinguistics (see Section2.3.1) established that people talk differently and the exploration of communicative resources (see Section 2.3.2) looked at *how* people talk differently. The next question to address is '*why* do people talk differently?' (Woolard, 1985). Throughout Section 2.2 it has been established, based on the ideas of sociocultural theory, that all aspects of human development are influenced by social, cultural and historical practices, and in turn these practices are continually shaped by people acting and interacting, particularly within communities. This thesis focuses on the communicative practices of young children in super-diverse educational contexts. The importance of educational institutions as a context for communication was discussed in Section 2.2.1.2.2 (Spaces as contexts for communication). I will now draw on these ideas, and the exploration of sociolinguistics and super-diversity in Section 2.3.1, to discuss the relationship between language and identity. Though I view language in its broadest sense to include all forms of multimodal communication, it is noted that much of the work I will now draw on uses

'language' to refer to the traditional idea of discrete 'languages' (though they also problematize the notion of a language in this sense). Despite this difference, the discussion that follows may still be applied to communicative practices in their broadest sense, and therefore are integral to this thesis.

2.3.3.1 Identity

There is a deep connection between play, language and identity. For example, Cohen (2009) argues that children form social and cultural identities through pretend play as they experiment with multiple ways of speaking in a social environment. Similarly, as discussed in Section 2.2.3, Vygotsky perceived play as crucial to individual development as children act out various roles and experiment with different ways of behaving and communicating (Vygotsky, 1978). Though Vygotsky was not concerned with identity per se, Penuel and Wertsch (1995) draw on Vygotsky's notion of 'inner speech' to develop a theory of identity development that is consistent with the former's sociocultural theory. In doing so, they highlight the importance of language in the process of identity formation as, on the one hand, language is a mediating tool through which individuals develop higher cognitive functioning and express themselves; while on the other, language itself is a social construction that is entirely shaped by the social, historical and cultural influences which an individual encounters. Indeed, research has demonstrated how children employ a range of communicative strategies to construct social identities, including 'voicing' (Bakhtin, 1975, Goldman, 1998), 'stylization' (Rampton, 2003, 2005) and 'performance' (Bauman & Briggs, 1990). Furthermore, children show a keen awareness of how different social identities are positioned in dominance or submission to each other (Duranti, Ochs & Schieffelin, 2012). The relationship between language practices, identity and power hierarchies is addressed in the following section (2.3.1.2).

2.3.3.2 Language ideology and identity

Language is not neutral. Language practices and, disconcertingly, policies play an active role in legitimising and privileging particular identities, while marginalising or even supressing others. In the current trend of globalisation, domestic, community, educational and work contexts are frequently sites of multilingual encounters. Traditional models of language and identity viewed language as a marker of ethnicity; however, the increased complexity of migration in the form of super-diversity has led to these ideas being challenged. For example, Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004) explore how people negotiate identities in

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multilingual contexts as a means 'to resist linguistic impositions and to subvert dominant discourses' (2004, p.3). These authors contend that negotiation is a natural consequence of multilingual societies, where some language practices are valued more than others. This leads individuals to make choices, appealing to or resisting language varieties in an effort to "claim rights to particular identities and resist others that are imposed on them" (Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004, p.3). A key aspect of Pavlenko and Blackledge's approach to studying the negotiation of identities in multilingual contexts is that it does not make any assumptions about the straight-forwardness of language and identity - a criticism that has been successful in challenging the popular interactional sociolinguistic concept of 'code-switching' (Rampton, 1995a; Cutler, 1999).

Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004) draw on aspects of the post-structural perspective of the sociolinguistics of multilingualism. Their view explores how dominant languages appear to be more valuable, thus institutions adopt the 'superior' language as their official language. Post-structural accounts of language ideology are largely inspired by the work of eminent French sociologist, Pierre Bourdieu (1977, 1990; 1992), who uses the analogy of a market place to explain how certain practices are perceived to be more valuable than others. Bourdieu's notion of 'symbolic domination' highlighted how subordinate groups are complicit in their own domination by misrecognising official, or standard language varieties as superior. Woolard (1985) extended Bourdieu's theory to demonstrate how several market places operate simultaneously with potentially competing values. She gives the examples of how certain language practices may be employed in order to increase a person's status whilst, on the other hand, there may also be pressures to use 'illegitimate' language practices in order to show solidarity with members of marginalised groups (Woolard, 1985).

Heller (1992) concurs with Woolard's (1985) view that alternative marketplaces may be set up, particularly as acts of opposition to hegemony. Consistent with Rogoff's ideas, Heller draws attention to how Bourdieu's theory does not take into account the creative potential for individuals to define and redefine social relations through interaction (Heller, 1992). In an ethnographic study of two schools in Canada, Heller (1995) describes how schools play a key role in establishing symbolic domination by establishing what is 'normal' in terms of language practices. By analysing such language practices, Heller revealed how "individuals

use language choices to exert, aggravate, or mitigate their power, to collude with or resist that exercise, and to exploit or minimize the effects of paradoxes produced by the overlapping or crosscutting of social and institutional constraints" (Heller, 1995, p.374).

The privileging of homogeneity over distinct identities is, arguably, a form of symbolic violence. When a society insists on upholding a monolingual nation as the ideal model, this immediately gives the dominant language a symbolic status, with the power to unite and divide. The dominant language ideology of English educational institutions is monolingualism, magnified by an increasing move towards standardization (as is discussed in Section 2.4.4), thus multilingual students are subject to symbolic violence as their diverse, pluralist communicative practices are eroded by a society that imagines itself to be 'English-speaking, assimilationist, and homogenous' (Blackledge, 2004, p.89). That said, Grillo (1998) points out that there is a tension between the nation state's ideology of being a homogenous society and the reality of social, cultural and linguistic heterogeneity. It is within this tension, that agency is of utmost importance, as individuals choose language practices in some cases in order to conform, to reinforce, to subjugate themselves and in others or to resist, to challenge and to subvert dominant language discourses.

This discussion has highlighted the links between language ideologies and identity on a national scale, which filter through educational institutions and impact students' everyday experiences. The next section will examine ways in which the schooling system in England has responded to its growing numbers of multilingual students through policy and practice, culminating in a discussion of the current climate of standardisation and formalisation in the EYFS, and how this impacts speakers of English as an Additional Language (EAL).

2.3.4 Translanguaging

This section has covered sociolinguistics, communicative resources, identity, and the relationship between language ideologies and identity. Translanguaging is a key concept that brings all these ideas together to describe language practices in multilingual environments. Although the concept was originally introduced in the 1980s in Welsh bilingual education (Conteh, 2018), more recently a number of authors have applied translanguaging to a variety of multilingual contexts, seeing its potential to challenge traditional concepts such as 'standard' and 'target' language and their inherent hierarchies

of linguistic practices they produce (García, 2009; Blackledge & Creese, 2010; García & Li Wei, 2014; Jonsson, 2017; Li, 2018).

The term 'languaging' exposes how language is not just a static entity that exists 'out there', independent of people. Instead, languaging emphasises "the continuous becoming of ourselves and of our language practices, as we interact and make meaning in the world (García & Li, 2014, p.8). The 'trans' in translanguaging refers to bi and multilingual situations, capturing the full, expanded linguistic repertoires of individuals, imbued with cultural knowledge from different societal and semiotic contexts (García & Li Wei, 2014; Jonsson, 2017).

One of the most common criticisms of translanguaging is the argument that code-switching sufficiently explains bilingual language practice, and therefore there is no need to introduce another term (Jonsson, 2017). In order to address this critique, it is necessary to understand the theoretical ideas that underpin how linguistic systems are understood. Conceptually, translanguaging echoes Cummins' 'common underlying proficiency' (CUP) (Cummins, 1981) and 'Linguistic Interdependence' (Cummins, 1979). Traditional views of bilingualism tended to view languages as separate discrete linguistic systems in the brain. Linguistic Interdependence suggests that there is transfer between different languages, deriving from the CUP (García & Li Wei, 2014; Conteh, 2018). Theorists have extended this notion to propose different versions such as an 'interpretive approach' (Auer, 1998, p.13); a 'monolectal view of code-switching' (Meeuwis & Blommaert, 1998, p.76) and the Dynamic Bilingual Model (García, 2009, p.129). These revisions share a common trait that is essential for understanding translanguaging: there is only one, integrated linguistic system. The following images (Figs. 2.13 and 2.14) depict the distinction between codeswitching and translanguaging:
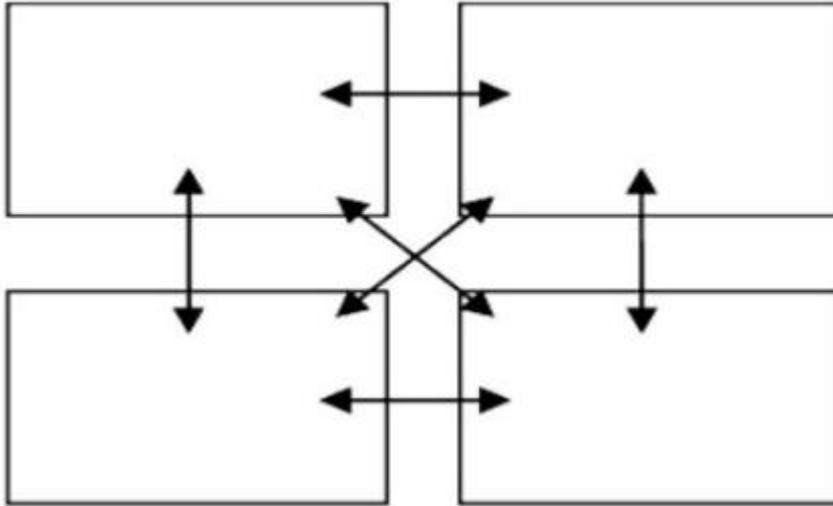
Figure 2.13: An illustration of codeswitching (Jonsson, 2017, p.32)
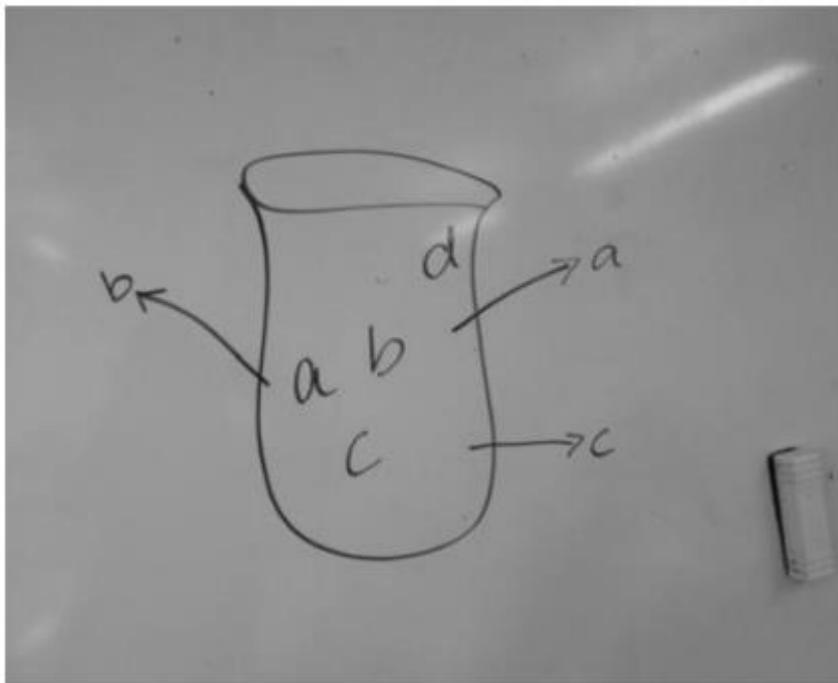
Figure 2.14: An illustration of linguistic repertoires and translanguaging (Jonsson, 2017, p.33)

Translanguaging moves away from the view of languages as separate entities and replaces it with the idea that "bilinguals have *one linguistic repertoire* from which they select features *strategically* to communicate effectively" (García, 2013, p.1, emphasis in the original). This epistemological shift has several benefits. First, this approach is a more accurate representation of multilingual people's experiences in that it reflects "*the deployment of a speaker's full linguistic repertoire without regard for watchful adherence to the socially and politically defined boundaries of named (and usually nation and state) languages*" (Otheguy,

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García & Reid, 2015, p. 283, emphasis in the original). This definition incorporates the idea that discrete languages are social constructs rather than objective entities (Makoni & Pennycook, 2006; Blackledge & Creese, 2010). In reality, people's language use is dynamic, constantly evolving in relation to the context and the speaker's intended meaning (Bakhtin, 1975). Translanguaging captures the fluidity of real-life language practices in a global world where mobility and transcultural flows give rise to bi and multilingual communities (Jonsson, 2017). Furthermore, translanguaging focuses on the individual and recognises the extensive linguistic and cultural nuances necessary to facilitate communication and reach deeper understandings between multilingual individuals. In addition, translanguaging deconstructs the inherent asymmetry that is created when languages are presented as discrete, separate entities (García & Li Wei, 2014). Finally, translanguaging is transformative, enabling the creation of a social space where speakers can "integrate different dimensions of their personal history, experience and environment, their attitudes, beliefs and ideology" (Li Wei, 2011, p.1223) in "one *new* whole" (García & Li Wei, 2014, p. 21, emphasis in the original) that is more than just a sum of its parts.

Translanguaging is significant to this study as it draws together all the ideas that have been argued in this section on communication (Section 2.3). The view of communicative resources as active repertoires that are contextual (Bakhtin, 1975) is in line with translanguaging which views language as an activity, rather than a structure (Pennycook, 2010). Furthermore, societies tend to operate a monolingual-derived model which suggests that it is normal to speak one language at a time. Translanguaging disrupts this "ideological drive toward homogeneity" (Blackledge, 2008, p.36) by acknowledging and valuing the complex, heteroglossic nature of communication. Thus, if we are to accept the premise argued in Section 2.3.3.2 that language ideologies are inextricably linked to identity construction, then translanguaging releases speakers from the confines of "social, cultural, political and economic power positions and contexts" (Jonsson, 2017, p.25) and therefore becomes necessary as a matter of social justice.

2.4 Multilingual children in Early Years educational environments

This section will begin with a brief overview of 'play' and examining play in relation to sociocultural theories. The connection between play, agency and contexts will be explored, and its implications for third space theory will then be presented. Following this, there will

be a summary of the ways in which government policies are creating an increasingly formal educational environment in the Early Years and Year One. This section will then review historical policy responses to children who speak English as an Additional Language (EAL) in educational environments. Following on, this section will present a more focussed examination of how EAL has featured in the EYFS and the National Curriculum. Finally, given that language and identity are inherently integrated (see Section 2.3.3), there will be a discussion about how, through the promotion of English above all other languages, there is risk that the EYFS and the National Curriculum could potentially privilege "Englishness" above other identities. This discussion amalgamates ideas from the whole section to explore the ways in which children in multicultural contexts are exposed to, and are able to navigate, "multiple, shifting, sometimes complex identities" (Brooker & Woodhead, 2008, p.iX).

Importantly this section should not be taken as implying that teachers comply with government policies (such as EYFS and the National Curriculum) unquestioningly, rather there is clear evidence that demonstrates teachers interpret and even challenge elements of policy through their practice (Aubrey & Durmaz, 2012; Nicholson, 2019, Wood, 2019). For example, Bowe, Ball and Gold (1992) explore what they call "the context of practice", in which they argue that policy is never simply received and put into action in what might be described as a robotic way. Similarly, Aubrey and Durmaz (2012) postulate that the Reception Class teachers in their study "were not simply receiving and implementing policy guidelines but were bringing their values, beliefs and understandings into practice" (p.72). Though this line of inquiry is clearly of interest, it sits outside the scope of the current research project that focuses on children's communicative practices. Thus, for the purposes of the current research, it is sufficient to acknowledge the existence of teachers' values and their impact on policy enactment, but exploring this aspect in detail would deviate significantly from the scope of the research.

2.4.1. Play

This thesis takes the view that play is more than just the "sacred right of childhood" (Viruru, 1997, p.124), rather it is a primary foundation for development that enables children to move from the concrete to the abstract through creating a zone of proximal development

(Brooker, 2010, p.33). Given that this thesis adopts a sociocultural perspective it is clearly essential to establish how play is viewed within the sociocultural tradition. Indeed, many contemporary play researchers have taken a sociocultural approach (Vygotsky, 1962, 1978) by placing greater emphasis on the social, historical and cultural contexts of play. The society and culture in which a child grows up will have different 'motives, interests and incentives' and thus determine the social situation for children's development, influencing their experiences in multiple ways, including play (Fleer, 2013).

Cross-cultural differences in the characteristics of play are also highlighted by a number of comparative studies. Bornstein, Haynes, Pascual, Painter and Galperin (1999) compared the play and interaction of Argentine and U.S. mothers and their children at the age of 20 months. They discovered distinct patterns of cultural differences: the mothers and children from the U.S.A. engaged in more exploratory play, while the Argentine mothers engaged in more symbolic play, social play and verbal praise of their children. Göncü et al. (2000) examined multiple aspects of social play across four cultural communities (San Pedro, Guatemala; Kecioren, Turkey; Dhol-Ki-Patti, India; Salt Lake City, United States) and found evidence to suggest there are cultural differences in terms of the occurrence, frequency, and partner dynamics of social play, as well as variation in the kinds of play and themes employed. They concluded that the toddlers' play was impacted by the social structure of the communities in which the children lived and reflected the adults' beliefs about children's development. Levinson (2005) conducted a three and a half year ethnographic study of Gypsy life in England and found that play operated to enforce boundaries and express a distinct identity. Drawing on socio-cultural theory, Levinson interprets vignettes of play to explain how the apparent 'wild' and 'uncontrolled' characteristics and patterns of play among Gypsy children are often at odds with mainstream expectations in school, with 'unruly' behaviour being (mis)perceived as acts of defiance (Levinson 2005; Levinson & Sparks, 2005).

Play is significant in this research as it provides children with contexts and opportunities for agentic self-expression, while simultaneously allowing children to experiment with identities by exploring their individual backgrounds and experiences. By examining children's play closely, we can see it is a participatory activity, in that play draws on children's participation in wider communities (Rogoff, 1993). Through this process, children are actively co-

constructing and re-constructing meaning, reflecting Rogoff's theory that learning is transformative where knowledge shifts and evolves as it is used by individuals as part of a community of practice and within a specific context (Chesworth, 2015).

There is also a deep connection between play and communication. Vygotsky (1978) observed that play follows some set of rules and depends on a shared understanding of concepts. As a result play between children of different cultural backgrounds necessitates a process of communication and learning with and from each other as certain forms of play might be culturally appropriate for some students, yet those same forms may be misunderstood by children or adults with different cultural backgrounds (Levinson, 2005, Göncü et al., 2000). Therefore, in order for play to be 'successful' there must be a degree of reciprocity, entailing play as a "socially complex and communicative act" (Genishi & Dyson, 2009, p.61). This is supported by Wood (2009) who found that play leads to improved verbal communication and high levels of social and interactional skills. Similarly, Genishi and Dyson (2009) demonstrate how, during play, children construct an imaginary relationship and mediate this relationship through communication in the form of movement, manipulating objects, voices, facial expressions and language.

Furthermore, play has been theorised to not only support language development in general, but also to hasten the acquisition of additional languages. Play, particularly role-play, can have a positive effect on the learning of EAL with young children (Grant & Mistry, 2010; Guilfoyle & Mistry, 2013). Guilfoyle and Mistry (2013) integrate the work of Pim (2010) who emphasised the need for EAL learners to engage in language learning through meaningful contexts, and Cummins (1984) who formulated the notion of Basic Interpersonal Communication Skills (BICS) and Cognitive Academic Learning Proficiency (CALP). According to Cummins (1984), learners of another language can master BICS, conversational fluency, in as little as six months, while CALP refers to proficiency in specialised academic language and takes language learners at least five years to achieve. When children play, they are deeply engaged in the present activity (Wood & Attfield, 2005), thus play provides an immediate context for children to develop BICS initially and CALP more gradually. Furthermore, when children are engaged in imaginative play, they attempt to elaborate vocabulary and more complex sentence structures than they would in 'real life' situations or with an adult (Siraj-Blatchford & Clarke, 2000; Wood & Attfield, 2005).

Vygotsky made two claims about play that appear to contradict each other, which, jointly, are powerful in explaining how play helps children to overcome the agency-structure dichotomy. In the first instance, Vygotsky theorises that play is a means of developing abstract thought, as he puts it "The child sees one thing but acts differently in relation to what he sees. Thus, a condition is reached in which the child begins to act independently of what he sees" (1978, pp.96-97). Through play, children develop the ability to act deliberately, overcoming their impulses through thought (Meyers & Berk, 2014). This is key to understanding agency as, through play, children become aware of different possibilities and alternative ways of being. Juxtaposed with the idea that children develop agency through play is suggested that children learn to self-regulate as they play out different rule-governed scenarios, behaving according to the rules of the game, rather than following their instincts. Vygotsky explains, "In one sense a child at play is free to determine his own actions" (1978, p.103), however he then asserts "this is an illusory freedom, for his actions are in fact subordinate to the meanings of things, and he acts accordingly" (1978, p.104). For example, during play children take on roles, such as a mother putting a baby to sleep, and the children involved in the play must adhere to their roles, so if the baby starts to run around when they should be sleeping, that would be considered 'breaking the rules'. Thus, during play children are simultaneously learning the rules of their community (structure) and exploring alternative ways of being (agency).

Contemporary interpretivist studies have also explored the relationship between play and agency (Wood, 2016). During play, children develop agency by creating imaginary roles and events that are governed by the children's internal logic (Wood, 2016). In this way, children's play is not simply influenced by their environment, for example by re-enacting familiar roles of adults in their communities; rather children invent the rules of play, and can act in ways that may rebel against adult-imposed rules or boundaries (Wood, 2016). Grieshaber and McArdle (2010) observe that adults adopt a position of power in relation to children, through rules, such as banning 'guns' in play in an attempt to reduce the risk of boys growing up to become aggressive male adults, despite the lack of evidence to support this presumed relationship. Grieshaber and McArdle (2010) present vignettes to show how adult rule-making is contested by children who also make rules, particularly in child-initiated pretend play. Papadopoulou (2012) demonstrates how play allows children the opportunity

to re-create aspects of their cultural environment through their own frame of reference, allowing them to explore and challenge social structures.

The relationship between play, structure and agency has implications for third space theory. The creativity and imagination that govern play open up the potential for transformation, while these alternative ways of being are informed by their social and cultural contexts. This concept is explored by Yahya and Wood (2017) whose study of multicultural children in Canada led them to theorise *play* as a third space that bridges home and school discourses, again reiterating the idea that "third space is an 'in-between' place in which creative forms of cultural identity are produced" (p.308). Similarly, research by Chesworth (2016) documented how children drew connections between their play at school and their experiences at home. The children then reflected on the play observations and their comments revealed the children constructed and re-constructed identities, akin to Rogoff's (1990) model of learning where participation transforms both the individual and cultural environment (Chesworth, 2016). In short, play is of vital importance in enabling children to "negotiate multiple, shifting and sometimes competing identities, especially within complex, multi-ethnic and multicultural contexts" (Brooker & Woodhead, 2008, p.iX).

The immediate spaces occupied by children also impact on their play. While the spaces in Early Years settings tend to be clearly defined with a set purpose in mind (home-corner, construction, writing, topic-based discovery etc.), Broadhead and Burt (2012) present evidence to support how open-ended playful provision in the outdoor space can increase children's absorption, creativity and problem-solving. Brooker (2010) highlights the importance of providing an environment that supports 'self-chosen' activities. Observations of children whose play resembles familiar cultural activities leads Brooker to conclude "Rather than prescribing and structuring activities directed toward learning objectives of the curriculum, we need to offer children spaces in which they can undertake activities which are important and meaningful to them, and resources which enable them to fill their intentions, in their own way and in their own time" (Brooker, 2010, p.162). The notion that not only space, but also 'time' is influential on children's playful activities is echoed by Broadhead (2004). She theorises that, in order for play to reach what she calls the 'cooperative domain' where there is an increased complexity in language and behaviour,

there must be extended periods of time and flexibility of space to allow the play to develop momentum.

In parallel, contemporary researchers are drawing attention to the ways in the in which educational institutions are attempting to standardise time, space, materiality and bodies (Jones et al., 2016; Kraftl, 2013; Thiem, 2009). While the Foundation Stage classroom is supposed to be laid out in a way that promotes play through the provision of spaces and objects that encourage play (Broadhead & Burt, 2012), these spaces are becoming increasingly controlled through the formalisation of Early Years education, as will be discussed in the following section.

2.4.2 Formalisation of Early Years education

Economic shocks in the 1970s led to the rise of neoliberalism as the dominant political economy that is now so prevalent across the globe that some form of neoliberalism exists in almost all nation states (Moss, 2014). Such neoliberalism gathered traction in the 1980s and was, for example, championed by President Ronald Reagan and Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher in the USA and the UK respectively and in many countries it took the form of a wave of market deregulation, privatization and the withdrawal of welfare-state (Venugopal, 2015). The neoliberal belief is that "private companies, private individuals, and, most importantly, unhindered markets are best able to generate economic growth and social welfare" (Bockman, 2013, p.14). Neoliberalism has also led to an increase in the standardisation of knowledge in educational institutes, and a concomitant rise in standardised tests to measure achievement against universal targets and to monitor the performance of students, teachers and schools (Sims, 2017). Early childhood education is not exempt from such neoliberal technologies of standardisation as, through neoliberal logic, the State aims to "find, invest in and apply the correct human technologies – aka 'quality' – during early childhood and you will get high returns on investment including improved education, employment and earnings and reduced social problems" (Moss, 2014, p.3).

The 1988 Education Reform Act was to be the 'key neo-liberal moment' (Stevenson, 2011, p.182) in English education. From this point on, pre-school provision changed course from the child-centred exploration and discovery approach that prevailed in the latter half of the 20th century (Aubrey, Calder & David, 2003) to a trajectory of goal setting, standardisation
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and normative measures that supported league table comparisons and greater accountability of the workforce. Following this, the English Primary National Curriculum was established in 1989 and less than a decade later the effects of this were felt in the Early Years sector as the Desirable Learning Outcomes (SCAA, 1996) were published. These policy frameworks shifted the landscape of pre-school education from a focus on child-initiated experiences towards structured outcomes in preparation for Key Stage 1. Subsequently there have been various iterations of the Desirable Learning Outcomes (SCAA, 1996), culminating in the introduction of the Early Years Foundation Stage (EYFS) in 2008 and its revisions in 2012, 2014 and 2017 (DfE, 2008; 2012; 2014a and 2017).

The aim of the EYFS was to ensure consistent, quality provision throughout England, however an unintended consequence of introducing a set of mandatory, standardised learning goals is an increased formalisation of curriculum approaches. More recently, evidence from policy analysis suggests the aim of the EYFS is steadily shifting towards a focus on 'school readiness' and preparation for Year One, rather than the Early Years being important in their own right (Kay, 2018). The most recent iteration of the EYFS states: "It [the EYFS] promotes teaching and learning to ensure children's 'school readiness'…" (DfE, 2017, p.5). Roberts-Holmes (2018) explains that the concept of 'school readiness' sets out performance standards against which children in Reception classes can be measured. He argues that this is a neo-liberal governing process that prepares children for the operant 'test-based culture' of primary schools. Furthermore, a significant consequence of the construction of a system of universal developmental norms, is that delayed, deficit and abnormal development is constructed simultaneously (MacNaughton, 2005). The imposition of standardised developmental goals at the end of Reception has resulted in some children beginning Year One in a deficit position, making it difficult for them to catch up to their peers from the start (Volk & Long, 2005; Evans, 2015).

The EYFS states that "Each area of learning and development must be implemented through planned, purposeful play and through a mix of adult-led and child-initiated activity" (DfE, 2017, p.9). The breadth of this requirement opens up a critical debate about the nature of child-centred pedagogies when play doubles as a purposeful activity, planned to achieve certain outcomes that are prescribed by the Early Learning Goals. For example, Wood (2015) exposes how principles of play are upheld by the EYFS, yet simultaneously Early

Years' practitioners must demonstrate progress towards school readiness, which often results in the temptation to lean towards adult-led, structured play in order to meet the standards agenda (Wood, 2015). Wood draws on the work of Aubrey and Durmaz (2012) who conducted a small-scale study of Reception class teachers' views regarding their understanding and implementation of mathematics policy. Aubrey and Durmaz (2012) identified multiple, sometimes incompatible, demands regarding play and the performance agenda in the EYFS. Consequently, Early Years' practitioners find themselves navigating contentions between competing discourses. Ang (2014) points out, the exploratory, play-based principles of the curriculum "seem at odds with expectations set out in the standardised targets and tests stipulated in the current assessment and curricular reforms" (2014, p.191). In addition, the standardisation of Early Years education ignores the child's "concrete experiences, their actual capabilities, their theories, feelings and hopes" (Dahlberg et al., 1999, p.36).

Academics such as Wood (2010), Saracho, (2012) and Broadhead and Burt (2012) have theorised ways of successfully integrating child-initiated and adult-led play. However, as Aubrey and Durmaz (2012) argue, policy decision makers appear not to have engaged sufficiently in debates around the nature of play. For example, on the one hand, Ofsted's 2015 publication, "Teaching and Play in the Early Years- A Balancing Act?" attempts to gather evidence of good practice "address the recurring myth that teaching and play are separate, disconnected endeavours in the Early Years" (Ofsted, 2015, p.1). However, Wood's (2019) analysis of this document reveals that circular arguments are used as a persuasive device to pull children's play into Ofsted's goals and outcomes-focused policy discourse. In doing so, the authors of the Ofsted publication oversimplify play and disregard "the complex intersections between agency and power relationships, peer affiliations, inclusion and exclusion, and how children bring diverse funds of knowledge to their freely-chosen play" (Wood, 2019, p. 794).

2.4.3 Transition to Year One

This thesis follows the path of children as they cross the bridge from Reception Year into Year One. The transition from Early Years education to the first year of formal schooling is widely regarded as one of the greatest challenges children have to face (Kagan, 1999; Dockett & Perry, 2001; Margetts, 2002) as they enter into a "a new culture, place, people,

roles, rules and identity" (Fabian, 2007, p.7). The EYFS statutory framework stipulates that all areas of learning and development "must be implemented through planned, purposeful play" (DfE, 2017, p.9), while from Year One, the National Curriculum sets out statutory programmes of study and attainment targets for all subjects (DfE, 2014b). Whilst the National Curriculum does not specify pedagogical approaches, Fisher (2009) explains that a decade after the National Curriculum was launched, the government introduced the National Strategies for Literacy and Numeracy. These National Strategies provided both objectives and a structure that mirrored the language of 'targets for achievement' and 'benchmarking performance' that were introduced in the National Curriculum documents (DfEE, 1998). These new expectations formed part of the drive to raise standards and, as such, Fisher (2009) argues resulted in a far more teacher-led approach in Year One. Thus, upon entering Year One, the children transition into a more structured curriculum and environment: children will frequently be sitting at desks working independently or listening passively to their teacher who is seated in front of them on the carpet (Fisher, 2010).

Academic research into the transition to Year One reveals a sharp contrast between children's experiences in preschool compared to primary school. For example, one of the children in Fisher's (2009) study stated that "we used to play in Foundation, it was more funner" (sic) (p.135). Interestingly, this discontinuity between preschool and primary school is not unique to England. For example, Einarsdóttir (2007) conducted a comprehensive literature review of research from across the globe into children's experiences of transition to formal school. She revealed that, common to all the studies reviewed, "irrespective of country of residence, the children expect a change from being able to play and choose in preschool to more academic work in primary school" (Einarsdóttir, 2007, p.85). Another clear finding was that, globally, the children accepted that there would be different norms and rules that they would have to learn and adapt to once they entered formal schooling (Einarsdóttir, 2007). While there were also some differences present in terms of expectations and feelings about transitions, the most prevalent finding was that the children in all the studies reviewed saw starting school as a period of significant change in their lives.

At the end of Reception year, children (who may have just turned 5 in the summer) enter a different world as they pass through the threshold into formal schooling. The magnitude of this transition can be seen by the plethora of 'school readiness' support and initiatives that

build up to this change from learning-through-play in the EYFS to formal learning in Year One. The Ofsted publication "*Are You Ready? Good Practice in School Readiness* (2014)" begins from the premise that "Gaps in achievement between the poorest children and their better-off counterparts are clearly established by the age of five" (2014, p.4) and establishes the need for high-quality, Early Years education to ensure that 5 year olds start school with "the range of skills they need" (Ofsted, 2014, p.4). The Allen Report (Allen, 2011) establishes the importance of early intervention in ensuring that all children are 'school ready' by the age of 5, which is followed by children becoming 'life ready' (to enter the labour market) and subsequently 'child ready' (to be 'excellent parents')(p.10). In Allen's 'virtuous circle' model (p.8), the ability to break the 'intergenerational cycle of dysfunction' (p.8) hinges on children being 'school ready' by the age of 5. Similarly, the Field Report (Field, 2010) sets out the role of school readiness in combatting poverty and increasing life chances. Finally, a central theme throughout the Tickell review (Tickell, 2011) is how to ensure "children's readiness to begin formal schooling at age 5" (Tickell, 2011, p. 33).

The significance of this transition to formal schooling in Year One and the importance of 'school readiness' have given rise to the formalisation of the EYFS as discussed in the previous section (2.4.2, Formalisation of Early Years education). The looming transition to Year One has pressured Early Years practitioners into focusing on "the GLD% [Good Level of Development] rather than young children's holistic learning and development" (Roberts-Holmes, 2015, p.312-313).

However, as indicated in the introduction to this section, this research project does not assume that teachers agree unquestioningly with the policies they are mandated to implement. For example, insights from a small-scale research project that interviewed Reception and Year One teachers in England (Nicholson, 2019) demonstrate that teachers do not necessarily agree with the abrupt transition to formal learning in Year One. Thus a Year One teacher in the study said: "You've just got to sit down and go boom boom boom and get them doing it (formal work) …" (Nicholson, 2019, p. 453). The teachers in Nicholson's (2019) study unequivocally identified the National Curriculum as the cause of the lack of pedagogical continuity from Reception year to Year One.

The previous section (2.4.2: Formalisation of Early Years education) explored tensions surrounding the learning-through-play approach of the EYFS. In the National Curriculum

however, the only mention of the word 'play' is in the context of 'role-play' to support communication and the subject of English (DfE, 2014b). This means that, once children have formally transitioned to the National Curriculum in Year One, play moves from being a contentious area to a non-existent one. However, notwithstanding this significant change in the educational context, it is unclear whether the first term of Year One falls under the remit of the EYFS or KS1 as the guidance from the Department for Education's website states "The Early Years foundation stage (EYFS) sets standards for the learning, development and care of your child from birth to 5 years old" (DfE, n.d. a), however the guidance also states that the national curriculum Key Stage 1 is compulsory at the age of 5 (DfE, n.d. b). Thus schools can choose to phase out the EYFS curriculum slowly or do so immediately, but by the end of the first term of Year One it is expected that all children will be assessed against the KS1 targets. Thus, the degree to which the (albeit contentious) learning-through-play pedagogy of the EYFS is continued once the children reach Year One depends on the ethos of the school, or even the preference of class teachers.

An alternative transition model, as recommended by the Cambridge Primary Review (Alexander, 2010, 491), would be to extend the EYFS until the age of six. Such an approach is in line with existing approaches in Nordic countries, in which formal schooling typically begins later than most other parts of the 'Western' world. Traditionally, Nordic Early Childhood Education upholds children's right to free play as a core value; however, more recently, there are signs that this philosophy is being eroded by the introduction of 'pre-schools' (Wagner & Einarsdóttir, 2006). Roberts-Homes (2012) found the head teachers in his study in England to be in support of such a proposition and that some schools were already implementing play-based, Early Years-style pedagogy in Y1 with positive results. Indeed, Pugh (2014) argues that "If the EYFS is to be really effective, I would argue that it should be revised to cover the years from birth to six years, including both Reception and Year One in primary school" (p.17). Despite support from the Cambridge Primary Review, researchers and teachers, it is clear that the 'school readiness' agenda is deeply embedded in Early Years practice, in preparation for Year One, where children are expected to be emotionally and intellectually mature enough to engage with formal schooling (Kay, 2018).

As children move up the school years the curriculum becomes narrower and the environment more uniform with the expectation that children should work in line with

universal markers of a 'typically developing child' (MacNaughton, 2005). However, this is a problematic approach as, on the one hand, super-diversity means early childhood provision should provide inclusion for children and families with increased social, linguistic and cultural diversities, yet paradoxically, the purpose of standardisation is to reduce such complexities (Lenz Taguchi, 2010), which again, from the perspective of Bourdieu (1990) could be considered a process of symbolic violence.

Further discussion on the complexities of including children with diverse communicative capabilities and needs will be addressed in Section 2.4.5 where I will look at the current positioning of children who speak EAL in the EYFS. First, I will summarise the historical policy responses to the increasingly diverse population of schools in England.

2.4.4 Historical policy responses to children who speak EAL in education

In Section 1.2 (super-diversity), I provided an overview of recent immigration patterns and explained how England has seen a significant rise in the numbers of immigrants coming to the country since the 1950s. This section will provide a brief historical background to the resultant ways that children with EAL have subsequently been positioned within broader educational policy.

In the initial stages of the 1950's rise in immigration it was believed these were 'temporary' visitors and unlikely to remain, therefore there was little attempt to cater for their needs. The next stage in policy responses was the realisation that immigrants were indeed remaining in England and short-term, assimilationist policies were put in place until 'they' became like 'us'. In the 1960s it became clear that more significant actions needed to be put urgently in place in order to provide for EAL children (Costley, 2014). The resultant education policy changes in respect of children who speak EAL are summarised in Table 2.3 (below) and can be seen as reflecting society's attitudinal shifts from 'assimilation' to 'pluralist integration' (Leung, 2001).

Document	Key findings	Policy Response
1967 Plowden Report (Department for Education and Science, 1967).	English language learning was of primary importance to the induction of EAL children in schools. "The worst problem of all is that of language".	Compulsory dispersal policies in order to promote assimilation, thereby reducing perceived social problems (Rose, 1969).

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		Specialist English language teaching in separate centres (Costley, 2014).
1975 Bullock Report (Department of Education and Science, 1975).	Again, emphasis on English language learning as the primary task EAL children must accomplish. An awareness of the isolated nature of the centres.	LEAs continued to provide specialist English language teaching in separate centres. Children were screened upon arrival to determine their educational path (Costley, 2014).
1976 Race Relations Act (Race Relations Act, 1976)	Section 1 (1) (b) (iii) described indirect discrimination as when a condition is applied to a member of a racial group which is to their detriment because he or she cannot comply with it.	LEAs continued to provide specialist English language teaching in separate centres, though debates were initiated around the long term effects of this practice (Leung, 2001).
1985 Swann Report (Swann, 1985)	A powerful critique of the then termed 'multicultural' education, drawing arguments from practitioners and academics in the field. The Swann report argued for a more inclusive education system where all children, no matter their background, would be given an equally thorough education	EAL children joined their peers in the mainstream classroom. Follow-up investigations conducted across Britain (Commission for Racial Equality, 1986).
1986 Formal investigation in Calderdale Local Education (Commission for Racial Equality, 1986)	Found the practice of screening a child in English language to determine whether they would be accepted into mainstream school or a language centre was contrary to the Race Relations Act 1976, and indirectly discriminatory	Inclusive education where children from all backgrounds were accepted into the mainstream classroom (Leung, 2001).

Table 2.3: A summary of major policy responses to children who speak EAL 1960-1990

In Table 2.3 it is possible to see how educational responses evolved from compulsory dispersal and segregation of pupils with EAL to inclusive and more equitable approaches. For example, in 1986, children with EAL gained the legal right to be educated in the mainstream classes (Commission for Racial Equality, 1986) Thus, in theory, children who speak EAL should no longer be marginalised by institutional practices. However, while the anti-racist, multicultural and inclusive philosophies behind the inclusion of EAL children in

mainstream classrooms were honourable, questions have been raised about the consequent level of provision of appropriate resources for EAL learners (Safford & Drury, 2013).

2.4.5 Current positioning of children with EAL in education

This section is divided into two parts that are distinct, yet interrelated. The first part looks specifically at Early Years policy in relation to English as an Additional Language. The second part draws on the debates around language ideology and identity discussed in Section 2.3.1 to explore how, in constructing policy around the English language, there is the concomitant, though perhaps unintended, construction of policy around English as an identity.

2.5.3.1 English language proficiency

In order for children to be 'successful' at an English in the English education system, they must, self-evidently, learn English. However, in primary schools, children who speak EAL are at an academic disadvantage to their peers as evidenced by, for example, data from Sheffield where 74% of EAL children achieved a level 2 or above at the end of Key Stage 1, compared to 87% of children whose first language is English (National Association for Language Development in the Curriculum [NALDIC], 2013). This differential in achievement is underlined in successive policy documents which identify children who speak EAL as being 'at risk' in terms of academic attainment (see Every Child Matters [ECM], 2004; Department for Education and Skills: Aiming High: Raising the Achievement of Minority Ethnic Pupils, 2003; Sheffield City Council's 'Every Sheffield Child Articulate and Literate [ESCAL]: City Wide Learning Strategy, 2011). Safford and Drury (2013) synthesise a range of academic research to explore the history of mainstream schooling policy responses and support for bilingual children in England. They demonstrate that the EYFS and the National Curriculum are framed around a monolingual assessment system with limited room for schools to incorporate local language and cultural contexts in their teaching or assessment. They draw on the work of Ellis (2004) to argue that "the 'monolingual mindset' ... relegates all matters of 'other' languages and cultures – it is up to the multilingual to negotiate any linguistic and cultural gaps" (Safford & Drury, p.74), whether that be bilingual children or even teachers.

Since the Swann report, there has been little in the way of major reviews of multilingual education, such as those summarised in Table 10. Instead, curriculum documentation and guidance has been updated regularly to represent the current views on how to support children with EAL. The EYFS has adopted of various stances towards children who speak English as an additional language, as summarised by Table 2.4 below.

Year	Policy Document	Stance on EAL
1996	Desirable Learning Outcomes	Emphasises learning English 'as soon as possible', other languages seen as a vehicle for learning English (SCAA, 1996, p.5)
2000	Curriculum Guidance for the Foundation Stage (CGFS)	Values linguistic diversity, acknowledges that their 'developing use of English and other languages support one another'; however primary emphasis is on learning English (DfES, 2000, p.19)
2003	Foundation Stage Profile (FSP)	Reiterates the importance of valuing linguistic diversity, however also emphasises learning English as this is 'crucial' to 'access learning' in KS1. Home languages are positioned as foundations for children to move into English. The FSP assessments address three aspects of the achievements of children who speak EAL: 1) development in the home language 2) development across the curriculum assessed through the home language 3) development of English (QCA, 2003 p. 117-119).
2008/ 2016/ 2018	Early Years Foundation Stage profile handbook	Recognition that language is central to 'our sense of identity and belonging to a community, and that linguistic diversity is a strength that is recognised and valued'. Reiteration of the three aspects of assessment for children with EAL and the assertion that 'children *must* have opportunities to engage in activities that … reveal what they know and can do in… their home language'. Acknowledgment that the environment must reflect the cultural and linguistic heritage. (QCA, 2008, p.14; STA, 2015, p.15; STA, 2017, p.19-20)
2008	Statutory Framework for the Early Years Foundation Stage	Learners of English as an additional language are mentioned briefly - in the same sentence as

	(EYFS)	children with learning difficulties and disabilities (Department for children, schools and families, 2008, p.12)
2012/14/ 17/2018 pilot	Statutory Framework for the Early Years Foundation Stage (revised EYFS)	There is a watered-down suggestion that practitioners should support home language development, however this is overshadowed by a greater emphasis on English language learning- see Table 2.19 for a direct comparison. (DfE, 2012, p.6; DfE, 2014a. p.9; DfE, 2017, p.9; DfE, 2018, p.15)

Table 2.4: Summary of Early Years policy and their stances on EAL.

From the summaries in Table 2.11, it is clear that there has been a steady shift from a pluralistic approach to home languages and English towards an emphasis on English as the dominant language. Jensen and Gidley (2014) comment that the 2007 Commission on Cohesion and Integration identified "English is both an important part of our shared heritage, and a key access factor for new communities to the labour market and wider society. It binds us together as a single group in a way that a multiplicity of community languages cannot" (Commission on Cohesion and Integration, 2007, p.73). As a consequence, the Department for Innovation, Universities and Skills published the consultation document 'Focusing English for Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL) on Community Cohesion' (Department for Innovation, Universities and Skills, 2009). This report outlines how, in order to increase community cohesion, funding and strategies English for speakers of other languages should be targeted more effectively. Jensen and Gidley (2014) go on to explain that, under the UK's Coalition government (2010-2015), lack of English was seen as a social problem and it became migrants' duty to learn English. The changes in stances (Table 2.4) from valuing home languages to a greater emphasis on the learning of English reflect the shifting view of the role of home languages and English learning in wider society over time.

Indeed, between 1996 and 2008 attitudes towards home languages have swung like a pendulum. The Desirable Learning Outcomes viewed home languages primarily as tools to be employed in the learning of English (SCAA, 1996), whereas the CGFS (DfES, 2000) recognised that learning many languages is a mutually accumulative process, thus developing home languages is important for developing English. However, in 2003, the FSP returned to a position closer to the Desirable Learning Outcomes document (SCAA, 1966), where home languages are viewed as foundations for learning English (QCA, 2003). There is then a remarkable leap in the 2008 EYFS profile handbook and its subsequent renditions where home languages are recognised as more than just building blocks for English, rather they are closely linked to identity and belonging (QCA, 2008; STA, 2015; STA, 2017). There are also some inconsistencies between policy documents. For example, the commitment to linguistic diversity displayed in the *non-statutory* advice of the EYFS profile handbook is not shared by the Statutory Framework for the Early Years Foundation Stage (EYFS) either in its earliest form (Department for Children, Schools and Families, 2008) or in its revised editions (DfE, 2012; DfE, 2014a; DfE, 2017; DfE, 2018).

Section 1 of current statutory framework for the EYFS (DfE, 2017) sets out what 'practitioners *must* do… to promote the learning and development of all children in their care, and to ensure they are ready for school' (DfE, 2017, p.7, emphasis added). Point 1.7 refers specifically to children who speak English as an additional language and is laid out in the following Table (2.5) to enable a comparison between the perspectives regarding opportunities to learn home languages versus opportunities to learn English.

Regarding opportunities to learn home languages	Regarding opportunities to learn English
For children whose home language is not English, providers must take reasonable steps to provide opportunities for children to develop and use their home language in play and learning, supporting their language development at home.	Providers must also ensure that children have sufficient opportunities to learn and reach a good standard in English language during the EYFS: ensuring children are ready to benefit from the opportunities available to them when they begin Year One. When assessing communication, language and literacy skills, practitioners must assess children's skills in English. If a child does not have a strong grasp of English language, practitioners must explore the child's skills in the home language with parents and/or carers, to establish whether there is cause for concern about language delay.

Table 2.5: EYFS requirements regarding children who speak EAL (Department for Education, 2017, p.9)

It can be seen from Table 2.5 that the statutory guidance recognises home languages within the EYFS, but offers no clear idea of what might be 'reasonable steps' towards providing those opportunities. In parallel, however, greater emphasis is placed on the learning of English, with more detailed and persuasive language used to highlight its importance. This disconnect between the EYFS profile guidance (DfE, 2018) and the EYFS statutory framework (DfE, 2017) is exacerbated by a lack of coherent guidance. The EYFS profile guidance states that all areas (bar English) may be assessed in the child's home language, yet it is unclear how this can be operationalised given the breadth of languages spoken by students. Furthermore, in 2016/17 there was the requirement for practitioners to assess 'English language proficiency' as part of the school census (DfE, 2016). Creating a mandatory assessment for English language alongside the EYFS assessment brought the question of English language proficiency back into the foreground, thus making the curriculum guidance about assessment in home languages redundant. However, although this requirement for English language proficiency to be assessed as part of the census was removed the following

year, it is still indicative of a wider rhetoric that focuses on the teaching and learning of English in schools which, Costley (2014) argues is more related to creating a sense of national identity and pride, rather than just hastening the acquisition of English language. There is also a lack of continuity between the EYFS and KS1 where, in the latter case, assessment across the curriculum is conducted in English, and the children's ability to 'take part' in the national curriculum hinges on their communication skills in English (DfE, 2014b). This means that any students who were able to benefit from having their progress assessed in their home languages whilst in Reception classes will no longer have this option once they reach Year One.

In summary, it is argued that the policy framework for five-year-olds who speak English as an additional language is inconsistent which raises questions about curriculum coherence. This lack of clear guidance has been noted by the Rochford Review (2016) of assessment for pupils working below the standard of national curriculum tests. The Rochford Review recognised the lack of clarity and coherence by recommending "additional advice or guidance in helping teachers to make assessments accurately or effectively" (p.27). Furthermore, in increasingly diverse schools, the EYFS falls short and does not adequately address the manifold complexities of children's linguistic, ethnic and cultural positioning (Ang, 2010).

In parallel, and as discussed in Section 2.4.1 (Play), the increased use of scales, standards and levels for assessment in English is indicative of the government's wider approach to learning that relies on attainment targets and expected outcomes, reflecting the neoliberal ideology that was introduced with the National Curriculum in 1988, gained momentum in the 1990s, and dominated the education system ever since (Leung & Scarino, 2016).

Where there is heterogeneity, there is inequality (Norton, 2013). When educational institutions legitimise certain linguistic practices, there is the concomitant assertion that all other language practices are substandard (Scott & Venegas, 2017). Given that language is inherently linked to identity (as discussed in Section 2.3.1.2), children must not only learn English, but also embrace 'Englishness' (Costley, 2014). For example, in a study that involved teenage speakers of EAL, the participants expressed awareness that, in addition to speaking the language of English, there was a need to deconstruct their identities in order to reconstruct themselves in new contexts in order to 'pull off' authentic social identities (Safford & Costley, 2008). Consistent with socio-cultural theory (see section 2.3) and the discussion around language and identity (Section 2.3.1.1) the National Association for Language Development and the Curriculum (NALDIC) clearly states that: "There are cognitive and socio-cultural dimensions to the language learning process: language learning is not only about communicating - it is embedded in culture and integral to the development of identity" (NALDIC, 2003, p.1).

Furthermore, Costley (2014) argues that the promotion of the English identity through the teaching and learning of English is intentional: "For well over 100 years, the teaching and learning of English as both a subject and a language has been seen as providing the primary opportunity to shape and mould society as well as to promote a sense of national identity and pride" (2014, p. 286). Similarly, Foucault argued that educational institutions are sites where certain knowledge and practices are legitimised in line with dominant discourses (Foucault, 1972), so here we see certain language practices and identities privileged as social institutions which "hinge on the ideologization of language use" (Woolard & Schieffelin ,1994, p.56).

The promotion of linguistic homogeneity can be seen as a tool for encouraging assimilation (Baker, 2006) under the guise of social cohesion. The 2016 Casey Review (Casey, 2016) undertaken at the request of David Cameron (the then Prime Minister) and Theresa May (the then Home Secretary) into integration and opportunity in isolated and deprived communities concluded that proficiency in English language was a crucial factor in relation to integration. Similarly, the 2014 census on British Social Attitudes found that "95% think speaking English is important for being 'truly British'" (British Social Attitudes, 2014, n.p.).

The rhetoric that 'English is the language of England' appears to be common-sense, however as Hornberger (2002) points out, the idea that a nation is united by speaking a common language is not only a myth that began in the 18th and 19th centuries, it is also an increasingly unconvincing myth in the wake of globalisation.

Thus, it is argued that children from the earliest stages of their educational experiences are caught up in a struggle between the discourse of 'Englishness' as reified through increasing checks and measures to ensure the teaching and learning of English, and the natural consequences of globalisation that has led to pluralism and linguistic diversity being the norm, particularly in super-diverse communities.

2.5 Literature review conclusion

This literature review has presented an overview of the theories that inform this research: sociocultural theory and third space theory. Building on these, relevant concepts relating to communication have been explored. Finally, the literature review considered the debates that surround young children's experiences in the Early Years, and in particular the ways in which children who speak English as and Additional Language have been positioned by policy, both historically and currently. In the next section, the study's methodology will be explained in detail, beginning with the theoretical framework, followed by ethical considerations, then the methods that were used to collect and analyse the data and finally a reflection on measures taken to ensure the trustworthiness of the research.

Chapter 3 : Methodology

3.1 Introduction

The research process underpinning this thesis was not linear because, whilst the overarching research question was established from the start and I knew I would draw on the principles of ethnography to conduct the research, I purposely began the data collection with an open mind about the specific direction and focus. As Agar (1996) points out "You can't specify the questions you're going to ask when you move into a community; you don't know how to ask questions yet" (p.119). By the same token, Dyson and Genishi (2005) recognise that this makes it difficult to design research and their advice is to 'hang loose', so that the research questions can be adapted in light of new information, but remain focussed enough to give the research project some direction (Dyson & Genishi, 2005, p.45). Similarly, the approach to data analysis I adopted was based on Constructivist Grounded Theory, which advocates that the researcher try to learn about the research setting and the lives of the participants with an open mind (Charmaz, 2006). Therefore, I adopted a "narrowing funnel" (Agar, 1996, p.184) approach where the researcher begins the fieldwork with an open mind, learning as much as he/she can from the social group being studied. The researcher then goes through a process of focussing interest on certain topics. Finally, at the narrow end of the funnel, the questions become more specific, theories emerge and the researcher performs a more systematic testing of theories (Agar, 1996). This narrowing funnel approach is depicted in Figures 3.1 and 3.2.
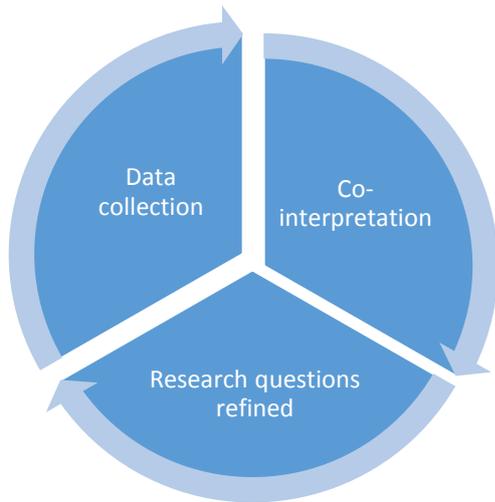
Figure 3.1: The 'narrowing funnel' viewed from above   *Figure 3.2: The 'narrowing funnel' viewed from the side*
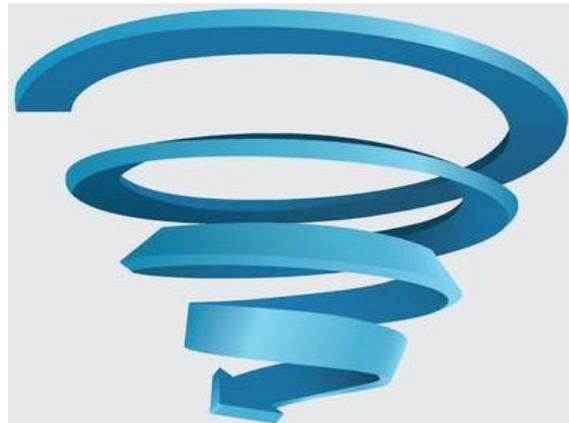
With this introduction in mind, and in order to organise the elements of the methodology into a clear structure, this chapter consists of three parts (see Fig.3.3, below). While a traditional view of research would expect each distinct phase to be completed before moving on to the next (Wellington, 2015), the research process I undertook was iterative in nature as explained above.
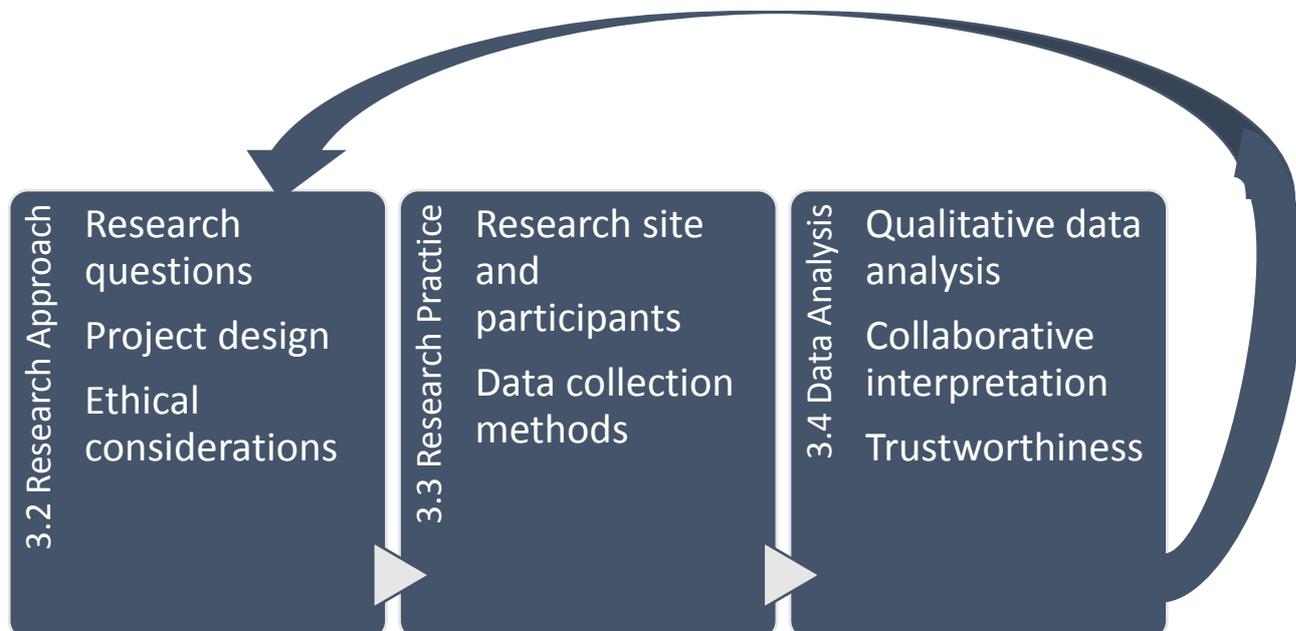
Figure 3.3: The Structure of the Methodology

3.2 Research approach

This section describes the overall research approach that was adopted by first stating the research questions, then outlining the project design and finally exploring a number of ethical considerations that raised important challenges and, ultimately, guided the research process.

3.2.1 Research questions

The main research question is:

How do the intersections between different socio-cultural contexts contribute to children's multimodal communicative practices in a super-diverse environment?

The notion of 'socio-cultural contexts' was then broken down into three distinct, yet related, components as illustrated by the Venn diagram below (Fig. 3.4):
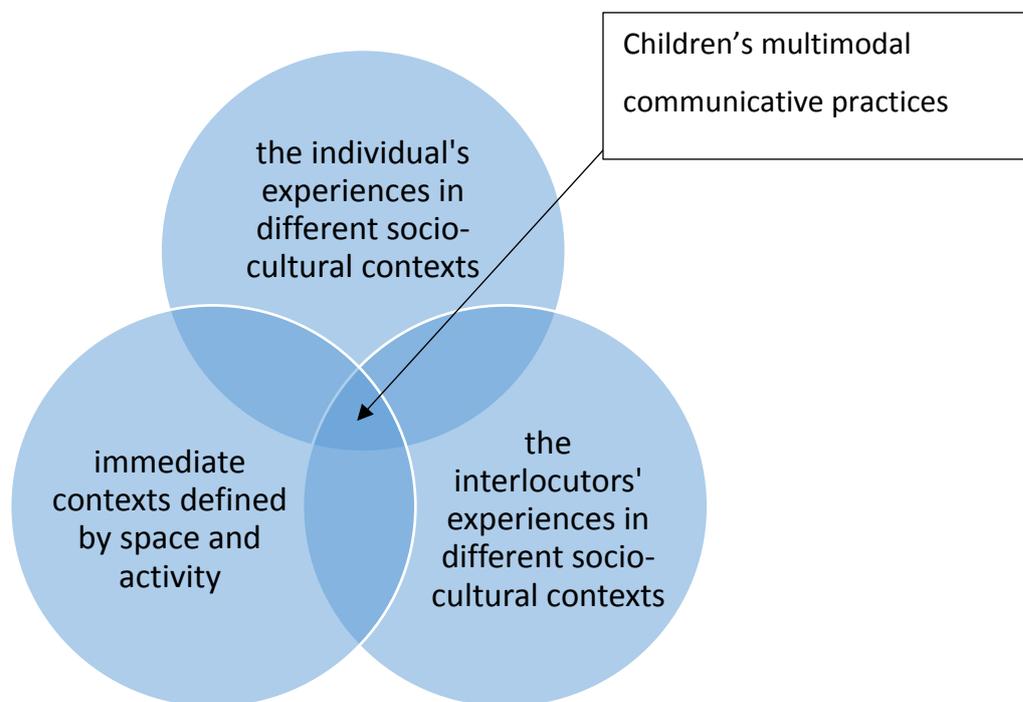
Figure 3.4: The relationship between the focus of the main research question and the foci of the three subsidiary research questions

The research aim and research questions were presented in the Introduction to this thesis (Section 1.5). The literature review considered different sociocultural theories, in particular, the work of Rogoff who posited activities and events could be considered on three planes of analysis. The following table shows how the three subsidiary research questions align with Rogoff's three planes of analysis (Table 3.1):

Subsidiary Research Question	Plane of Analysis
1) How do the repertoires children learn in out-of-school socio-cultural contexts contribute to children's multimodal communicative practices in a super-diverse environment?	Individual

2) In what ways does the interaction with others, who in turn draw upon their own resources from different socio-cultural contexts, contribute to children's multimodal communicative practices in a super-diverse environment?	Interpersonal
3) What is the relationship between the immediate contexts of communication, as defined by space and activity, and the resources children draw upon to communicate in a super-diverse environment?	Cultural-Institutional

Table 3.1: Subsidiary research questions and Rogoff's planes of analysis

The first research question draws on funds of knowledge to show how the different socio-cultural spaces the children traverse impact the tools the children use to communicate. This research question relates to Rogoff's first plane of analysis as it focuses on how the individual develops repertoires through participatory appropriation in different communities. The second research question highlights how children's communication is a collaborative endeavour, and thus is modified and transformed through guided participation by and with others. The third research question considers how children's communication is impacted by the different spaces they occupy within schools and the activities they are engaged in while communicating. In doing so, the third research question examines the institutional structure and cultural technologies that shape the immediate context in which communication occurs.

3.2.2 Project design

In essence, the current research is a case study designed to "examine a contemporary phenomenon in its real-life context" (Yin, 2009, p.59). The research was conducted from an interpretivist stance (as explained in Section 1.6) and, as such, embraces the chaotic, multi-layered essence of different people's interpretations of reality. The goal of interpretivism is not to generate universal theory, but to delve into the multifaceted experiences of humans in different contexts (Cohen et al., 2011; Denzin & Lincoln, 2011). In line with interpretivism, the project uses a case study design which enables me to research the "particularity and complexity of a single case" (Stake, 1995, p.xi).

The following table (Table 3.2), which has been adapted from Thomas (2016, p. 11), uses a third column to demonstrate how my study aligns with a generic case study framework:

	Case Study	My Study
Investigates…	one case or a small number of cases	I investigated the communication practices of children in one class
Data collected and analysed about…	a large number of features of each case	I documented at all facets of communication; I recorded the contexts of communication; I learn about each child's out-of-school backgrounds and experiences
Study of…	naturally occurring cases where the aim is not to control variables	I used methods that aimed to capture communication as it occurred 'naturally'
Quantification of data…	is not a priority	My data is qualitative
Using…	many methods of data collection	I used a range of data collection methods
Aiming to…	look at relationships and processes	I explored how sociocultural contexts relate to development and production of multimodal communication

Table 3.2: Justification for the case study approach employed in this research, adapted from Thomas (2016, p. 11)

3.2.3 Ethical considerations

In relation to the ethics of conducting research there are necessary requirements that researchers "*have* to do" and there are ethical decisions researchers "*ought* to do" (Graham, Powell & Taylor, 2015, pp.331-332, emphasis in original). Guillemin and Gillam (2004) draw a distinction between procedural ethics, such as obtaining initial consent, and "ethics in practice" (p.262), which refers to the unpredictable, everyday ethical issues that arise when conducting research.

In respect of procedural ethics, obtaining initial consent is a "*have* to" - the researcher must obtain consent from the parent or guardian of the child in order to proceed with the research (British Educational Research Association, 2011). Thus, before the data collection

began, ethical approval was granted by the University of Sheffield and then parents/guardians were given information sheets with consent 'slips' at the bottom. This was a familiar format for the parents as they were often asked to read letters from the school and sign them in this way, and so it seemed logical to follow the template they were accustomed to. In addition, however, I spoke to each of the children's parents/guardians individually and explained the project with the help of the information sheet as a prompt.

Obtaining the required initial consent from a parent or guardian was, however, problematic. In the first place, many of the parents of the children in the class did not speak (and by implication could not read) English well, and as a result of uncovering this challenge during the pilot study, I attempted to have the forms translated into the parents' own languages. While the sentiment behind the translation was appreciated by the parents, I soon discovered that attempting to translate a written letter into other languages is complex. For example, Romani is not a written language, Somali had no official written alphabet until 1972, and there are great variations in Swahili spoken throughout Africa such that one speaker may be able to negotiate a verbal understanding with another speaker, but on paper there is no universally accepted version of the language. Therefore, after much consideration and advice from my Supervisors, I wrote the information sheets and consent forms in English and asked school translators to talk them through them with any parent who needed additional support in understanding them.

Despite these measures, there are still ethical difficulties as the adult may feel obliged to participate in the research, fearing negative repercussions if they refuse (Flewitt, 2005). Furthermore, the views of the parent may conflict with those of the child: "What if the child really wants to participate but the parent says no?" (Skelton, 2008, p.27). This occurred with one potential participant and I 'had to' let the parent's wishes override those of the child. Furthermore, initial consent is often referred to as 'informed consent', yet Flewitt (2005) questions the term 'informed' and argues "provisional consent" (p.4) is more appropriate as it takes into account the unpredictable nature of exploratory research. Provisional consent signifies consent is given on the basis of a broad framework and will be continually negotiated throughout the research process, and this leads me to what researchers '*ought* to do'.

Though researchers are not required to gain a child's consent, a researcher who claims to be listening to children clearly ought to seek the child's consent in addition to that of the parents (Danby & Farrell, 2004; Graham et al., 2015). However, it is important to note that even with a detailed explanation of the research explicitly stating the participants may withdraw at any time, there is no guarantee that children will understand the research process (Hurley & Underwood, 2002) or actively dissent (Lewis, 2002). As a means of attempting to overcome this challenge, I supplemented the information sheet for the children with a comic strip that visually represented the topic of the research so that when I went through the information sheet we were able to talk about the cartoons, what they depicted and what it meant to them (Fig. 3.5).
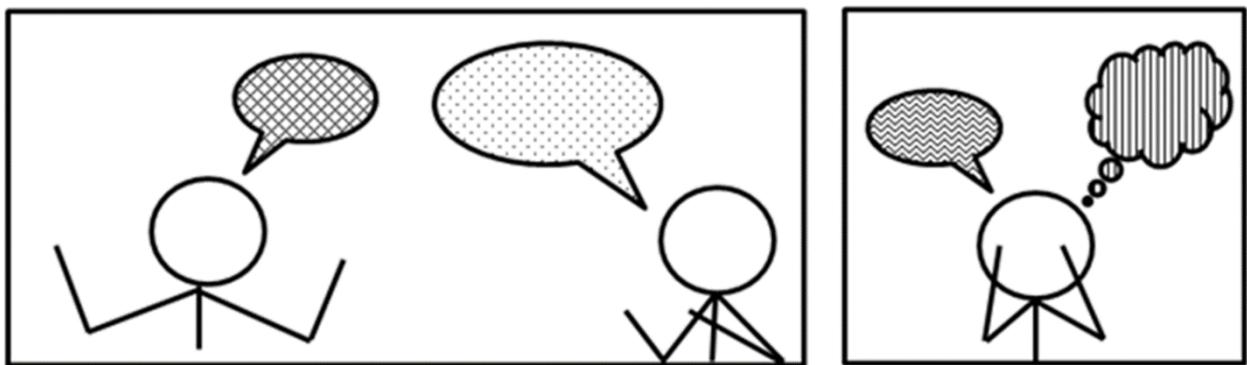
Figure 3.5: Excerpt from the information sheet with comics that depicted the focus of the research

In addition to the procedural ethics, an ethical researcher must also be mindful of *ethics in practice*. E*thics in practice* are the day-to-day "ethically important moments" (Guillemin & Gillam, 2004, p.265), such as a child declining to participate in the research even after they have 'signed the form'. The way that the researcher chooses to respond to such subtle, practical dilemmas has ethical ramifications, yet these are often unanticipated by procedural ethics and, as such, are not covered by the signed consent form or the ethical application form approved by the ethics committee prior to the research.

If, as I have argued, a power imbalance does exist between the researcher and young participants, then ethics in practice is even more salient (Warin, 2011). For example, drawing on the notion of *ethics in practice,* it is imperative that consent is viewed not as one single act at the beginning of a research project, but as an ongoing, continuous negotiation

between the researcher and the participants (Bourke & Loveridge, 2014). Indeed, throughout the research journey I became increasingly aware of the ethical challenges that present themselves when conducting research with young children. The resultant methods that I employed were developed out of an iterative process between ethics in practice, methodological responses, further ethical complications and so on, as represented by diagram 3.6.
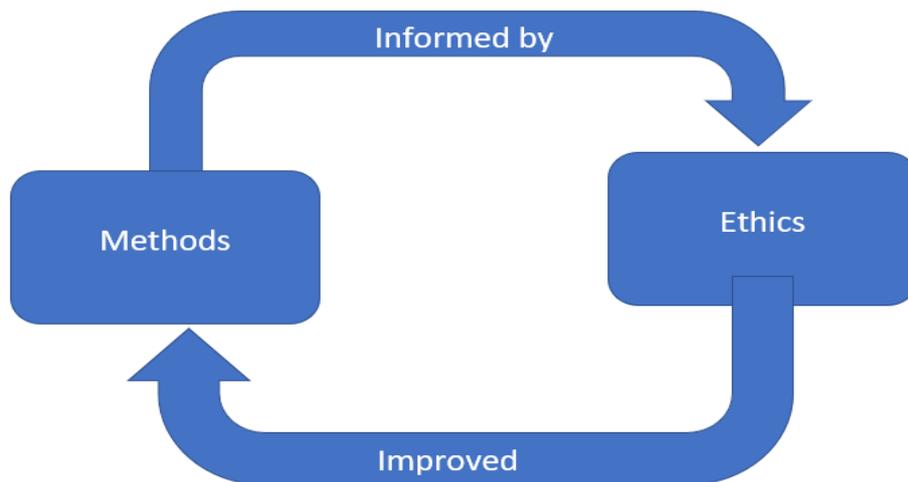
Figure 3.6: A diagram of the relationship between methods and ethics

As such, the entire methodology is filtered through ethical considerations. This means that the following sections will not only build a picture of the research project design, but they will also discuss ethical challenges as they arose, in some cases using real examples from the data collection.

3.3 Research practice

This section builds on the research approach explained in the previous section (3.2) to give a detailed account of how the research was carried out. The section begins with a description of the site and participants. After this, there will be a full discussion of each of the methods used to collect data.

3.3.1 Research site and participants

The participants in the study were members of one class in a culturally, linguistically and ethnically diverse school. The data collection took place over twelve months beginning after the Easter holidays in April 2016 when the students were part of Foundation Stage Two (F2),

and I then followed the class as they moved into Year One (Y1) until the following Easter holidays, completing the data collection in March 2017. Initially I had intended to invite all children who spoke English as an additional language to be participants but when I began to explain this to the children, the only 'white-British' member of the class, Ryan, looked upset and asked 'aren't I allowed to be in it?' I then realised that he was just as much a member of this 'community of practice' (Wenger, 1998) as the children who I saw as 'diverse'. Based on Ryan's comment, I then opened the study up to include all children in the class, thereby yielding much more representative data as his interactions with other children were just as important as the interactions between children who spoke languages other than English at home. This meant thirty-two children were invited participate, but two did not have parental consent leaving a total of thirty participants.

The class was chosen firstly for its age as the study is focussing on young children's communicative resources, and secondly because it is an example of the 'super-diversity' of England as described by Vertovec (2007). In Section 1.4, I evidenced the diversity of the city of Sheffield and, in particular, the area of Sheffield where the school is located. The population of the school where the research was conducted is super-diverse as students come from a wide array of geographical locations, through a multiplicity of channels, with even broader assemblages of ethnic identities and languages. Table 3.3 (below) presents pseudonyms and details of the backgrounds for each of the participants in the study:

	Self-Selected Pseudonym	Self Portrait	Gender	Links to other countries	Languages spoken (in addition to English)	Length on time lived in UK at start of study	Family's channel of migration	Comings and goings
1	Aladdin		Male	Jordan	Arabic	Arrived 3 months after study began	Study	Arrived in summer term of F2
2	Igor		Male	Slovakia	Slovak Roma	Arrived 5 months after study began	European Citizen	Arrived in Autumn term of Y1
3	Rocky		Male	Ethiopia	Oromo	Arrived 7 months after study began	Refugee	Arrived in Autumn term of Y1
4	Ali	None drawn	Male	Iraq, Poland	Arabic	2 months	Refugee	Changed schools in Autumn term of Y1
5	Issa		Male	Iraq	Arabic	4 months	Refugee	
6	Minion		Female	Libya	Arabic	1 year	Study	
7	Naan		Male	Pakistan	Urdu	1 year	Family	Went to Pakistan for 2 months in Y1
8	Arman Ali		Male	Pakistan	Pushto	2 years	Work	
9	Darth Vader		Male	Slovakia	Slovak, Roma	2 years	European citizen	
10	Afaq		Male	Iraq	Arabic	2 years	Study	

11	Trini		Male	Somalia, Kenya	Somali	2 years	Family	
12	Tomng	None drawn	Male	Tigray (Ethiopia)	Tigrinya	3 years	Refugee	Changed schools in summer term of F2
13	Asad		Female	Somalia, Norway	Somali	3 years	Refugee	
14	Ivy		Female	China	Chinese	3 years	Work	
15	Everything-is-Awesome		Male	-	-	Born in UK		Joined school in Autumn term of Y1
16	Mofaq		Male	Somalia	Somali	Born in UK		
17	Ana		Female	Somalia	Somali	Born in UK		
18	Elsa		Female	Pakistan	Urdu	Born in UK		
19	Roger		Male	Pakistan	Punjabi	Born in UK		
20	Caterpillar		Male	Pakistan	Urdu	Born in UK		Went to Pakistan for 2 months in F2
24	Ellie		Female	Albania	Albanian	Born in UK		
22	Dom		Male	Albania	Albanian	Born in UK		

23	Ryan		Male	-	-	Born in UK		
24	Bob		Male	Somalia	Somali	Born in UK		
25	Afaq Ali		Male	Pakistan	Urdu	Born in UK		
26	Jason		Male	Congo, Rwanda	French, Swahili	Born in UK		
27	Kaylo Ren		Male	Pakistan	Urdu	Born in UK		
28	Cinderella		Female	Pakistan	Punjabi	Born in UK		
29	Lilly		Female	Zimbabwe	Shona	Born in UK		
30	Ebo		Male	Pakistan	-	Born in UK		

Table 3.3: Pseudonyms self-portraits and background details of participants

The data presented in Table 3.3 was first assembled by accessing the school's data which is gathered through an enrolment interview with parents where they fill out a form about their child. However, there were many examples of discrepancies between the content of the school's data set and what was revealed to me over time in conversations with the participants and their parents.

It therefore became abundantly clear that I could not rely on a (demonstratively subjective) response from an enrolment sheet and treat it as an absolute truth. Such 'false truths' are a symptom of the 'audit culture' where, according to Ocean and Skoudoumbis (2016), numbers are applied to people in an attempt to organise, stratify and regiment populations - rhetoric that is legitimised through military discourse in an attempt to reinforce the government's authority. In reality, the individual participants in this case study each have a unique set of complex intersections of diversities that add to the multi-dimensional diversity of the class, the school the community, to Sheffield and to the UK - and reducing these factors to a simplified form has potential to mislead decision-makers. With this concern in mind, the data in Table 3.5 was continually updated and amended throughout the twelve months of data collection as I learnt more about the participants and their backgrounds.

A final layer of complexity that is not captured by Table 3.3 is the high level of mobility of the participants. At various points throughout the research participants came and went. During the year of data collection, two participants left the school (and therefore the study), four participants joined the school and one participant went to Pakistan for three months. Whilst fluctuation in the composition of groups is accepted by researchers as a common trait among marginal populations (Levinson, 2017), the lack of continuity in the children's schooling not only added a level of unpredictability to the research, but it is also symptomatic of the instability present in many of their lives.

3.3.2 Data collection methods

Researchers who hold the opinion that children are fully competent beings *must* design research that allows children to participate meaningfully (Robinson & Kellett, 2004). The resultant data collections methods were selected in order to highlight the competence of children, lessen the power imbalance between adult researcher and young participants and, ultimately, to capture a faithful representation of their voices (Curtin & Murtagh, 2007).

The stages of data collection, and the methods used at each stage, are summarised below in Table 3.4:

	Stage 1	Stage 2	Stage 3	Stage 4
With children	Building relationships with children	Language portraits	Ethnographic observations and collaborative creation of cartoons	Collaborative interpretation of cartoons
With parents	Building relationships with parents	Semi-structured interviews with parents	Frequent, informal unstructured interviews with parents	
Other sources of data	School's enrolment data	Photos taken of multimodal artefacts created by the participants		

Table 3.4: The stages of the research process

3.3.2.1 Building relationships

Establishing rapport with participants is paramount for field research, however, at least in the initial stages, it develops slowly and is tentative and fragile (Taylor, Bogdan & DeVault, 2016). As discussed in Section 1.3, the position of the researcher in relation to the participants is important in any research, but it is even more important when the participants are children as the power dynamic between the adult researchers and child participants is greater. Thus, it was important that I dedicated time to developing a rapport with the children and establishing myself as a "different sort of adult" (Christensen, 2007, p.174) - an adult who, in contrast to the other adults present in the school setting, was not going to admonish the children for their behaviour. It was not possible for me to completely deny that I am an adult in this regard, as I was ethically bound to discuss any concerns about behaviour, such as bullying, with the class teacher. I achieved the role of a 'different sort of

adult' by spending time in the classroom, sitting on the carpet with the children, joining in with their activities and playing with them at break time in the playground. I also made sure I was outside the classroom, mingling with the children and their families before the bell rang in the morning, and I often stood outside chatting to the parents when they came to collect their children at the end of the day. From the start, I was clear about the purpose of my research and I made sure I was available to answer any questions the parents had about my presence in the classroom. In addition, this period of time prior to the collection of the children presented an ideal opportunity for any issues or concerns to be surfaced and discussed.

The children and their families soon came to understand my presence in the classroom, but the gatekeeper - the Foundation Stage Two (F2) class teacher - took some time to understand my role. As I taught at this school in parallel with the research, I was both familiar with the staff and also open and honest about what I was hoping to achieve in the classroom (and the associated role that I needed to develop). However, there were occasions when the class teacher asked me to 'teach' a group and this caused confusion among the children I was supposed to be working with as part of the primary research. I quickly realised this was because the teacher was used to all adults in the classroom being there to 'teach' and assist the children in reaching targets in their learning. I realised I had to gain her confidence in what I was doing, so I began to involve the teacher in the research by giving her regular updates about what I had observed and by asking her opinion about interactions I had recorded between the children. The teacher soon became familiar with my research and my role in the classroom, and began to take on a researcher role herself by telling me about conversations she had heard between children. Through this unanticipated experience, I discovered the benefits of collaboration with a gatekeeper (Corsaro & Molinari, 2017) and I was able to transfer this approach to the next class teacher when the children transitioned to Year One half way through the data collection phase. As a result, there were no misunderstandings about my role in the Y1 classroom, which clearly simplified the overall research process.

3.3.2.2 Language portraits
The language portrait is a task in which children in multilingual educational settings are given pre-printed body silhouettes and the task of colouring these in to represent the

languages they speak (Busch, 2006, 2012). The children can select the colour they wish to use in order to represent each of their languages, and there are no rules as to how the children should go about colouring in the silhouette - they may choose the colours and how to colour according to their own perceptions of their languages. It is argued that this task can reveal insights into children's lived experiences of their linguistic repertoires which are otherwise strongly subjective, complex and difficult to access (Wolf, 2014).

Task-based activities are also useful because they generate easily comparable data and the language portrait elicits a visual artefact that has the potential to reveal deep insights into the children's linguistic experiences. Thus, Punch (2002b) advocates the use of task-based activities in order to stimulate discussion. She argues that, particularly for young people, task-based activities are less daunting than interviews as there is less pressure to respond to the questions directed at them with a quick verbal answer. Additionally, discussions around task-based activities can be more varied, fun and interesting when compared to traditional interview techniques (Punch, 2002b). Similarly, Busch (2018) argues that the image created in a linguistic portrait functions as "a means of opening a conversation and as a point of reference within the conversation, and thus furthers the elicitation of (biographical) narratives" (Busch, 2018, p.6). In short, such a first-person narrative can reveal supplementary information regarding a person's linguistic journey that may have been difficult to unearth through a traditional interview.

That said, the way the task was administered needed careful consideration as, by asking the participant to choose a different colour for each language they speak, I am inherently reducing their complex heteroglossic mosaics to an ordered system. This issue is recognised by Busch (2018) who recommends keeping the instructions for the task as open-ended as possible, however his examples of how to achieve this seemed more suited to an adult audience than four-year-old children. I therefore developed a middle ground by asking the children to choose whatever colours they want to use to colour in whatever languages they speak, and thus avoided telling them to select one colour to represent a particular language. Interestingly, and indeed helpfully, some of the children found their own way to reject the 'one-language - one-colour restriction' by blending the colours across their portraits.

3.3.2.3 Semi-structured interviews with parents

From the start of this research I deliberately and necessarily included and consulted the participants' parents about the project. The resultant interactions with the parents varied from unstructured to semi-structured in nature, depending on the purpose of the conversation. The flexibility of these interviews made them the ideal research instrument as they have a very broad variety of forms and a multiplicity of uses (Fontana & Frey, 2000).

After three months of observing the children (see Section 3.3.2.5), I began a series of semi-structured interviews with the parents. These were based around the series of questions listed in Table 3.5 (below), and were aimed at seeking clarification of the biographical data for each of the children and also their linguistic practices in out-of-school environments. However, whilst the core questions were the same in every case, their sequence and the way they were phrased was altered as I probed for more information based on the response to a previous question (Fielding & Thomas, 2001). As part of this process, the school was holding a parent-teacher evening in the Autumn term of Y1 and so I took the opportunity to meet each of the parents for a few minutes before the formal meeting in order to conduct my interviews.

Interview questions

1) What language/s are present in the home?

2) Who speaks this/these language/s in the home?

3) What language does your child speak when in the home/out of school?

4) How much of this/these other language/s does your child speak?

5) Are they any specific contexts when your child speaks one language or another?

6) Do you encourage your child to speak another language/other languages?

6a) If yes, why? and how do you encourage it?

6b) If no, why not?

7) Has your child ever lived in another country/other countries?

8) Does your child have family in another country/other countries?

9) Has your child ever visited family in another country/other countries?

10) Is it important to you for your child to learn about the countries you have links to?

10a) If yes, why? and how do you encourage it?

10b) If no, why not?

11) Is there anything else you would like to add?

Table 3.5 Interview Questions

Throughout the year of data collection, I was available before and after school if the parents wanted to discuss anything with me in an unstructured way. Fortunately, the parents waited in the playground with their children for the classroom to open in the morning, and they also waited outside the classroom door for the children to be released at the end of the day. This arrangement meant it was easy for me to become familiar with the parents simply by mingling with them before and after school. The interactions I had with parents in this way were more like friendly conversations than formal data gathering interviews and I thus struggled to reconcile the term 'interview' - which is loaded with unequal power-dynamics - with the open-ended, informal chats I held with parents. However, after considerable reflection I realised that even a friendly conversation between a researcher and a participant falls under the heading of 'interview' (Knox & Burkard, 2009) as it is actually an instrumental conversation. In essence, there is always the potential for information from such a conversation to be used as part of the research data, with the reality that the researcher and the participants are not equal partners - not least as the interviewer will inevitably steer the conversation in a direction that will generate yet more data (Kvale, 2007). For example, things of interest that I had observed during the day became a conversation starter between myself and the children's parents, and many of these impromptu, spontaneous conversations led to complex insights that I may not have been able to have surfaced through the use of a more structured interview approach as I may not have anticipated the direction of the conversation and therefore might not have asked the 'right' questions.

3.3.2.4 *Photos of multimodal artefacts*

The children in this study often communicated by creating multimodal artefacts out of the many materials available to them in the foundation and Year One classrooms. For example, the children drew pictures, made models, created mixed-media craft, wrote numbers, words or even stories, constructed with blocks and Lego, painted, drew in sand, made objects out of playdough and built structures out of a variety of materials on different

scales, from minute action figures out of tooth picks to enormous forts out of milk crates. Each of the artefacts the children created had a particular significance to the child and a narrative behind its creation. I therefore took photos of these artefacts, as I believed that they held important clues to understanding children's meaning making (Pahl, 2002). Indeed, Pink (2001) encourages ethnographic researchers to adopt a multisensory approach by incorporating visual images, objects and descriptions as she argues "different types of ethnographic knowledge… be experienced and represented in a range of different textual, visual and other sensory ways" (Pink, 2001, p.6). Furthermore, Kress (1997) expands the traditionally accepted version of 'literacy' that focuses on reading and writing, to consider the wide range of media children employ to communicate. Kress argues that when children 'play pirates' and build a 'pirate ship' out of boxes, the representation of the features of the 'ship' expresses the meanings of the children at that point, which is an important foundation of literacy in its own right (Kress, 1997). With the children's permission, I therefore took photos of the children's artefacts and creations as a means of enriching the core research data by recording children's communication through a wide range of media.

3.3.2.5 Ethnographic Observations, collaborative cartoons creation

Traditionally, ethnographic studies can be characterised as "broad, in depth, long term study of a socio-cultural group" (Green & Bloome, 1997, p.183). In an ethnographic study, the ethnographer or participant observer spends a sustained period of time immersed in a social group and observing, listening and asking questions to its members (Bryman, 2012). Ethnographic enquiry is based on the principle that the social world is complex and multi-layered, meaning an accurate representation of a social group can only be captured by constructing an holistic and multi-faceted research approach (Cohen et al., 2011). Contemporary ethnographers may also choose to borrow perspectives, approaches and tools from traditional ethnography in order to better suit the questions, purposes and theories being explored in the study (Green & Bloome, 1997). As the present research project intends to uncover the complex experiences of children communicating in a super-diverse environment, ethnography clearly offers a valuable and appropriate means of collecting data. Thus I drew upon the principles of ethnography by spending three days a week in the class with the children for a period of twelve months, observing, listening and asking questions.

In thinking about how to go about conducting ethnographic observations I was particularly impressed by the work of Lassiter and Campbell, and what they call 'collaborative ethnography' (Lassiter, Goodall & Johnson, 2004). While all ethnographic studies are, to a degree, collaborative, the collaborative ethnography model emphasises the deliberate process of collaboration with the participants. The basic principle of collaborative inquiry is to undertake research *with* people and not *on* people (Heron & Reason, 1997). The main rationale for wanting to include children in the understanding and interpretation of the events I observed was based on a fundamental belief that children have the right to *participate:* "to be treated with dignity and respect, to express their feelings, beliefs and ideas, and to be listened to and have their voices heard" (Kirby & Woodhead, 2003, p.236).

Campbell and Lassiter (2014) argue that more accurate representations of the participants' experiences will be reached through engaging them in the research and reaching shared understandings. Simply put: "if you would like to know what is going on it is best to ask the people involved" (Roffey, Tarrant & Majors, 1994, p.14). It could even be argued that research that does not take the knowledge children have of themselves into account is "incomplete" (Jones, 2004, p.114) as "children are the primary source of knowledge about their own views and experiences" (Alderson, 2008, p.287). Indeed, the benefits of including young participants in the research process are becoming ever clearer with each new addition to the canon of literature that demonstrates how listening to children strengthens research (Mauthner, 1997; Clark & Moss, 2001; Punch, 2002a; Alderson, 2008; Stephenson, 2009; Einarsdóttir, 2011; Gray & Winter, 2011; Lundy, McEvoy, & Byrne, 2011).

With this in mind it is clear that, if the researcher hopes to engage the participants in dialogue around the ethnographic texts being produced, the texts must be created in a clear and accessible format (Lassiter, 2005). The participants in my research were children aged between four and six years old, and thus I could not share written observations with them as they would not have been able to read these texts. To overcome this challenge, I first attempted reading the written observations aloud to the children, and then asking them to confirm their accuracy. However, this was less than fully successful as the children's age meant that they seemed to find it difficult to relate to what I was saying. This difficulty was compounded by the ability of the children in my study to understand and speak English varied from fluent to beginner. Therefore, conversing with the children in English would

create a scenario in which the voices of those who spoke English well would be heard clearly, while those who were less fluent would potentially be ignored. I therefore needed to use a medium that was accessible to all participants, regardless of their age and ability to speak and comprehend English.

As a result, I investigated the incorporation of a visual stimulus into the research to accompany the observation notes that I was writing. Visual modes are powerful tools for communication, particularly with young children who become 'fluent' in drawing (Anning 2004). Kearns (2012) describes images as possessing the "power to empower and facilitate discussion" (p.27), and she points out that whilst images are often created as the result of research, they are not often used to stimulate conversation.

However, in this research the images were created as a result of observations and then were subsequently recycled as a stimulus for generating discussions around the events recorded in the images. Visual tools, such as the cartoons presented in this thesis, provide opportunities for "a rich, multilayered and mediated form of communication" (Christensen & James, 2008, p.160) firstly because the children co-produced the cartoons, and secondly as the images facilitated further dialogue. Additionally, visual methods offer opportunities that are different to speech or writing (Spyrou, 2011) - for example, 'body language' such as postures or gestures are a source of visual data (Emmison & Smith, 2000). All of these factors reinforced the benefits of capturing visual data using a visual method, such as sketching cartoons.

In practice, the use of visual aids as a communications medium has already been taken up by teachers and practitioners who use them when working with children who speak English as an additional language, often employing software such as 'Communicate: In Print' which creates low modality cartoon pictures of everyday objects. Such visual aids are available in every classroom at the school where the research was conducted, and children who do not speak English often refer to these when trying to communicate, for example, that they need a pencil or the toilet. Comics, such as those produced by Social Stories[TM] are also widely used by practitioners to communicate with children with Autism Spectrum Disorders (The National Autistic Society, 2004). While I do not claim that the needs of a child with autism are the same as, or even similar to, the needs of a child learning English, parallels can be drawn from the use of cartoons to improve social understanding, while simultaneously

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helping parents and professionals to understand the perspectives of the student (Glaeser, Pierson & Fritschmann, 2003).

More broadly, drawings have been used in research with children and yielded a range of advantages. For example, Pridmore and Bendelow (1995) demonstrate the many benefits of incorporating drawings into their research, citing their potential to enable *all* children to participate including "young children, children with special needs and those who cannot read or write or are unable to do so in the language of instruction"(p.486). Lundy et al. (2011) also used images as prompts for children to articulate their perspectives, leading to the co-creating of a visual survey. They discovered that involving children as co-researchers in the interpretation of the data through to use of visual methods had two major benefits: the findings were more credible, and the researchers' understandings of the issues were more nuanced (Lundy et al., 2011).

Taking these ideas into account, I began to sketch 'stick-figure' cartoons to accompany the field notes I was writing. I then shared the cartoons I had drawn with the children as a visual stimulus for further conversation about the events I was observing. In line with my advocacy of flexibility in the face of unpredictability (Chesworth, 2018), the method was then developed even further after a particular event when I shared a stick-figure cartoon of an observation with a group of children. I had observed Cinderella, a girl from a Pakistani family who speaks Urdu at home and English in school, chanting a traditional playground 'elimination game' while pointing at her friends' shoes in a circle (Fig. 3.8). After the game had finished I showed the cartoon to Cinderella and I explained that the character on the left was her. Cinderella took my pencil, declaring 'no, this is me!' and she drew herself on my notes. I realised that this was an opportunity for Cinderella to become a co-producer of the cartoon, and I then formalised the cartoon into a digital format using her input (Fig. 3.9).

Figure 3.7: Stick figures

Figure 3.8: Self-portraits

Triggered by Cinderella's desire to provide a 'self-portrait' as part of the original cartoon, I then asked all the children in the class also to draw self-portraits that would be used in future cartoons. This was a development that happened organically, as I had simply responded to the unfolding events, rather than adhering to a prescribed procedure. The results were tangible: the children identified their self-portraits in the cartoons (and those of their close friends!), and subsequently responded to the cartoons in ways that uncovered nuanced insights into their communicative practices and funds of knowledge as a result.

There was an additional benefit in the use of the cartoons that I had not anticipated: namely that using them made the research more ethical. Each time I showed a child a cartoon they were reminded of my presence and that I was recording observations of their interactions. This gave them the opportunity to approve, modify or challenge what I had recorded not only to improve the accuracy of the record, but also thereby providing their ongoing consent. Additionally, this dialogue gave the children the opportunity to dissent if they did not like what I had drawn, or if they did not want me to include the observation in my data.

A further benefit in terms of ethics was that of anonymity. Photographs and videos are often used to document research with children and can be a powerful tool for capturing observations (Thomson, 2010; Murray, 2012; Chesworth, 2016), however, perhaps due to my primary school teacher background, I am personally uncomfortable taking any form of digital images of children for use outside the classroom, as this has been ingrained in me through years of following safeguarding procedures. Thus, cartoons enabled me to use a visual medium for representing the children that maintained their anonymity and yet was able to act as a valuable research medium.

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3.4 Data analysis

3.4.1 Qualitative data analysis

The process of data analysis was inductive, drawing on elements of grounded theory (Charmaz, 2006) and thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006). The two approaches are compatible, however there are differences between them, and so the purpose of this section is to clarify how I pulled together aspects of each approach in order to create a coherent method of analysing the data that was guided by the underlying principle of *'fitness for purpose'* (Cohen et al., 2011, p.461). This enabled me to reduce a large volume of raw data into a manageable series of patterns or themes (Dyson & Genishi, 2005). In this respect, one drawback of inductive data analysis is that rich descriptions are reduced to a few coded patterns (Agar, 1996). On the other hand, the process of organising, categorising and coding qualitative data is an effective way of analysing the evidence in a manner that will lead the research to be able to make assertions from the data (Wolcott, 1994).

Grounded theory was first developed by Glaser and Strauss (1967) who argued that systematic, qualitative analysis could generate theory. Thus, rather than the data fitting into a pre-existing theory, theory *emerges* from the data. The data analysis process I conducted shares many of the principles within Glaser and Strauss' grounded theory including: open coding, constant comparison, generation of concepts and categories, emergence of hypotheses, theoretical sampling, and exploration of substantive theory (see Fig. 3.13 for a diagram of the processes and outcomes I used). However, I reject the idea that theory emerges objectively from the data, and instead agree with Charmaz (2006) that "social reality does not exist independent of human action" (Charmaz, 2006, p.521). As such, Charmaz argues that theory is generated through the researcher's interaction with the data.

A second point of contention for me regarding Glaser and Strauss' grounded theory is that, ideally, researchers should suspend awareness of relevant theories or concepts. Again, I believe it is important to acknowledge the influence of the researcher on the research process and the ideas that the researcher picks up on during the literature review and data collection will be conditioned by what the researcher already knows about the social world - both as a member of society and through engagement with theoretical ideas (Bryman, 2012). Therefore, in order to keep track of my ideas and potential points of interest, I kept detailed memos throughout the process of data collection and analysis as recommended by

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Charmaz (2006). I also adopted grounded theory's strategy of analysing the data as I collected it, thus these two phases of the research project were merged.

This process allowed me to adhere to the principles of hypothesis generation, theoretical sampling (though I returned to the same group to do more focussed data collection and I did not test my theories on other participants), and saturation through an iterative process of data collection, analysis, interpretation, refining the research questions, further data collection and so on (as depicted in Figs. 3.1, 3.2 and 3.3 and in Fig. 3.13 below).

With regards to the process of coding the data, I found the clear guidelines set out by Braun and Clarke (2006) in their discussion of thematic analysis to be helpful. Coding in thematic analysis begins with an extensive period of familiarisation with the data, and taking note of potential ideas – an approach that is similar to memo-writing advocated by Charmaz (2006). The researcher then codes the entire data set through line-by-line coding, a process which gives the researcher the initial codes to work with (in a way that is similar to grounded theory's 'concepts').

Next, the researcher moves on to develop themes. Themes are "central organising concepts" (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p.225) akin to grounded theory's categories. The themes I developed were, unsurprisingly, tentative at first and aimed at capturing the most salient patterns in the data relevant to answering the research question. Importantly, thematic analysis allows the researcher to "make a theoretical contribution to the literature relating to the research focus" (Bryman, 2012, p. 580). In this way, researchers can relate their ideas to existing theory throughout the analysis, and then move on to thinking about how existing theory might be *extended* by the current research.

As previously stated, the process of data analysis I conducted drew on elements of grounded theory and thematic analysis and is summarised by the following Table (Table 3.6). I also drew on the principles of collaborative ethnography in the interpretation of the data with the participants (as discussed in Section 3.3.2.5) throughout the data collection.

	Processes	Outputs	
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1.	Establish overarching research question	Main research question	
2.	Review of the literature	Broad literature review	

3.	Initial data collection	Broad data	
4.	Initial discussions with participants	Background knowledge of participants	
5.	Open coding	Initial codes	
6.	Constant comparison of initial codes	Initial themes	
7.	Review of further literature in relation to themes	Refined literature review	
8.	Develop subsidiary research questions	Subsidiary research questions	
9.	More focussed data collection	Focussed data	
10.	Further discussions with participants	Collaborative interpretation of the data	
11.	Focussed coding	Refined codes	
12.	Constant comparison of refined codes	Refined themes	
13.	Explore relationship between themes	Producing a 'thematic map'	
14.	Repeat steps 9-13 in an iterative process until themes became saturated	Final analysis	

Table 3.6: Processes and Outputs of data collection

3.4.2 Trustworthiness

Almost by definition, the inherent flexibility of qualitative research conducted from an interpretivist stance raises questions about the associated quality assurance, noting that the rigour of quantitative research is generally measured against three criteria: *validity, reliability and objectivity*. With this in mind, Lincoln and Guba (1985) seek to distinguish trustworthiness in respect of qualitative data from the concept of the terminology used in quantitative data by suggesting the following criteria: *credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability*. However, Newby (2014) argues that these terms do little to extend the original concepts and states that "reliability and validity are the corner-stones of any research" (p.130).

Whichever approach is perceived to be the most appropriate, it is clear that achieving trustworthiness is of considerable importance, and as a result, a number of actions were taken within this study to help ensure the reliability and validity of the results. Firstly, triangulation was achieved by using more than one method to collect data (Bryman, 2012).

Thus, the data was gathered through ethnographic observations, semi-structured interviews with parents, language portraits with the children, and photographs of artefacts the children created. In addition, there were multiple observers as the other adults in the class assisted me in conducting observations. Data gathered from different methods was cross-checked and any discrepancies were examined in detail. For example, the data generated from the language portraits did not always match the data collected through observations. The reasons behind these inconsistencies were explored in detail, and it was concluded that the children said what they thought they 'ought' to say during the language portraits as it was a set task, however the reality of their everyday lives demonstrated the children's communicative practices were different to the claims they had made. Though the reliability of the language portraits as a stand-alone was called into question, triangulation of the different methods increased the credibility of the findings over all. In addition, triangulation was achieved as the other adults in the class conducted ethnographic observations and their interpretations of events were discussed in relation to my own, strengthening the validity of conclusions that were drawn.

A second strategy that was employed to ensure trustworthiness was respondent validation. This is when the researcher provides the participants with an account of the findings and asks them to comment on the congruence between these findings and their own perspectives and experience (Bryman, 2012). Respondent validation was a prominent feature in my research design as I was acutely aware of the power-imbalance between myself as a researcher and adult, and the children in the study (see S1.3). I therefore drew on the concept of 'collaborative ethnography' (Lassiter et al., 2004) which is designed to overcome four key concerns: 1) ethics and moral responsibility, 2) ethnographic honesty, 3) accessible writing, and 4) collaborative reading, writing and co-interpretation (Lassiter 2012). Lassiter (2005) recommends sharing the task of interpreting the researcher's observations with the participants, however a purely verbal discussion of the data would be inappropriate with young children (Brooker, 2001; Ryan & Campbell, 2001; Fleer, 2013). The cartoons were therefore developed in order to present the data to the participants in a format that was accessible to children (see Section 3.3.2.5). This enabled respondent validation, as the children were invited to co-interpret the data, leading to deeper insights

and more nuanced understandings that would not have been possible to reach had the children been excluded from the process of interpretation.

A further practice that increased the trustworthiness of the findings was the use of 'thick description' (Geertz, 1983) which posits that describing phenomena in sufficient detail allows researchers to evaluate the extent to which knowledge can be transferred to other cases (Bazeley, 2013). The data collected during ethnographic observations emulated this concept of thick description in that they captured the multi-layered complexities of events (Cohen et al., 2011). As an example, the observations of the children's communications were extended by describing the details of their facial expressions, body movements, voice tone, and so on. These were accompanied by descriptions of the environment, their activity, the objects the children were using, how they utilised the space around them, and how they were positioned in relation to other children and adults in the space. Furthermore, analytic memos were recorded throughout the research process that described details such as the children's intentions or how the present activity related to other events and broader social constructs. By ensuring the ethnographic observations were multi-dimensional, it was possible to reveal deeper, more nuanced understandings of the children's communication than would have been possible had the descriptions been reduced to more simplistic ones.

Finally, this thesis provides a clear explanation of the research process from its inception to its conclusions, thus maintaining transparency throughout. Newby (2014) states that one potential source of bias is the relationship between the researcher and the subject. In order to overcome this challenge, I adopted a reflexive approach to research by examining my positionality in Section 1.3. I also kept a research journal throughout the process of data collection in order to examine my own thoughts about the data itself and the process by which it had been gathered. This metacognitive practice enabled me to step back from the interpretation process and identify if any patterns in my analysis of the data were influenced by my subjective opinions. Consistent with grounded theory (Charmaz, 2006; see Section 3.4.1) I could then return to the field and conduct observations with a view to unravelling the particular issue with which I was grappling until I was convinced that it had been confirmed through the observations of the participants.

The strategies outlined above were adopted to ensure the trustworthiness of the research, while accepting the reality of qualitative research in the social sciences with people, which means that the context is inevitably open to change and variation (Jensen, 2008).

3.5 Methodology conclusion

This chapter has explained the design of the project in detail. The chapter provides a detailed account of how the research was carried out by discussing the theoretical approach and research methods that were used to collect the data. This chapter has also described the participants and the site of the research, and presented an in-depth exploration of the ethical issues that were taken into consideration when designing the research. The chapter culminated with a description of the method of data analysis and a reflection on the steps taken to ensure trustworthiness of the findings and conclusions. Following on from this, the next chapter presents the data, organised into themes in accordance with method of data analysis described in this chapter.

Chapter 4 : The analysis of the data

4.1 Introduction

This chapter will present evidence to address the main research question:

How do the intersections between different socio-cultural contexts contribute to children's multimodal communicative practices in a super-diverse environment?

This overarching research question was broken down into three subsidiary research questions:

1) How do the repertoires children learn in out-of-school socio-cultural contexts contribute to children's multimodal communicative practices in a super-diverse environment?

2) In what ways does the interaction with others, who in turn draw upon their own resources from different socio-cultural contexts, contribute to children's multimodal communicative practices in a super-diverse environment?

3) What is the relationship between the immediate contexts of communication, as defined by space and activity, and the resources children draw upon to communicate in a super-diverse environment?

The key focus of the study is that of looking at communicative practices, and I thus recorded moments of interaction between the children and their peers, their teachers and with myself. In order to define these 'moments' I have drawn on the ideas of Rogoff who uses an 'activity' or 'event' as the unit of analysis (1995; 2003).

Interpretative data analysis was conducted drawing on elements of thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006) and constructivist grounded theory (Charmaz, 2006) (see Section 3.4.1) and the following themes were extracted from the data:

The first section, **content of communication**, looks at the multiple funds of knowledge children draw on in order to make sense of their environment. These funds of knowledge are primarily situated in the home and community environment, and highlight how children develop a broad repertoire of concepts and experiences as a result of engaging in household practices (Moll et al., 1992). The concept of 'funds of knowledge' adopts the perspective that children are not merely blank slates, but active members of their communities who

draw on these repertoires of concepts and experiences when communicating with their peers and adults in school. This view aligns with Rogoff's (1995) understanding of child development which she calls 'participatory appropriation', highlighting the *participation* of children in household and community activities under the explicit or tacit guidance of more experienced peers and adults.

The second section, **communicative resources**, uncovers the truncated multilingual and multimodal repertoires (Blommaert, 2010) that the children in this this study used to communicate with each other. It highlights the specific tools that these children employed to communicate their meanings, verbally and non-verbally, in English and in other languages. In doing so, this section evidences how the participants are intertwined in remarkable levels of global mobility as their transnational connections are reflected in their use of heteroglossic communication. The findings in this section extend the view that communication is a collection of static verbal resources. Rather, the data provides evidence to support the presence of *translanguaging* - where the children's communicative practices piece together snippets of multiple languages and multimodal gestures to form new, transformative ways of communicating that are more than just a sum of their parts (García & Li Wei, 2014).

The third section, **contexts for communication**, explores the impact that the environment has on children's communication. This section focuses on the physical layout of different spaces and the sociocultural expectations that are attached to these. Furthermore, the impact of the transition from F2 to Y1 on children's communication will be discussed. This section draws attention to the importance of contexts in encouraging or hindering the development and expression of agency (Stetsenko, 2007). The section examines how space is not an impartial background, rather that it is socially constructed and produces social practices (Jones et al., 2016). By examining the social-spatial dialectic, it is possible to see how the children's experiences are profoundly shaped by the characteristics of the spaces they occupy (Kraftl, Horton & Tucker, 2012).

4.2 The content of communication

In this section, I will present findings from the observations of the children who were the subject of the research described in this thesis and which uncover the funds of knowledge of these children.

Children's everyday experiences in families and communities are a rich source of their interests (Hedges et al., 2011), and social and cultural capital (Brooker, 2002), and can be viewed as resources for helping children to understand their environment (Moje et al., 2004). The children in this study frequently drew on a broad range of such funds of knowledge, however the most prevalent were:

1) Home and family
2) Religious practices
3) Different countries
4) Popular culture

4.2.1 Home and family

The children in this study frequently applied knowledge which they had learned in their home and family environments to a particular situation, evidencing their broad funds of knowledge (Moll et al., 1992), and offered explanations of experiences with their families as evidence to demonstrate their understanding of a new concept.

The following examples show children applying their knowledge from previous experiences to concepts that have been set by the teachers and teaching assistants who were working with the children.

In the first of these, whilst LO (the F2 teacher) demonstrated the new playground themed 'small world' area to the children, the following conversation occurred (Fig. 4.1):
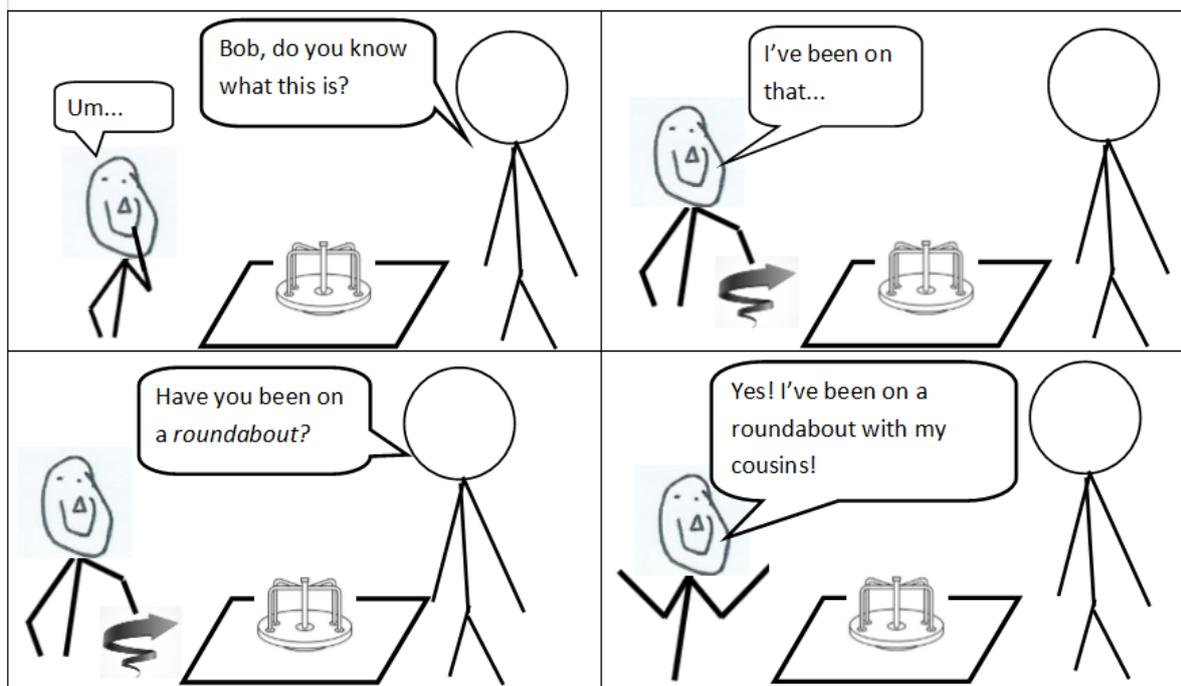
Figure 4.1: Roundabout

Bob is from a Somali background and although he was born in Sheffield and mostly spoke English in the home (as evidenced by his language portrait and by talking to his parents), he had a restricted English vocabulary. In this instance, Bob uses a multimodal gesture to demonstrate he knows what a roundabout is by mimicking its motion with his hand, however he does not use the word 'roundabout' until he is prompted by the teacher to do so. This may have been due to his young age (he was four years old at the time of this vignette), and thus it could be the case that many four year olds do not yet have a detailed knowledge of the necessary specialised vocabulary, such as the word 'roundabout'. Alternatively, Bob's difficulty in remembering the specific English word for a roundabout may have been because he is exposed to both English and Somali words in his home and thus he is learning both languages simultaneously but is not yet fluent in either. What is clear, however, is that Bob uses his experiences of going on a roundabout with his cousins to evidence that he does know what a roundabout is, how it works, and that he has, indeed, been on one.

As is shown in the above example, the essence of which was repeated throughout the data collection, interactions between children and adults or their peers frequently demonstrated that the children drew on out-of-school experiences from their homes and communities to make sense of concepts that were presented to them. In this way, they underlined the

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reality that learning was not a unidirectional process of transmission of information from one person to another. Indeed, the children's references to their prior knowledge aligns with Rogoff's assertion that learning is a dynamic process in which an individual takes culturally situated knowledge and skills that they have learned by participating in a previous activity and applies them to subsequent situations (Rogoff, 1995).

Similarly, in Y1 the teacher, LS, read a story about the seaside to the children on the carpet including Aladdin who had recently arrived from Jordan. He drew on his previous experiences with his family by saying 'I went to the beach in Jordan with my grandma' to illustrate that he had personal experience in relation to the topic of the session.

A further example taken from Y1 was when the teaching assistant, LF, read a book with a small group of children at a table. The topic of the book was 'moving house' and this prompted the children to relate the topic to their own experiences as the following conversations show (Fig. 4.2):
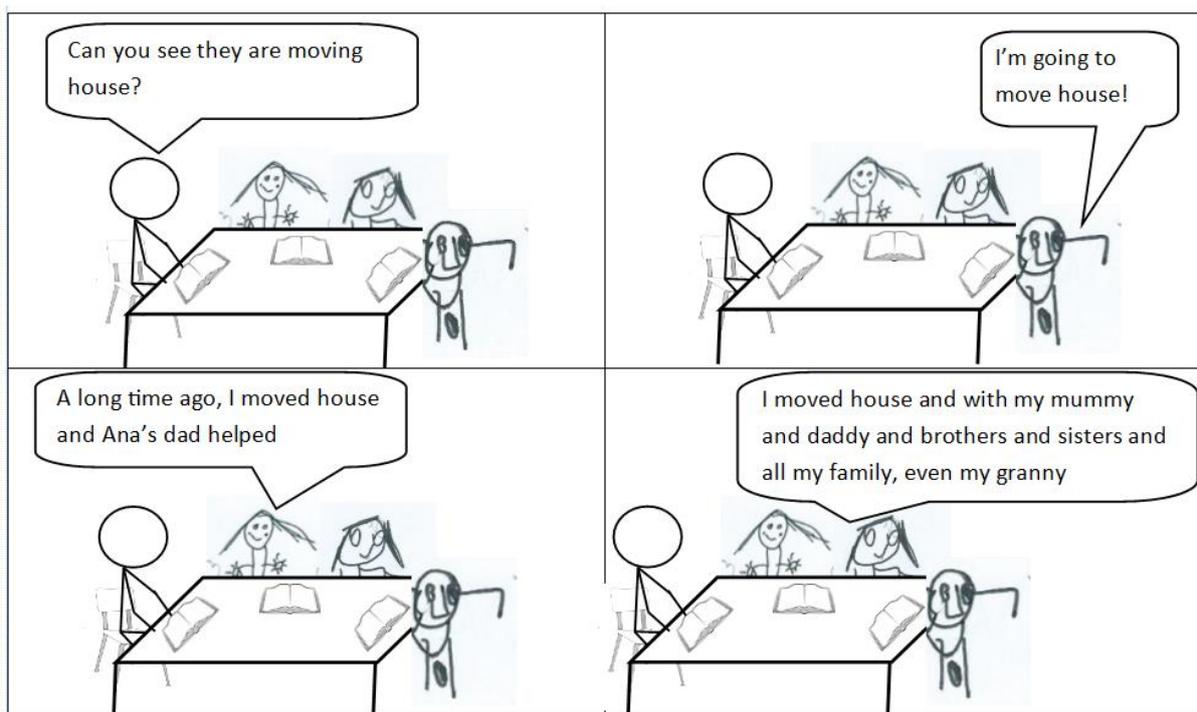

Figure 4.2: Moving house

Issa is from Iraq and his family arrived to Sheffield only four months before the study began. Given that his family had already made such a big transition by moving to Sheffield in the first place, the fact that he was moving house again underlines the transient nature of

some of the children's homes (Vertovec, 2009). This point is supported by consideration of the number of children leaving and joining the class during the period of the research, as well as those visiting abroad for extended periods of time (see Table 3.3 for more details). Asad's experiences resemble Issa's in terms of high levels of mobility as she moved from Somalia to Norway with her mother and sisters before coming to Sheffield. When talking about her house move, she mentions Ana's father helping with the move. Asad and Ana often referred to each other as cousins and, although they are not direct first cousins, they consider each other to be family. It is unclear whether Asad is referring to the move from Norway to Sheffield, or whether they moved house again upon arrival in UK, but Asad clearly emphasises the role of her extended family in assisting them. Finally, Cinderella shares her experience of moving and emphasises the role of family in that 'all her family, even her grandma' moved house together.

The children in these examples confirm González et al.'s (2005) definition of 'funds of knowledge' by demonstrating that they have life experiences that gave them knowledge regarding roundabouts, the seaside and moving house. The children connect their funds of knowledge to the present task through participatory appropriation, as the children are now able to engage in conversations that deal with topics that are similar to their prior experiences (Rogoff, 1995). This is significant as it demonstrates the dynamic process of learning where children do more than simply acquire isolated pieces of information, rather they also make sense of new ideas by drawing on previous events which they have encountered.

The above vignettes also explore how the children respond to conversations initiated by the teachers and teaching assistants. However, it is important to note that through this process the children extended their own and each other's knowledge by explaining to one other how their family experiences impacted their understanding of a particular topic. The following examples are taken from moments when the children were engaged in structured play during 'choosing time'. The examples have been selected as they illustrate how children re-enact home life during their play, and also how they reflect on their own knowledge by explicitly sharing the sources of their experiences.

In the first of these vignettes, two children, Caterpillar and Elsa, are playing in the outside area in F2. They are engaged in role-play where they are doing the washing up using plastic plates and mugs in a washing up tub in the mud kitchen area (Fig. 4.3):
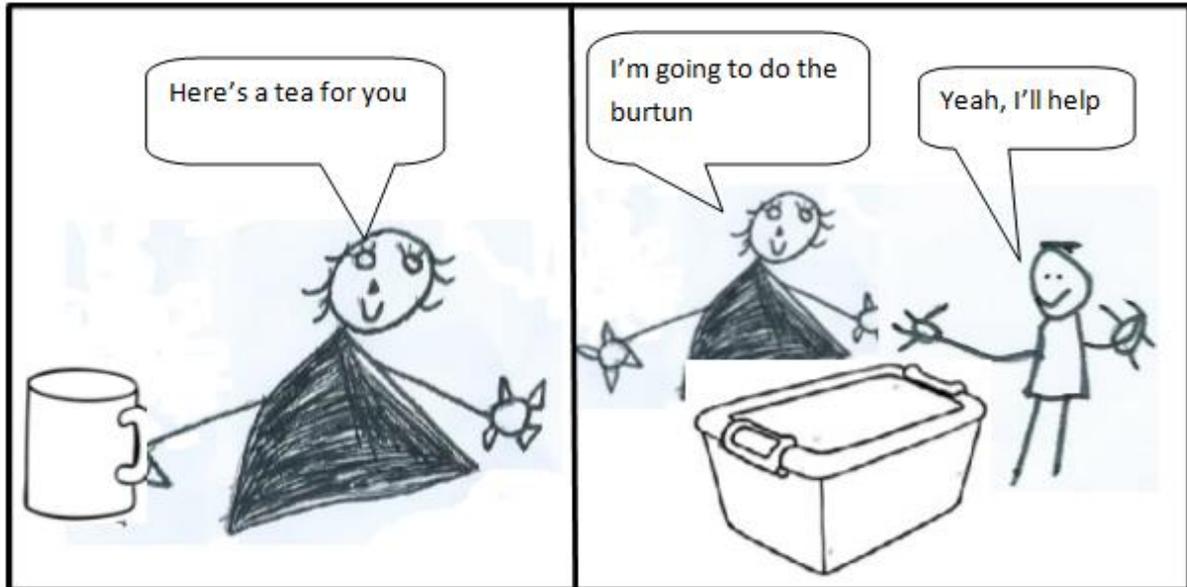
Figure 4.3: Burtun

In this example, the children can be seen acting out familiar, everyday experiences from their homes. The children's concept of 'doing the burtun' demonstrates participatory appropriation as they consider which materials in the current context are appropriate for their role play and develop ways to mime 'washing up' motions with imaginary water. Furthermore, through interaction with each other, they confirm mutual approval of the play theme and extend each other's play by moving from making a cup of tea to washing up in a process of guided participation. There are also significant cultural institutional factors that enable the children to develop their understanding of the concept 'the burtun', and the absence of a formal adult-set goal as well as the availability of time and space to explore, meant that the children controlled the direction of their activity (Rogoff, 1995). Thus, the children are creating a third space between home and school discourses that is akin to the 'navigational space' described by Moje et al. (2004). Through choosing to re-enact scenes from their everyday family lives and by using their home languages, the children are using the third space to maintain their identities (Gee, 1990; Wilson, 2000).

Another interesting facet of this vignette is that their play is not only based on a mutual understanding of what 'washing the dishes' looks like in the first instance, but also a shared understanding of the word 'burtun'. When asked what the word 'burtun' meant, the children explicitly reflected on their understanding of the word and also explained who in their family spoke Urdu (Fig. 4.4):

Figure 4.4: Burtun continued

This example demonstrates how children develop linguistic resources and, indeed, conceptual repertoires, by drawing on their experiences in the home and with their families through guided participation as everyday practices that are commonplace in the home, such as the washing up, are brought into their play in school.

In a similar example that took place in F2 while the children were engaged in 'choosing time' indoors, Ali and Naan are playing together in the malleable area (Fig. 4.5):
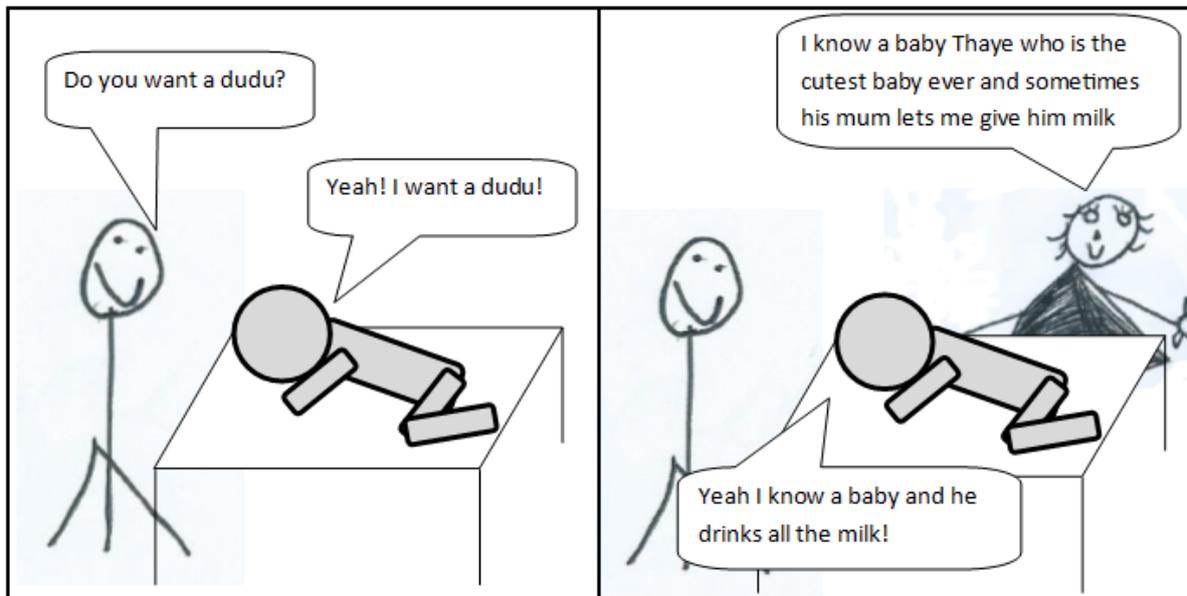
Figure 4.5: Dudu

 Ali is laying a desk pretending to go to sleep and Naan offers him a 'dudu'. Ali immediately replies 'yeah, I want a dudu!'. Elsa, who is near the two boys, joins in the conversation and starts explaining how she knows 'a baby called Thaye who is the cutest baby ever and sometimes his mum lets me give him milk'. In response, Ali says 'Yeah I know a baby and he drinks all the milk'.

The short extract of observations from the children's play highlights their mutual understanding of the play theme 'giving a baby a bottle of milk'. The vignette demonstrates several facets of the third space in action. First, the children transform the environment around them, re-purposing the desks to be a baby's cot (Cole 1998; Gutiérrez et al., 1999). Collectively, their imaginations created an alternative use for the space and they are all deeply engaged in the activity of caring for a baby. The theme of their play reflects their lives outside of school and allows the children to bring their individual funds of knowledge into the conversations with each other. As a result, not only is there a third space that acts as a bridge between the home and school discourse (Moje et al., 2004), there is also a third space created between the different children's home experiences.

The use of the word 'dudu' is also interesting, as Naan and Elsa are Pakistani, but Ali is an Arabic speaker from Iraq who lived in Poland prior to arriving in Sheffield. The word dudu is Urdu for 'a baby's bottle of milk', thus it is unsurprising that Naan and Elsa understood the

word. What is interesting however is that Ali also appeared to understand the word dudu, as demonstrated by his mime of drinking milk. It is possible that Ali knew the meaning of the word itself through previous interactions with his Urdu-speaking friends. An alternative explanation is that he understood and used the word dudu correctly, as their engagement in role-play transcended the confines of purely spoken conversation by using contextual and multimodal communication to support Ali's understanding of the word dudu. A further possible insight is that Ali was new to English and therefore was picking up new words in English every day. This means that, potentially, Ali may not have realised he was using an Urdu word, dudu, and he may have simply thought it was English. All these theories support what Blommaert (2010) refers to as truncated multilingual repertoires that occur in super-diverse communities (see Section 4.3.5 for more examples). However, the key point is that Elsa and Ali share stories of babies they know in their home and family environments, and they use these experiences to qualify their understanding of the practice of giving a baby milk to go to sleep.

Dahlberg et al. (1999) expressed concern over the dominant view in Western society that positions children as 'empty vessels,' needing to be filled with socially determined knowledge, skills and cultural values. The vignettes presented in this section clearly underline that this perspective is not the case. Rather, the children in this study demonstrated that they regularly drew on a broad range of funds of knowledge situated in home and community practices in order to provide a bridge between their experiences at home and the concepts they were introduced to at school (Moje et al., 2004). Furthermore, when the children played, the theme of their play was often inspired by everyday engagement with activities in the home (Brooker, 2002; Chesworth, 2016). In summary, this section has drawn attention to the "multiple spheres of activity within which the children are enmeshed" (Moll et al., 1992, p.133-134), leading to a rich repertoire of cognitive and cultural resources, developed through guided participation in their families, homes and communities. Faced with new situations, the children think, remember, plan and act by applying the knowledge they have gained from previous experiences. In doing so, the children are engaged in participatory appropriation as they transform themselves, others and the event itself (Rogoff, 1995).

4.2.2 Religious Practices

The children in the study frequently referred to religious practices in their conversations with adults and with each other. Twenty out of the thirty children who participated in the study were Muslim and actively engaged in discussions centred around religious practices, as this section evidences. Four of the remaining children self-identified as Christian and the other six children did not state any religious affiliations - which does not necessarily mean they were not religious, rather that they did not express any particular religious practices throughout the course of the data collection.

According to Rogoff (1990), religious institutions can be thought of as societal structures that, amongst other functions, contribute to how activities are organised. The values of a particular community, such as the religious system, are socially defined and influence what and how children are expected to learn within that community. Children take part in everyday activities in their homes and, through guided participation, they develop tools for thinking that are promoted by their culture. On the personal plane, the child then develops individual understanding that he or she can adapt to new situations. The vignettes in this section highlight how children are eager to "seek and share meaning with their caregivers and other partners" (Rogoff, 1990, p.191) in relation to religious practices as they advance their skills and understanding of a culturally embedded social activity.

There were two main themes within the broader category of religious practices that follow directly from each other:

1) Identifying Muslim people and practices
2) Sharing an understanding of religious practices

4.2.2.1 Identifying Muslim people and practices

As discussed in the literature review, young children are continually constructing, co-constructing and re-constructing social and cultural identities (Woodhead, 2008b). Religious practices may constitute part of a person's funds of identity (Esteban-Guitart & Moll, 2014) as a key aspect of religion is "affiliation and belonging" (Hemming & Madge, 2011, p.40).

The Muslim children in the study placed particular importance on religion as an identifying characteristic and were often observed enquiring about others' religious affiliations and practices. For example, when Mofaq tells Arman Ali about his cousin's husband, Arman Ali

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asks what his name is and if he is Muslim. Arman Ali was likewise curious about the teacher's thoughts regarding religion and asked the F2 teacher, LO, 'do you like Christians or do you like Muslims?'. The children were also interested in my religious affiliation, for example, Caterpillar asked me if I go to Mosque and Elsa asked me if I knew how to read the Qaida[1].

The children in the study understood that the colour of the school dinner band each child wore was a visible indication of who was/was not Muslim. Muslim children ate halal meals and their school dinner bands were yellow, while children who did not eat halal food (or who ate *English* food as the school called it!) wore green bands.

On one occasion, Asad was looking at the photos of all the children on the classroom wall during choosing time in F2, and quietly saying to herself who is Muslim before turning to me to ask (Fig. 4.6):
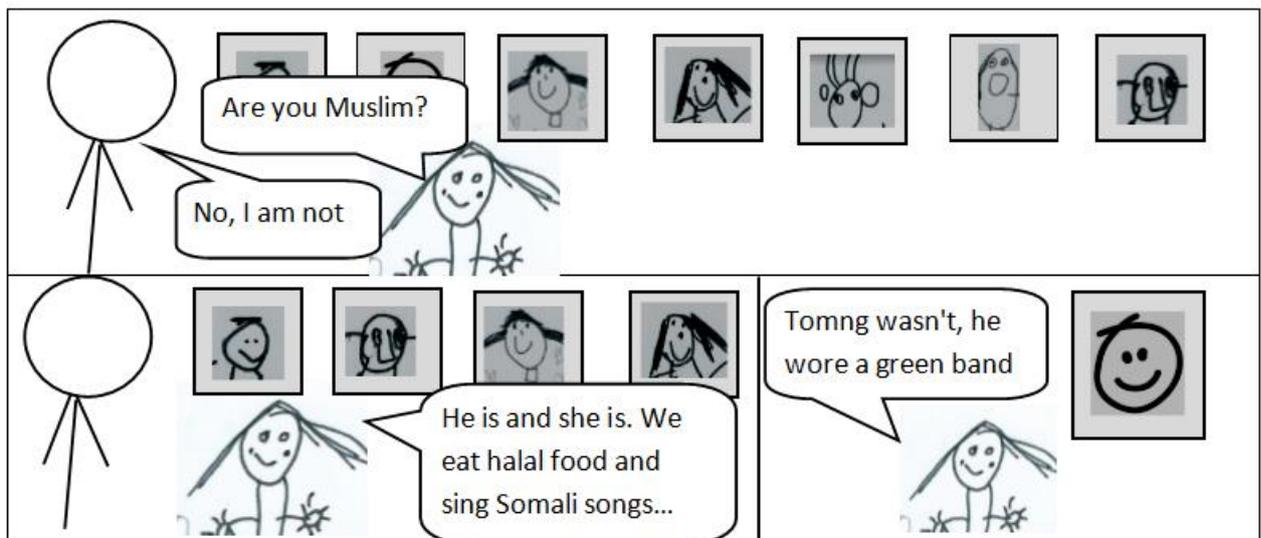
Figure 4.6: Green Band

Tomng had left the school two months prior to this observation because his parents wanted him to attend a 'Christian school', thus Asad recalling that Tomng was not Muslim two months after he had left the school demonstrates the significance of this detail in Asad's mind.

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[1] The Qaida is a series of books designed for beginners to learn Arabic in preparation for reading the Quran at a later stage.

The following vignette extends this point to show how the children went beyond merely 'categorising' people into different religions placing some significance on practices and activities related to religious institutions. When Aladdin joined the class in Y1 from Jordan, Naan asked 'are you Muslim?' to which Aladdin confirmed he was. This led to many other children chiming in (Fig. 4.7):
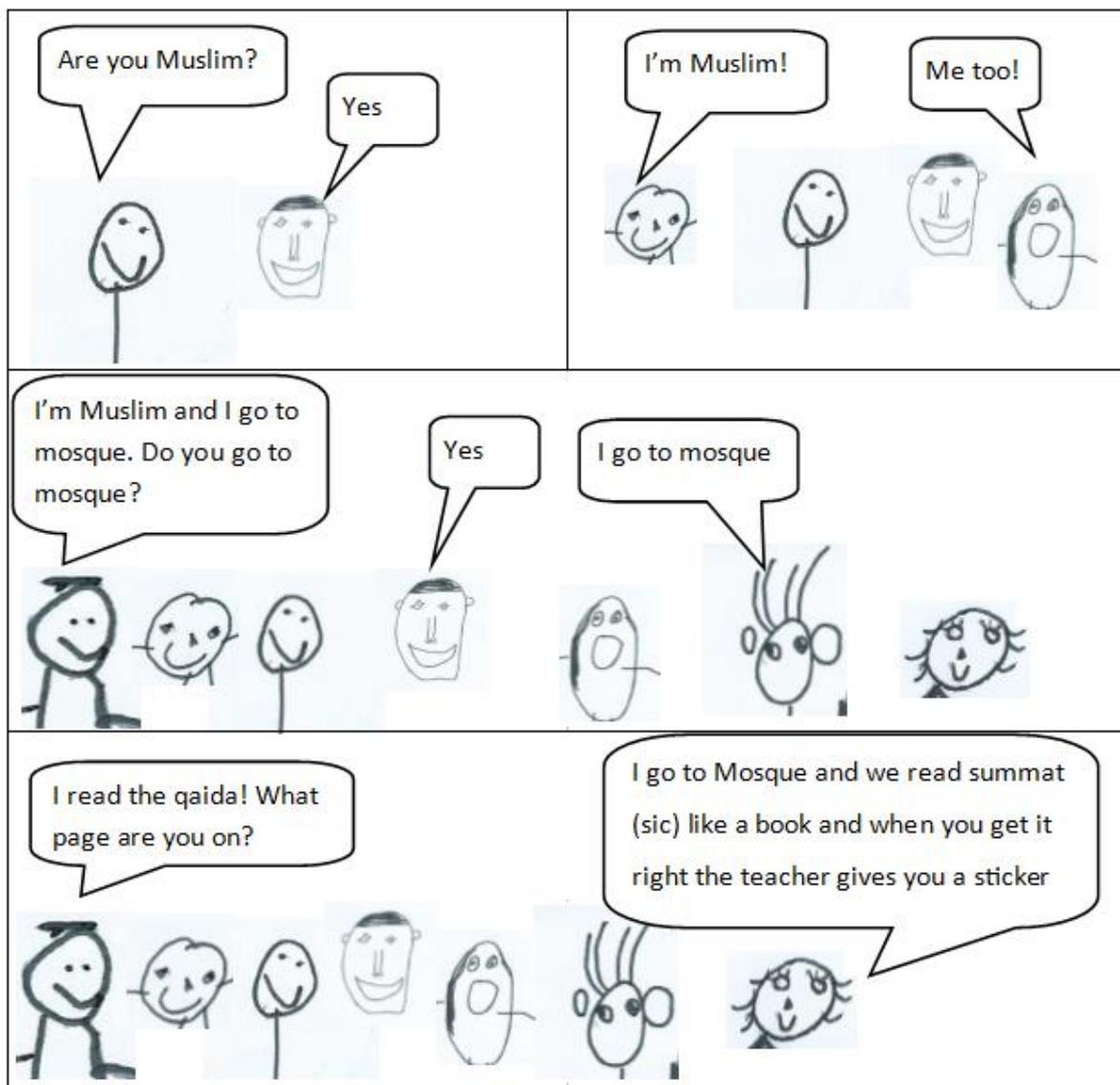
Figure 4.7: Are you Muslim?

Several important insights are revealed by this vignette. Firstly, the concept that a child's mind is much more than a 'tabula rasa' (Dahlberg et al., 1999) is once again evidenced as the children in the vignette discuss going to mosque and reading the Qaida. Indeed, the children were enthusiastic to hear that that Aladdin was Muslim and were keen to share their experiences of activities they undertake as Muslims. In doing so, they sought to draw

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parallels between Aladdin's funds of knowledge and their own, which lead to further discussion with more children around shared experiences at mosque. Thus, the children in this vignette show they have developed the skills of reading the Qaida through guided participation in their communities, or more specifically, at mosque. The practice learning to read the Qaida at mosque highlights Rogoff's belief that activities are culturally organised, and brought about by the cultural-institutional factors that are available and valued. The setting (mosque), the resources (Qaida), institutional structures (Islam, mosque 'school'), and cultural technologies (reading, writing, Arabic) are in line with the values and goals of the group (Rogoff, 1995; 2003). Furthermore, their conversation reflects Rogoff's understanding of 'culture' as a dynamic process of participation in a cultural community (2003). Rogoff explains that she does not view 'culture' as a set of categories, rather, she adopts the view that culture is made up of cultural *practices* and ways of *doing* things. The vignette begins with the question 'Are you Muslim?' and then the children go beyond this simplistic cultural categorisation to enquire about shared the *practices* that are customary for a Muslim child.

Not all the children shared the same interest in, or even awareness of, religious affiliations. When Everything-Is-Awesome joined the class in the Autumn term of Y1, Arman Ali asked if he is Muslim, but Everything-Is-Awesome did not answer the question. Everything-Is-Awesome is English with no close links to other countries and he did not express any views related to religion throughout the data collection period. Furthermore, when the children went on a school trip to the local Mosque, the main prayer room had large chandeliers that were similar to the lights at the local shopping centre. Upon entering the prayer room, Everything-Is-Awesome looked up at the chandeliers and said 'I've been here before, it's Meadowhall'. Everything-Is-Awesome's assertion indicates he thought the mosque was the local shopping centre, demonstrating that he is drawing on previous experiences and funds of knowledge to make sense of this unfamiliar environment. Therefore, it can be assumed that Everything-Is-Awesome is not Muslim and did not understand Arman Ali's question.

The vignettes above have demonstrated that the children were curious about who was Muslim and who was not. In doing so, the children were discovering for themselves what affiliation to the Islamic community meant as they looked for evidence of practices, such as going to mosque, reading the Qaida and eating halal food, that could help them identify

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who else 'belonged' (Hemming & Madge, 2011). In these vignettes, the children develop their personal identity by making sense of how this fitted into the wider social and cultural structures (Morrow & Connolly, 2006). This is particularly significant, given that the children are part of a super-diverse class with cultural and religious pluralism (Dreyer, Pieterse & Van der Ven, 2002). The evidence clearly suggests that the children are aware that different discursive fields exist at school and at home. In line with Rogoff's conceptualisation of 'culture' the markers of different religious systems are more than labels: participation in *activities* is crucial to understanding the social arrangements of religious affiliation (Rogoff, 2003). By questioning and testing these, the children begin to make sense of the complexities that are characteristic of a globalised and super-diverse world (Robinson & Diaz, 2006).

4.2.2.2 Sharing understanding of religious practices

The children in the study were not only concerned with how to identify other Muslims, they were also keen to share knowledge and understanding of what it meant to be a Muslim. The vignettes presented in this section once again attest to the children's funds of knowledge: the wealth of 'cognitive and cultural resources' (Moll et al., 1992, p.134) that they have accumulated through engagement in activities with their families, in their homes and in their communities. Rogoff uses the metaphor of 'apprenticeship' to emphasise the active nature of the role children adopt when learning from more skilled members of their community about their culture (Rogoff, 1990). Through apprenticeship, the children become skilled and independent, and able to apply understandings that have been acquired through engagement in previous activities to new situations. In doing so, they are demonstrating participatory appropriation, which Rogoff describes as the process through which individuals "handle a later situation in ways prepared by their own participation in the previous situation" (Rogoff, 1995, p.142). This point is emphasised by the following vignettes where a range of child and adult-initiated interactions occur, giving the children the opportunity to apply their prior knowledge and understanding.

The Muslim children in the study frequently engaged in discussions around practices that were haram[2], for example when Naan saw a spider in the F2 outdoor area and pretended to kill it (Fig. 4.8):
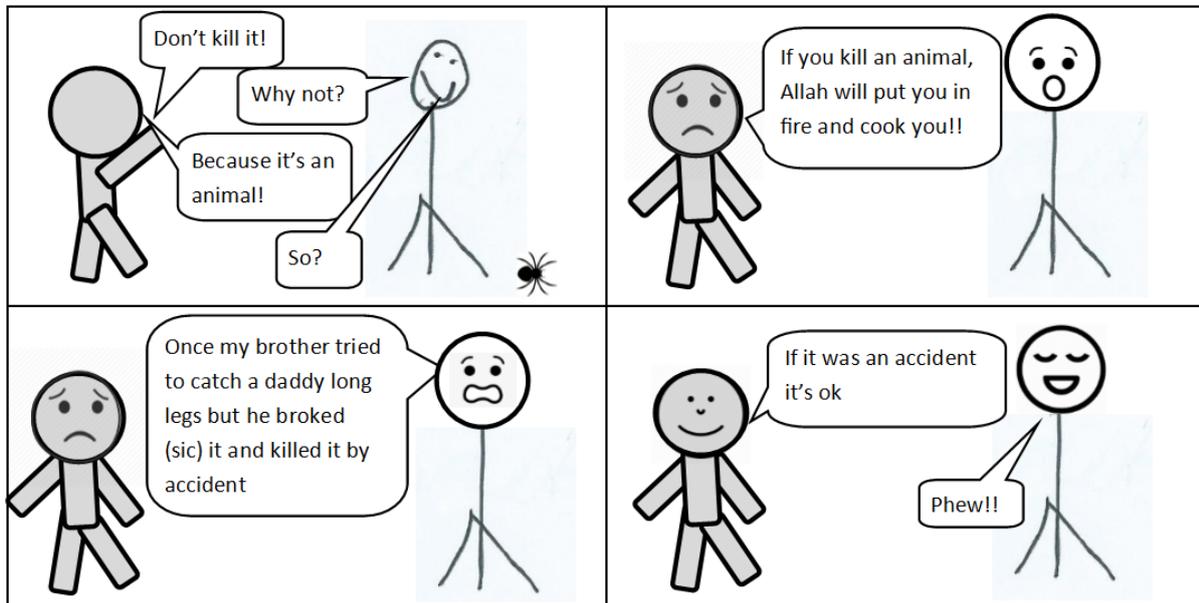
Figure 4.8: Don't kill spiders

In this vignette, Ali teaches Naan that, according to Islam, it is forbidden to kill animals, and he graphically describes the punishment for doing so. Both Ali and Naan are Muslim, and the seriousness of their discussion reflects the significance of their religious beliefs. Naan understands the gravity of Ali's warning and becomes visibly worried about his younger brother. When Ali tells him that accidents are OK, Naan's facial expression displays how relieved he is to hear that his brother will not be 'put in a fire and cooked'.

In this vignette, Ali confirms Rogoff's (2016) view of culture as he actively participates in cultural practice. Ali actively transfers knowledge he has learnt from his cultural community and applies it to the current situation where Naan is about to kill a spider. In doing so, he is exploring and consolidating ideas related to his own religious identity, while simultaneously teaching Naan about what he believes to be the consequences for killing an animal. Naan's reaction implies he accepts Ali's account of what Allah would do to him if he did kill a spider, as evidenced by Naan relating the present circumstances to a similar event that occurred with his brother. This is an example of participatory appropriation, as Ali has applied a concept he understands to be true to a new situation, meanwhile Naan's knowledge and

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[2] 'haram' is an Arabic word that means 'forbidden' and refers to practices that are prohibited by Islam

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understanding of Islam is developed through guided participation and it is likely that in subsequent similar situations Naan will not attempt to kill a spider (Rogoff, 1995).

As explained at the beginning of the section, not all of the children in the study were Muslim. As Brooker (2008) noted, children come into contact with diverse identities in modern societies. Indeed, for some children, Reception class may be the first time they are a member of a community outside their home (Corsaro, 1988) and as more schools, such as the site of the research, can be characterised super-diverse, the student population's personal identities are increasingly complex (Vertovec, 2007; Ang, 2010). Therefore, a degree of dissonance between the out-of-school experiences of different children can be expected.

Occasionally, the conversations between the children led to misunderstandings that were disrespectful, as the following example shows. The children were eating lunch in the dinner hall in Y1 when suddenly Jason and Darth Vader called my name. They were both upset and Jason explained that Mofaq had told them 'Christians eat dog poo'. Upon further investigation it transpired that Mofaq had a halal meal, vegetable kofta, and Jason and Darth Vader, both Christians, were eating pork kofta. Mofaq took the understanding that he had been brought up with, i.e. that pork is dirty, and interpreted the message by applying it to the current situation with his peers who were eating pork.

The previous vignette indicates the potential for essentialised identities, such as religion, to highlight the differences between people. However, differences do not need to be divisive- in today's pluralist and multi-religious societies, distinct religious identities can (and do) live together harmoniously (Dreyer et al., 2002). The data confirmed this sentiment as the children in the study were observed to share knowledge and teach others about their religious practices far more frequently than take part in conversations that were fractious.

The following vignette is an example of children teaching peers about religious practices. Mofaq and Jason were counting objects at tables in the maths area in F2 when the following exchange occurred (Fig. 4.9):
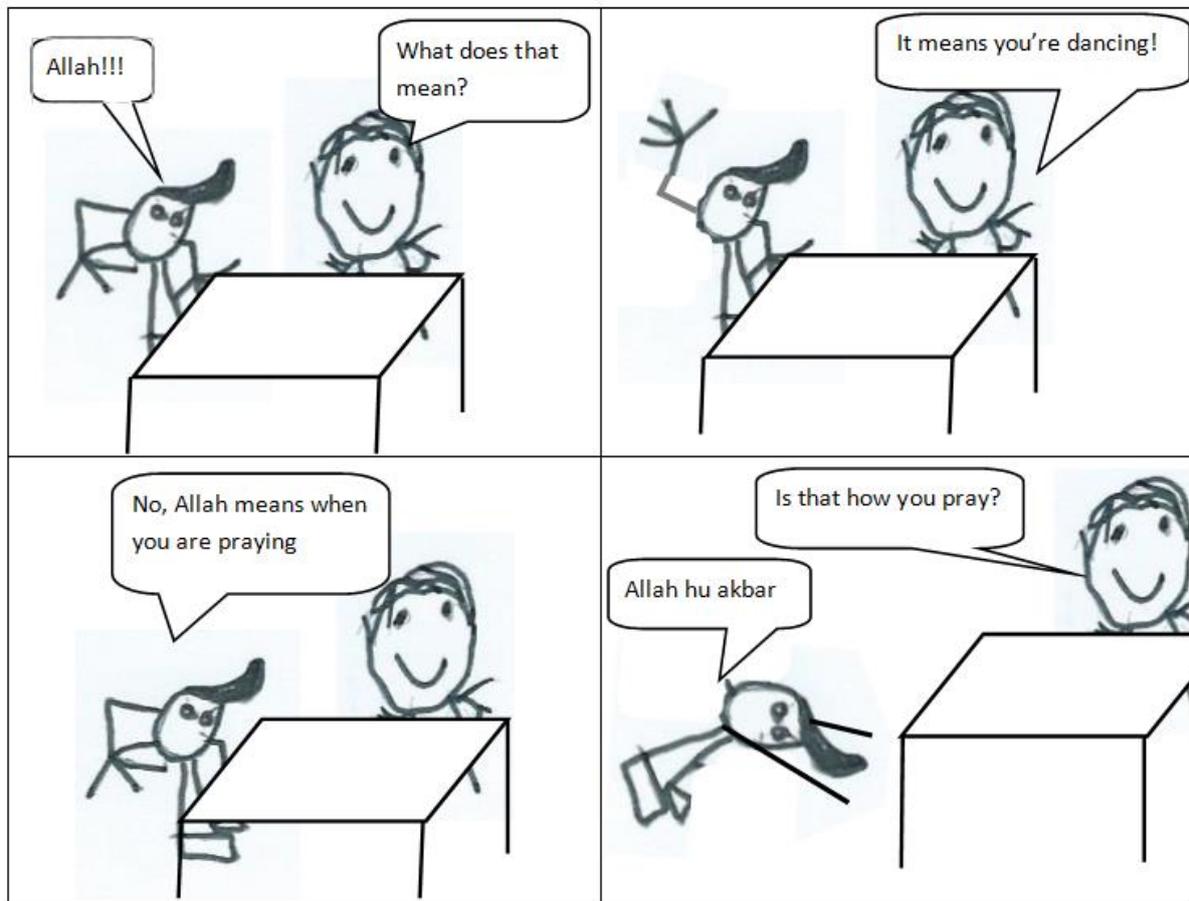
Figure 4.9: Allah means when you are praying

 In this vignette the dialogue between the children departs from the maths task they are completing, and ends with Mofaq showing Jason how to pray. Though both children were born and raised in Sheffield, Mofaq is Muslim from a Somali background while Jason is Christian and his parents are from the Democratic Republic of the Congo and Rwanda. At first, Mofaq is celebrating that he was successful in his maths task, but when Jason probes deeper to find out what 'Allah' means, Mofaq takes the opportunity to teach Jason how Muslims pray. This impromptu 'lesson' was initiated by the children, rather than being planned by an adult. Mofaq confirms his own funds of knowledge (Moll et al., 1992) and teaches Jason about a significant activity in his community of practice (Rogoff, 2003).

The conversations between children around the topic of religious practices were spontaneous and open-ended in nature, with their inquisitive companions fluidly continuing the thread of the conversation. In contrast, discussions around religious activities with teachers and other adults on the classroom were subject to more stringent measures that scrutinised the relevance of the conversation in relation to the current learning task. If the

child-initiated topic was not perceived to be appropriate at that moment, it was dismissed as the following example that occurred in the summer term of F2 demonstrates.

Eid al-Fitr is a religious holiday celebrated by Muslims around the world, marking the end of a month of fasting, Ramadan. The festival begins upon the first sighting of the crescent moon, meaning that the exact date may vary according to geographical location and weather conditions (HM Nautical Almanac Office, 2019). Thus, it is an exciting time for Muslims, and children in particular, when the crescent moon is actually sighted with the naked eye. On the morning of this momentous day, the children were called to the carpet by the teacher who was ready to begin the first lesson, when the following interaction occurred (Fig. 4.10):
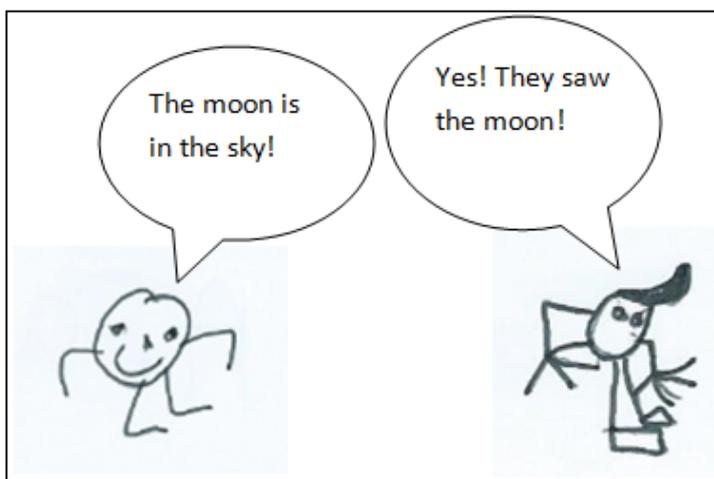
Figure 4.10: The moon is in the sky

It was common knowledge among all staff and students that Eid Al-Fitr was an important celebration, beginning on this day. For weeks prior to this day the Muslim children had been expressing excitement in anticipation of the festival, talking about the outfits they were going to wear and which family members they would see. The staff meetings and assembly thus made a point of celebrating the important occasion. That said, it is possible that the significance of the moon in determining the start of the festival may not have been widely appreciated by the non-Muslim members of staff and the pupils. In the vignette, Mofaq (who is Muslim) demonstrated he understood the relevance of Arman Ali's comment as he concurred enthusiastically, however, it appears as though the teacher, LO, was not aware of the connection between the moon and Eid al-Fitr. Arman Ali did not make it explicitly clear that he was referring to the moon in relation to the festival and the teacher's response

indicates she assumed that Arman Ali was making a random comment. This point reflects the argument made by Moll et al. (1992) that classrooms can be isolated from the children' social worlds, highlighting how teachers' knowledge of their students is often related to their performance in limited classroom contexts and, therefore, misses appreciating, and thereby potentially utilising, the resources children develop from engaging in multiple spheres of activity.

The other factor to take into account was Arman Ali's timing. The teacher was calling all the children to join her on the carpet to begin the first lesson of the day, thus her objective at that moment in time was to calm the children's hubbub and get them ready to learn. Had Arman Ali approached this topic at a different time, for example, during 'choosing time', it is likely the teacher would have had more patience to explore the Arman Ali's exclamation about the moon. The relationship between cultural-institutional contexts and communication will be explored in greater detail in Section 4.4, however it is important to point out that there was a mismatch in Arman Ali's and the teacher's intentions at this point and, as LO has the authority in the classroom, Arman Ali was silenced and had to supress his excitement in order to fit in with the behavioural expectations of the context.

This situation can be differentiated from other occasions when the teacher and other adults in the classroom invited the children to share their understanding of religious practices, as the following vignettes demonstrate. The first of these took place in Y1 when the children were sitting on the carpet during a Religious Education (R.E.) lesson where the children had been learning about different religious festivals (Fig. 4.11):
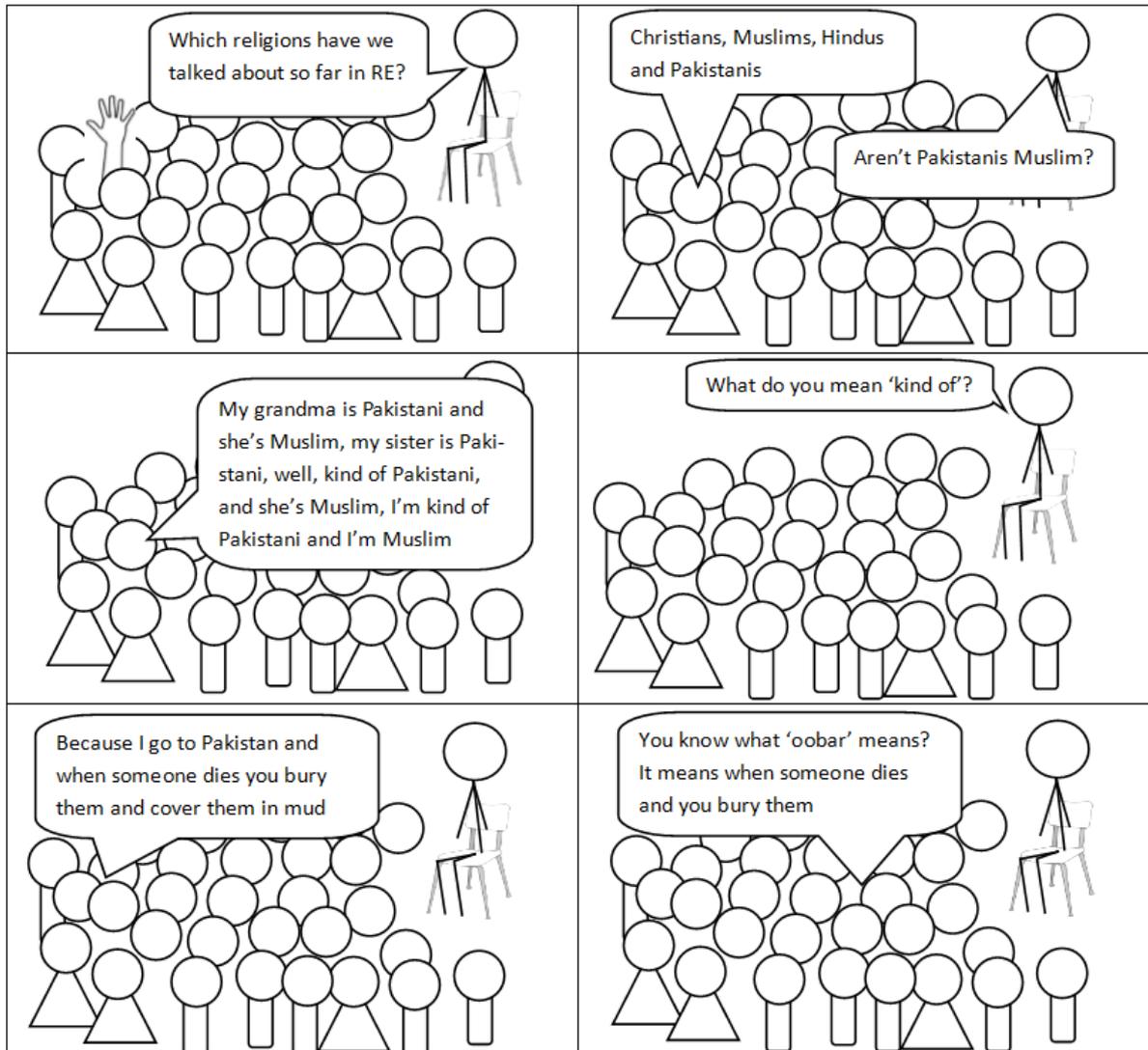
Figure 4.11: Kind of Pakistani

In this vignette, the class teacher, LS, is asking the children about the religions they have learned about so far in R.E. Once again, we see an example of the children's funds of knowledge (Moll et al., 1992) as Cinderella's response indicates she is drawing parallels between her own experiences in the home and community with religions as the topic of the class discussion. Arman Ali demonstrates he understands what Cinderella is referring to, and extends Cinderella's line of thinking by using the correct terminology in his language for the concept of a burial. In this way, the two children are explaining a practice they associate with Islam to LS who is not Muslim. Another interesting point to note here is that Cinderella fuses the concepts of 'religion' and 'nationality' in her explanation. The first part of her response indicates she believes she is 'kind of Pakistani' because she goes to Pakistan, while the second part of her response '… when someone dies, you bury them and cover them in

mud' demonstrates a religious practice that is familiar to her. This is consistent with Brooker's (2008) definition of identity as she has a "bundle of mixed" identities (p.10). Furthermore, when Norton (1997) defines identity, she foregrounds "how people understand their relationship to the world…" (p.410). Thus, according to this definition, it is not important that Cinderella interchanges terms related to religion and nationality. In constructing a personal identity, it is Cinderella's *own* understanding of *her* relationship with the world that really matters.

In addition to the symbols and identifiers discussed in Section 4.2.2.1, the physical embodiment of praying was another tangible way of demonstrating distinctions between religions. There were several occasions where the children in the study demonstrated they understood a religion by acting out the motions of prayer according to Muslim or Christian traditions, such as in the following example (Fig. 4.12):
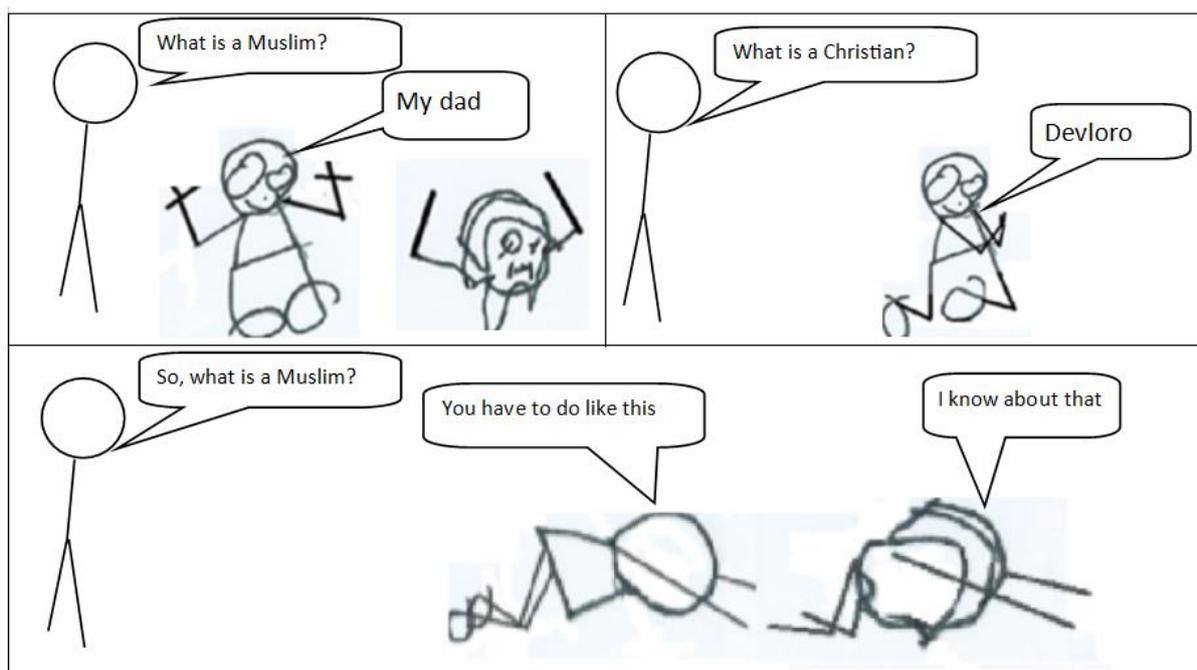
Figure 4.12: Devloro

In this vignette, Darth Vader and Igor are Christians of Roma Slovak background. This conversation occurred in Y1 between the Romani translator, MT, and the children the day after the class had gone on a trip to the local mosque. MT asked the children if they knew what a Muslim was because he wanted to see how much they had understood about the trip to the mosque. Darth Vader misunderstands the question and thinks that MT has asked if he knows what 'muscles' are, so he responds with a 'muscle man' gesture saying 'my dad'

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and Igor copies. MT then takes a different approach and asks if they know what a Christian is, to which Darth Vader responds with the word 'Devloro' which means 'God' in Romani and he drops to his knees to pray in the way that is traditionally used by Christians. Following this, MT repeats the question 'so, what is a Muslim?' and both Darth Vader and Igor suddenly understand the question. In the same way they demonstrated their understanding of the terms 'muscle' and 'Christian' with their body movements, they then perform the act of praying like a Muslim to show their understanding of this term. As Darth Vader and Igor are both from a close-knit Roma Slovak community who are Christian, it may be assumed that they were not taught to pray like Muslims in their own families or community. A more likely explanation is that they learned to pray like Muslims by interacting with Muslim friends in a similar way to how Mofaq taught Jason how to pray in the previous vignette.

The examples presented in this section demonstrate that the children shared their understandings of different religious practices with each other. In doing so, they demonstrate that they draw on funds of knowledge (Moll et al., 1992) as they incorporate knowledge they have drawn from experiences in the home and communities outside of school and incorporated these into their interactions in school (González et al., 2005). The section has also emphasised the complexity of people's everyday experiences, especially in a globalised world where "people in any given community draw on multiple resources or funds to make sense of the world" (Moje et al., 2004, p.42). The vignettes in this section show the children discussing religious practices they have learned through guided participation as they engage in shared endeavours with members of their communities (Rogoff, 2003). Though the exchanges were informal and not intended to be instructional, they had a didactic quality as they evolved from children explaining their own understandings to extending their interlocutor's understanding. In doing so they confirm Vygotsky's (1978) explanation of the formation of concepts, or more specifically here, the formation of the concept of 'religion,' as their development appears on a social level, *between* people, as children interact with peers and simultaneously on the individual level, *inside* the child. However, the depth and nature of the discussions around religious practices was heavily influenced by contextual factors, such as who the interlocutor was, what activity the interaction occurred during, and where the conversation took place. These issues will be

developed in Section 4.4 where the impact of contexts on communication will be examined in greater detail.

4.2.3 Different Countries

The children in the study have multiple ties to other countries as evidenced by Table 3.3. With this in mind, it was interesting to note that when the children in the study relayed information about the countries they had spent time in, they often talked about seemingly insignificant details. It was as if they could not conceptualise quite how far away these countries were, and were thus more focused on their own particular interests rather than the fact that they had travelled to another continent.

Caterpillar spent two months in Pakistan during F2 and returned at the beginning of the data collection phase. I asked Caterpillar about his trip and the following conversation took place (Fig.4.13):
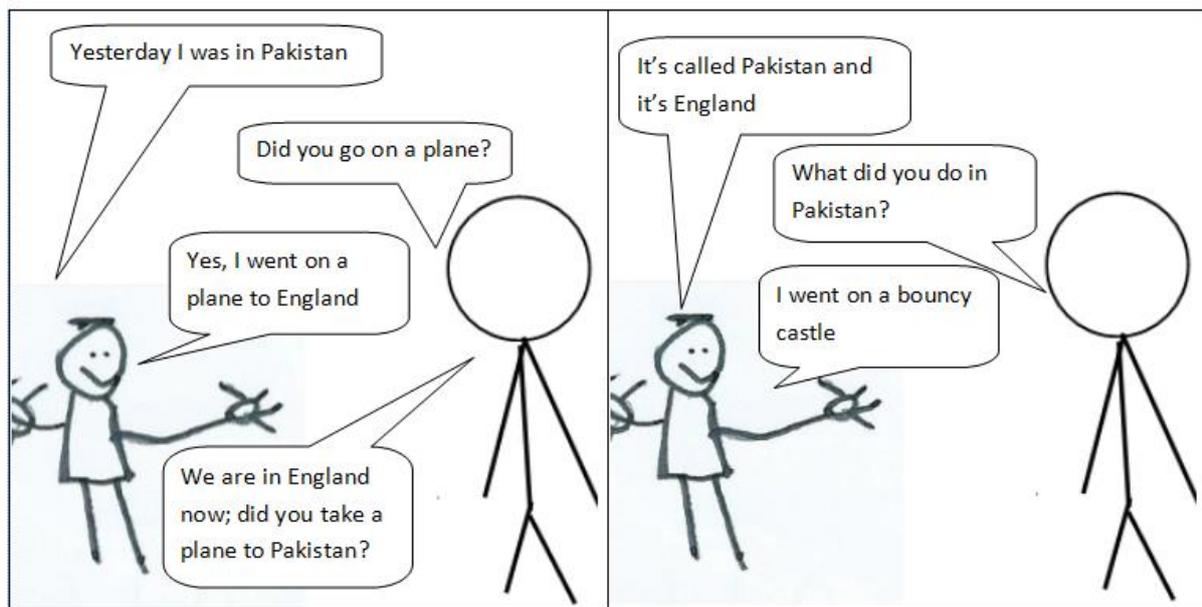
Figure 4.13: Caterpillar went to Pakistan

A month later, Caterpillar approached me during indoor choosing. He has a book in his hand about a party (Fig. 4.14):

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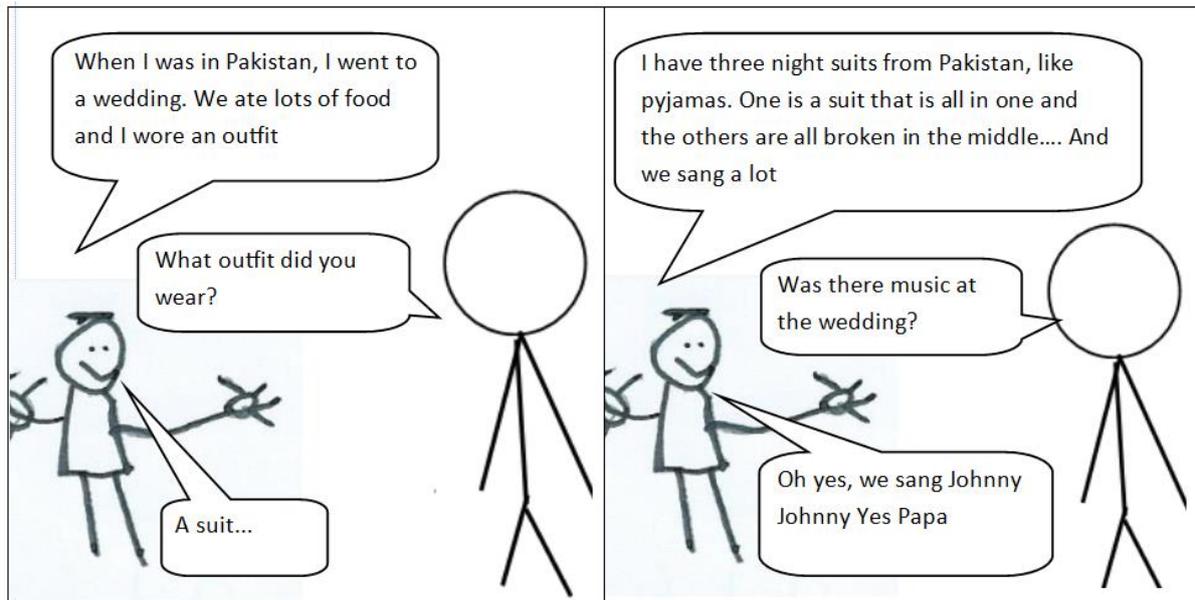
Figure 4.14: Caterpillar went to Pakistan part 2

Both the conversations with Caterpillar illustrate that he remembers being in Pakistan, although he seemed confused about the distinction between Pakistan and England as he stated 'it's called Pakistan and it's England'. The details Caterpillar referred to indicate that the things that mattered to him on his trip: a bouncy castle, the wedding, the food and his pyjamas (night suits). When asked about the music at the wedding he says they listened to 'Johnny Johnny, Yes Papa'.

These conversations could be interpreted as evidencing a lack of understanding regarding the time and distance he travelled as he was confused about where he went (it's called Pakistan and it's England). Alternatively, Caterpillar could have been trying to explain that he had been to both countries, but potentially his language skills in English were not sufficient to enable him to elaborate on this concept. Either way, Caterpillar focuses on details that may not seem pertinent to an adult, though this does not mean they lack significance to him. Indeed, the conversations reveal more about how Caterpillar views Pakistan as a familiar setting where exciting things, such as the bouncy castle and pyjamas, catch his attention rather than perceiving Pakistan to be 'foreign'. In doing so, he noted everyday practices that were familiar in both contexts.

In another example Issa, a refugee from Iraq who came to England during the summer term of F2, was sitting with Arman Ali and Roger who are both from Pakistani backgrounds. The

children are sitting around a table in the creative area in the F2 classroom and Issa is colouring in a picture of an aeroplane (Fig. 4.15):
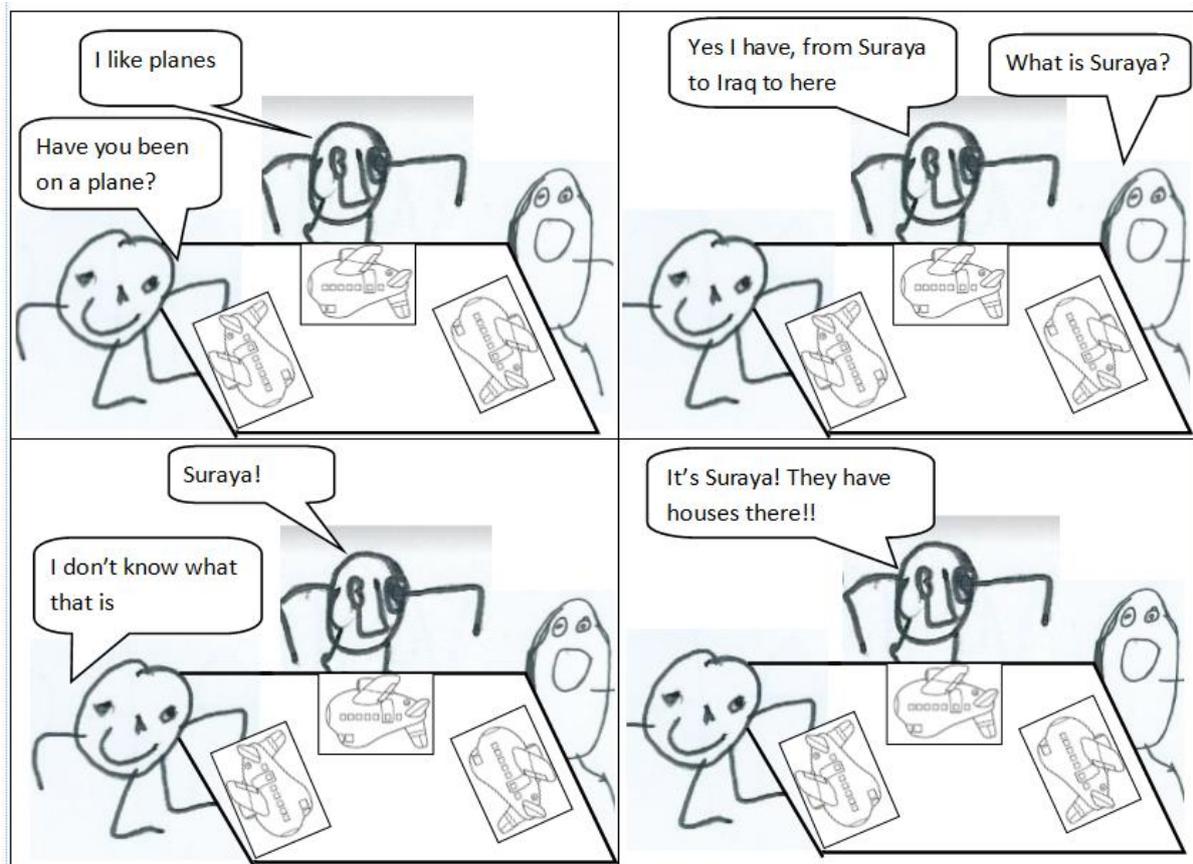
Figure 4.15: Suraya

In this vignette, Issa is talking about his hometown, Suraya. As Suraya is located in a remote part of the country of Iraq, it can be assumed that Issa first travelled to a larger airport (which he calls Iraq) in order to fly internationally to England. As the other two children around the table are not from Iraq, it is clear they have not heard the name of his village before and therefore do not understand what Issa is referring to. During Issa's final comment, 'It's Suraya! They have houses there!' he begins to raise his voice and appears frustrated that the other boys do not know where Suraya is. As Issa appears to not understand how the other children don't know what (or where) Suraya is, it is possible that he himself has not quite conceptualised the great distance he has travelled in order to reach Sheffield, or that he cannot yet explain if it is a town, city or village. In addition, given that he came to Sheffield less than six months before this conversation took place, it is likely that his hometown is still present in his thoughts and thus does not seem far away *to him*.

The children also spoke about plans to visit other countries with their families in the near future. The following vignette occurred as the children sat around the maths table in F2, doing a maths activity (Fig. 4.16):
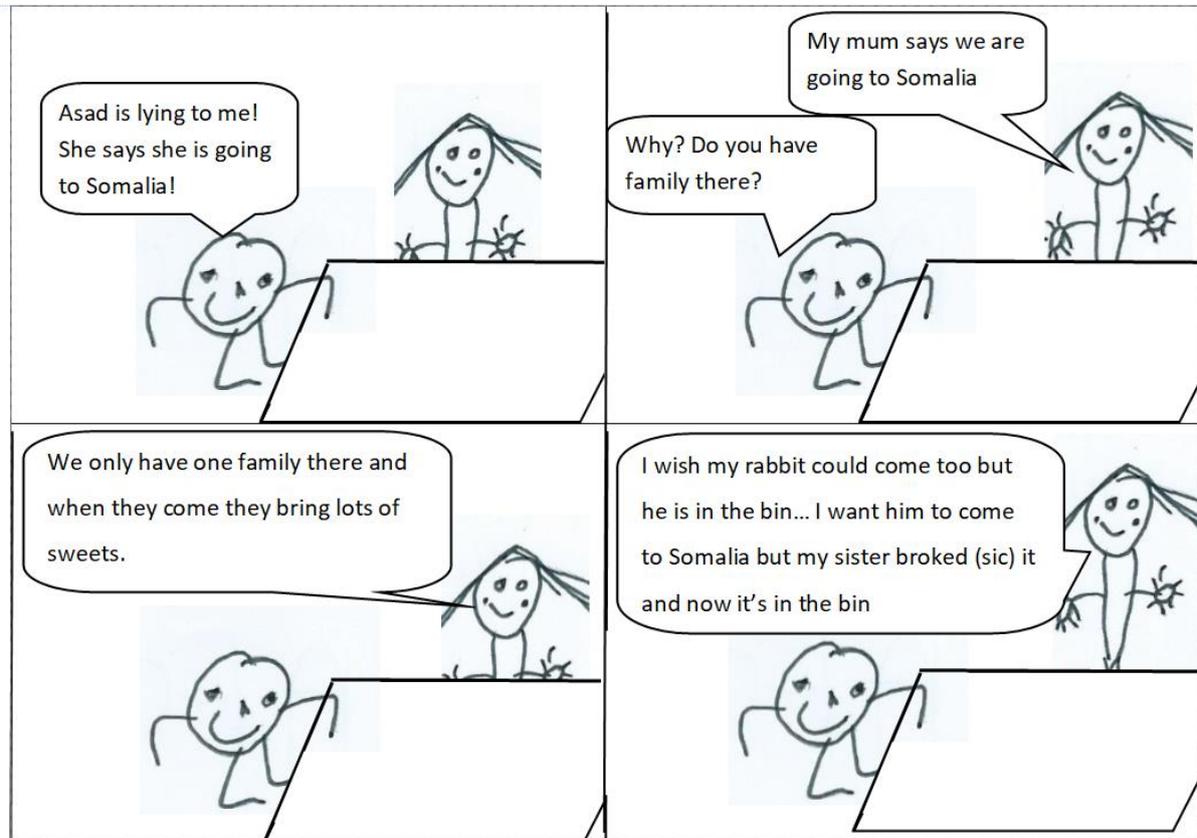
Figure 4.16: Somalia

In this vignette, it is possible to see that Arman Ali does not believe Asad is going to Somalia, possibly because to Arman Ali, who is from Pakistan, Somalia seems like a faraway place. In contrast, Asad, who was born in Somalia and came to Sheffield after living in Norway for two years, does not appear to perceive Somalia's distant location as an important factor. She describes her family from Somalia as bringing her lots of sweets and it appears her greatest concern is that she will not be able to take her rabbit with her because it is broken and in the bin.

The vignettes shared in this section explore the highly mobile and transnational characteristics of the children's lives. The participants talk about distant countries, to which they are closely connected through their families, as if they were easy-to-reach and familiar locations. The improvement of travel and communication technologies that have accompanied globalisation mean that contemporary migrants have increased opportunities

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to maintain linkages to their homelands (Vertovec, 2001). However, the children place more importance on familiar details than the magnitude of the journeys they have taken, or will take in the future. That said, the children only seem to share this sense of familiarity with the countries to which they have ties. The participants questioned the validity of other children's claims to travel to countries other than the ones to which they themselves are linked. The countries the children are from or have family in may be far from England in terms of distance, yet they are conceptualised as 'close' in the sense that children are actively involved in developing transnational cultures and identities (Ní Laoire, White, Tyrrell & Carpena-Méndez, 2012).

4.2.4 Popular Culture

The children in the study frequently drew on references to characters and celebrities from popular culture. It has been theorised that popular culture is a fund of knowledge often shared by children (Marsh & Millard, 2006). Moje et al. (2004) call popular culture 'the primary fund of knowledge' (p.60) as, in their study, the participants spent the majority of their time talking, reading and writing about various forms of popular culture. In the study that is the subject of this thesis, the children's play also often drew inspiration from these celebrities and from characters in films, television programmes and YouTube videos. In this way, the children integrated their digital and non-digital worlds. In the same way as the observations made by Hedges et al. (2011), the children did not simply reference characters from popular culture, they reproduced actions, behaviours and values that were associated with these characters. In doing so, they fused funds of knowledge amassed from popular culture with new learning opportunities, testing out various themes related to identity, emotional well-being and acceptable social rules. The following vignette is an example of the girls who are involved in fantasy play in the F2 classroom during choosing time (Fig. 4.17):

Figure 4.17: Frankenstein and Princesses

In this example, the girls are engaged in stereotypical gendered play of princesses. They make use of the classroom space and materials, beginning in the role-play area and, as their play develops, the adjacent carpet area. When the battle against the witch reaches its peak, they flee to the reading area, which is surrounded by bookshelves which they use as protection. Their play theme is peppered with references to popular culture - the girls are pretending to be the characters from Frozen, then Cinderella warns them to be careful of

Frankenstein. Meanwhile, the witch, Ivy, is in character and singing the wedding march in a sinister tone.

Furthermore, this example demonstrates the creation of a third space in which the children transform the physical space for the purposes of their play (Cole, 1998; Gutiérrez et al., 1999). This third space is a meeting point between the different children's understandings (Soja, 2009), transferred from digital funds of knowledge and applied to the current play theme where they create an alternate world based on their intentions and the rules they set for their own play (Lefebvre, 1991).

The children's craft activities were also imbued with references to characters from popular culture. The following examples took place in Y1 in the week before the Christmas holidays when the formal structure of teaching relaxed and the children could engage in winter themed craft activities (Fig. 4.18):

Figure 4.18: Mr. Maker

During this activity, some of the other children took the resources and began to initiate craft themes of their own that were also inspired by characters from popular culture (Fig. 4.19):
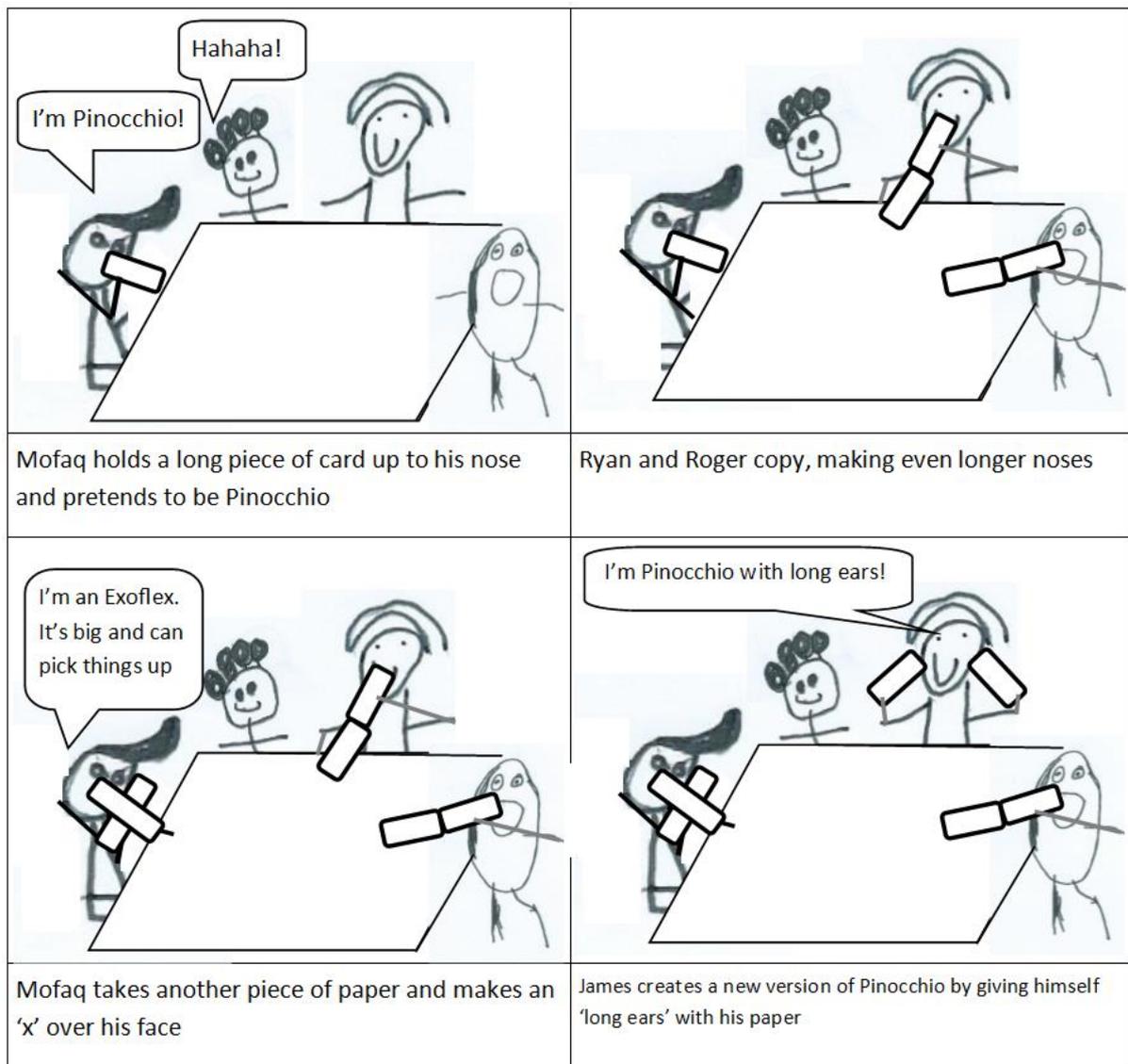
Figure 4.19: Pinocchio

The children in this event are deviating from the adult-directed objective of the activity and instead of making snowmen, they begin to imitate characters of their choosing. In doing so, the children's interests can be traced, and their engagement with popular culture outside the school is sedimented within the artefacts they created here (Pahl, 2002). Furthermore, though the children's ideas are inspired by digital funds of knowledge, their play themes build momentum and they draw on each other's ideas by thinking of increasingly creative ways of using the pieces of paper intended for drawing snowmen. In this way, the children create a third space in which they exercise agency (Lefebvre, 1991; Bhabha, 1994), taking control of the materials and transforming the goal of the activity to suit their own interests.

The participants in this study spoke about characters and events from episodes of TV series and films they had watched in a very matter-of-fact way, as if these were to be taken seriously. For example, Arman Ali and Ryan were playing together in the construction area of the F2 classroom when Arman Ali asks Ryan if he has seen 'Thomas the Train?'. Ryan responds with enthusiasm that he has seen it, which leads them to have a detailed discussion about the plot and characters of the show.

Children from different backgrounds and cultures frequently found 'common ground' (Clark, 1996) by discussing the attributes of sports personalities, such as John Cena and Christiano Renaldo. Indeed, wrestling was a popular theme that appeared frequently over the course of the data collection. One day, in F2, Roger had brought in a John Cena toy in his pocket. Upon seeing this, Ivy and Ana began to discuss how John Cena was the best wrestler ever as they lined up for lunch. On a separate occasion in F2, Jason and Issa were choosing together at the malleable area (Fig. 4.20):
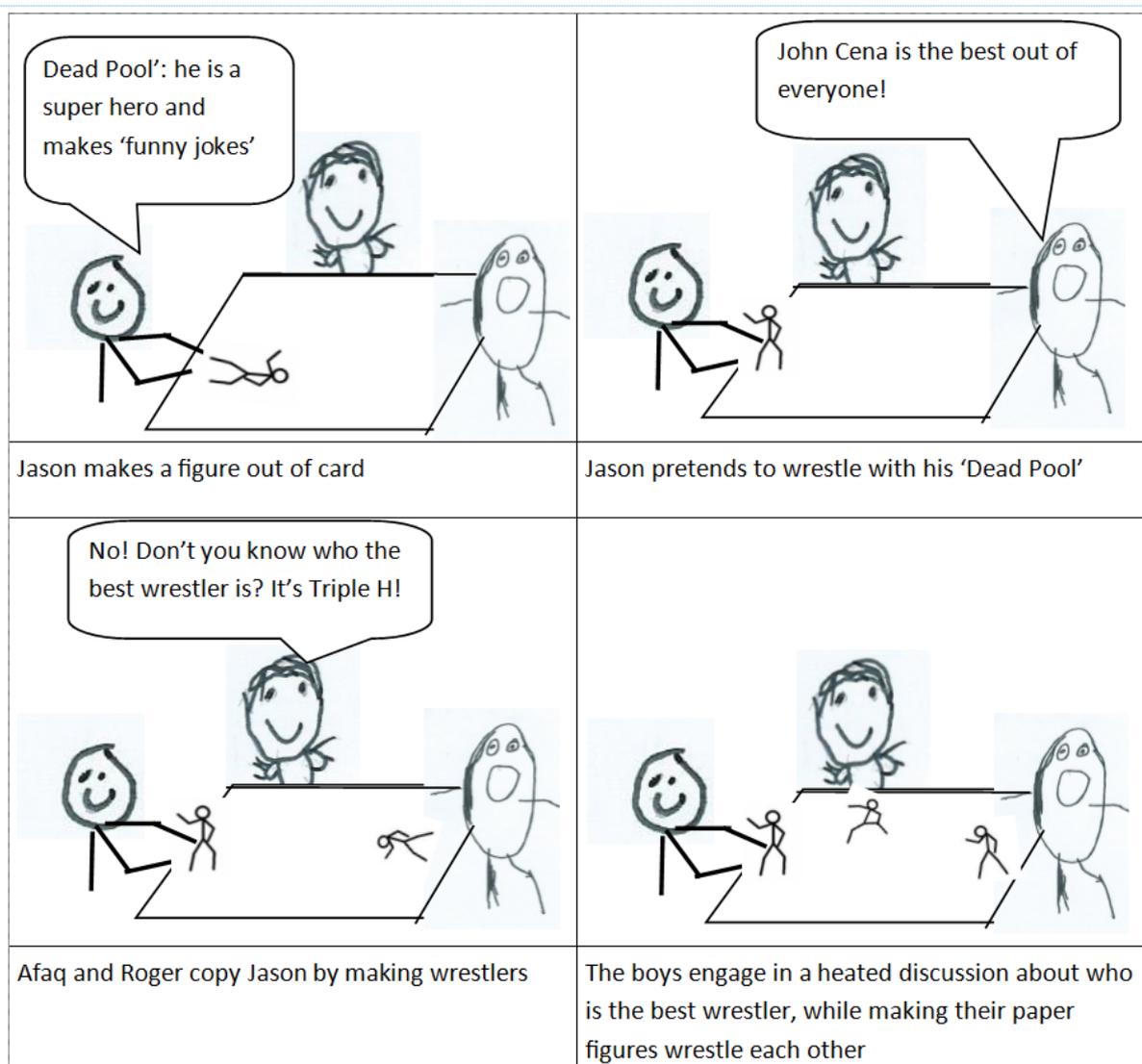
Figure 4.20: Debating wrestlers

For communication to be successful, it must be based on 'mutual knowledge' (Smith, 1982), thus references to popular culture were a valuable source of mutuality for children who did not speak much English, as they were able to connect over a shared enthusiasm for a character or play theme. Table 4.1 (below) summarises the themes taken from popular culture and the activities children applied to these themes.

Dancing	Like boy bands
	Gangnam style
Singing	Christmas carols (in April)
	Johnny Johnny yes papa
	Banana bus song

	'Let it go' from Frozen
	Abdullah Abdullah (the theme song from a Hindi cartoon)
	Yayah Torre football chant
Craft	Chase's police car from Paw Patrol
	Dead pool weapons
	Olaf the snowman from Frozen
	Teenage Mutant Ninja Turtles
	Magic wands
	Super hero masks
	Moana's boat
	Spiderman
	Mickey Mouse Club House
Discussions about	John Cena and other wrestlers (see Figure 4.60: Wrestling in the Playground)
	Christiano Renaldo and other footballers
	Thomas the Tank Engine
	Frozen
Imaginary play	Princesses (see Figure 4.49 Repurposing the maths chains; Figure 4.64: Princesses in the Playground; Figure 4.67: Repurposing Construction Blocks)
	Frozen characters
	'Cops and robbers' (see Figure 4.49 Repurposing the maths chains)
	Power rangers (see Figure 4.67: Repurposing Construction Blocks)
	Beauty and the Beast
	The Three Little Pigs (see Figure 4.49 Repurposing the maths chains)
	Pirates (see Figure 4.42: Shaadi)
	Spiderman (see Section 4.3.6)
	Angry Birds (see Figure 4.64: Angry Birds)
	Wrestling (see Figure 4.60: Wrestling in the Playground)

Table 4.1: Themes and related activities drawn from popular culture

From the examples provided here, it can be appreciated that popular culture is a strong influence in the children's experiences and a potent fund of knowledge (Marsh & Millard, 2006; Chesworth, 2016).

4.2.5 The content of communication: conclusion

This section has presented data that demonstrates how the participants in the study, even in the [pre-school] class F2, are far from 'empty slates'. Rather, they bring a wealth of knowledge, perceptions and experiences that have been accumulated through everyday engagement with families, communities, popular culture and their peers (Robinson & Diaz, 2006, Chesworth, 2016). The cognitive and cultural resources that constitute such funds of knowledge (Moll et al., 1992) are essential for a person's identity formation (Esteban-Guitart & Moll, 2014). The children in the examples in this section demonstrate ways in which they test and explore different socially constructed categories as a way of comprehending how their self-understanding sits in relation to the world (Blommaert, 2005; Norton, 2013). The vignettes demonstrate how this process is interrelated with the complexity of super-diverse communities, where children are situated at the interface between multiple sets of dynamic and transient characteristics that present the children with mixed, sometimes competing identities (Brooker, 2008).

The funds of knowledge explored here emphasise the socially constructed nature of knowledge and discourses. Moje et al. (2004) argue that it is critical to examine the funds that generate knowledge and discourses, as failure to do so would make it seem as if they appear naturally, rather than being constructed by human interaction and relationships. While it is easy to recognise the influence of popular culture in children's activities, knowledge derived from the "multiple spheres of activity in which the child is enmeshed" (Moll et al., 1992, p. 133-134) can be more discrete unless concrete efforts are made to unravel the origins of children's interests (Hedges et al., 2011).

4.3 Communicative resources

In this section, an analysis of the resources children draw on to communicate will be presented. From a sociolinguistic perspective, communicative resources reflect social identities (Fasold & Connor-Linton, 2014). The resources used by the children in this study

capture the dynamic nature of their experiences in terms of mobility and mixing in a super-diverse community (Blommaert & Rampton, 2011). The ways children re-appropriate communicative resources emphasise the active nature of such communication (Rogoff et al., 1993, Rogoff, 1995). The findings demonstrate that communicative repertoires are more than just an inventory of static, external resources, and that they are continually transformed as they are applied to new contexts with different intentions (Bakhtin, 1975).

The findings relating to the children's communicative resources have been organised into five themes:

1) Language portraits
2) Learning English
3) Translanguaging
4) 'Concealing' home languages
5) Truncated multilingual repertoires
6) Transforming communicative resources

4.3.1 Language Portraits

The children were asked to complete 'portraits' of their school and home languages (Busch, 2006, 2012, 2018; see Section 3.3.2.2 for further details). The children developed the language portraits in small groups of two to four children, and they simultaneously commented on their language portraits as they coloured them in. As a result, analysis of the language portraits was strengthened by the accompanying biographical commentary that revealed how the children experience their multilingual repertoires (Busch, 2012; Wolf, 2014). Twenty-nine out of the thirty participants in the study created such language portraits, with the one non-participant having moved to another school shortly after the research began. The results of this analysis are summarised in the table below (Table 4.2).

Home	School	Number of children (n=29)	Who
English	English	4	Dom Ryan Everything is Awesome Lilly
Mixed	English	13	Ellie Arman Ali Afaq Ali Mofaq Cinderella Trini Jason Caterpillar Bob Elsa Roger Kaylo Ren Ebo
Other	English	4	Ivy Naan Minion Ali
Other	Mixed	1	Rocky
Mixed	Mixed	7	Afaq Igor Darth Vader Asad

			Issa
			Aladdin
			Ana

Table 4.2: Language Portrait Analysis

Data gathered from the language portrait task (Table 4.2) shows that 21 out of the 29 children claimed they spoke English at school. Of these, 4 said they only spoke English at home and so it is not surprising that they only spoke English at school. What is more interesting is that 17 out of the 29 children who created the language portraits spoke one or more languages other than English at home, and yet they only spoke English at school (see the examples in Figs. 4.21 and 4.22).

Home languages	School languages	Home languages	School languages
Figure 4.21: Ivy's language portrait: 'Home: Other - School: English		*Figure 4.22: Arman Ali's language portrait: 'Home: Mixed - School: English*	
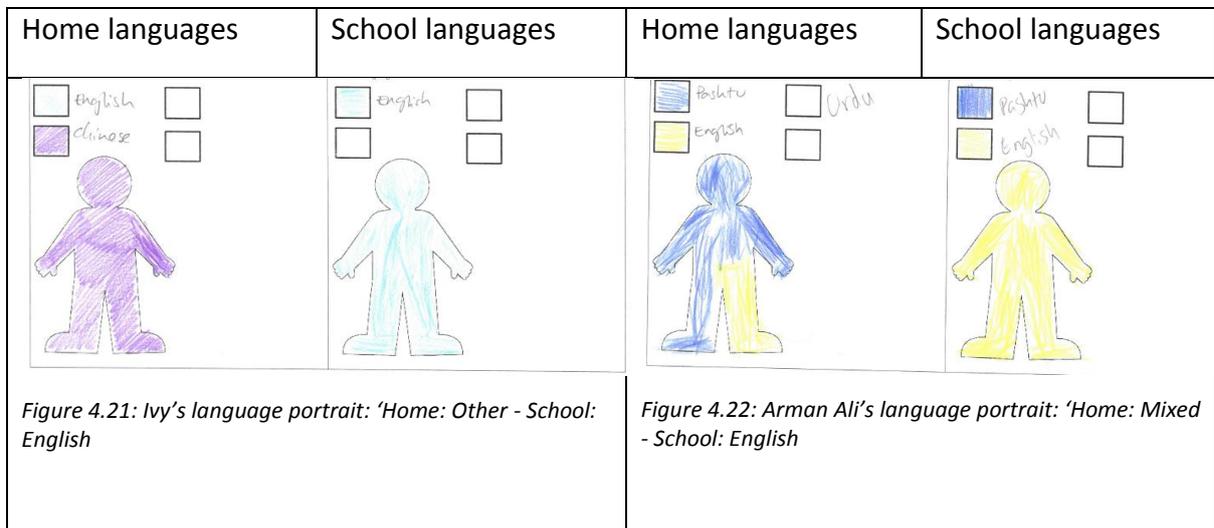
The remaining 8 children claimed they spoke both English and another language at school. One of these was Rocky who completed the language portrait soon after he joined the class. As he did not speak much English at that time, he tended to speak Oromo at school, which explains why his language portrait reflected the use of a language other than English at school (see Fig. 4.23):

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Home languages	School languages
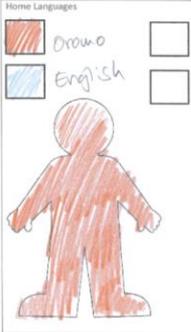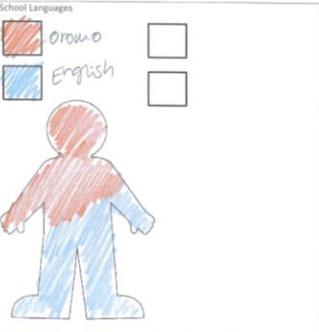
Figure 4.23: Rocky's language portrait: 'Home: Other- School: Mixed

The other 7 children who said they spoke mixed languages both at home and at school commented on their communicative practices while they completed the language portrait tasks, and their perspectives offered valuable insights into the use of home languages at school. All 7 revealed there were certain circumstances under which they believed it to be permissible to speak languages other than English at school, as summarised in Table 4.3 (below):

Of the seven children who said they spoke English and another language at home and in school:
Two Roma children, Darth Vadar and Igor, stated they spoke Roma with each other, but only outside or when the Roma teaching assistant was with them
Two Somali children, Asad and Anna, stated that they spoke Somali with each other, but also made it clear that this only occurred during play time or 'Golden Time'
Three Arabic speaking children, Aladdin, Afaq and Issa, identified speaking to each other in Arabic, but only in the playground and at lunch time, and never in the classroom

Table 4.3: Commentary from the children who spoke English and another language at home and at school

The children's commentaries explain the boundaries that they perceive exist and which delineate when/where they believe it to be acceptable to speak languages other than English at school. Thus, spaces that afforded more autonomous play opportunities, such as 'Golden Time' or in the playground, were equated with permitting a free choice of languages. In addition, the children believed it to be permissible to speak home languages in the presence of authoritative adults, such as teaching assistants, who shared their language.

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To emphasise this point, it is evident that the children's discussions around the parameters of language practices (such as whom they spoke with, and in which context) were supported by their careful allocation of the amount of the 'other language' that they coloured in. Thus, in each of the 'school languages' templates where the children claimed to speak more than one language at school, they coloured the majority of their template in the colour designated to English, such as in the example below (Fig. 4.24):

	Home languages	School Languages
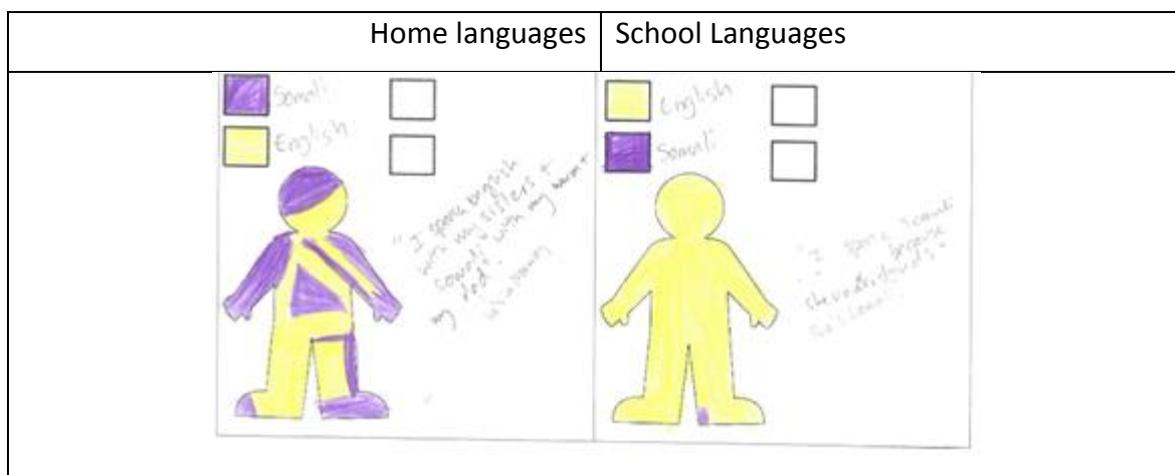
Figure 4.24: Asad's language portrait demonstrating the limited use of Somali at school

Apart from Rocky, the 8 children who said they spoke languages other than English at school designated a tiny proportion of the 'school languages' template to other languages. In conjunction with their expression of the self-imposed rules that governed when, where and with whom it was appropriate to speak languages other than English, these children demonstrate how they sought to self-regulate their language practices. This thread is continued throughout the findings and discussion as the relationship between the contexts of communication and the resultant communicative practices is explored.

The language portraits were particularly insightful as they revealed the children's perspectives of their own language practices. However, it must be highlighted that some of the claims they made during this activity conflict with the data gathered from their parents - for example Dom and Ellie were twins whose mother was English and father was Albanian. Ellie chose two different colours: orange for English and purple for Albanian, and coloured her 'home' with two languages and her 'school' languages in with just one colour, orange

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(for English). Interestingly, her twin Dom, chose to use the same colour, purple, for Albanian and English at home, and then purple for English at school. During his commentary, he explained that only his dad spoke Albanian at home and that he spoke English. This conflicts with the information given on the school enrolment sheet and from a conversation with his mother where she stated that Dom spoke mostly English, but also some Albanian in the home (see Figs. 4.25 and 4.26).

Home languages	School languages	Home languages	School languages

Figure 4.25: Ellie's language portrait: 'Home: Mixed-School: English

Figure 4.26: Dom's language portrait: 'Home: English-School: English
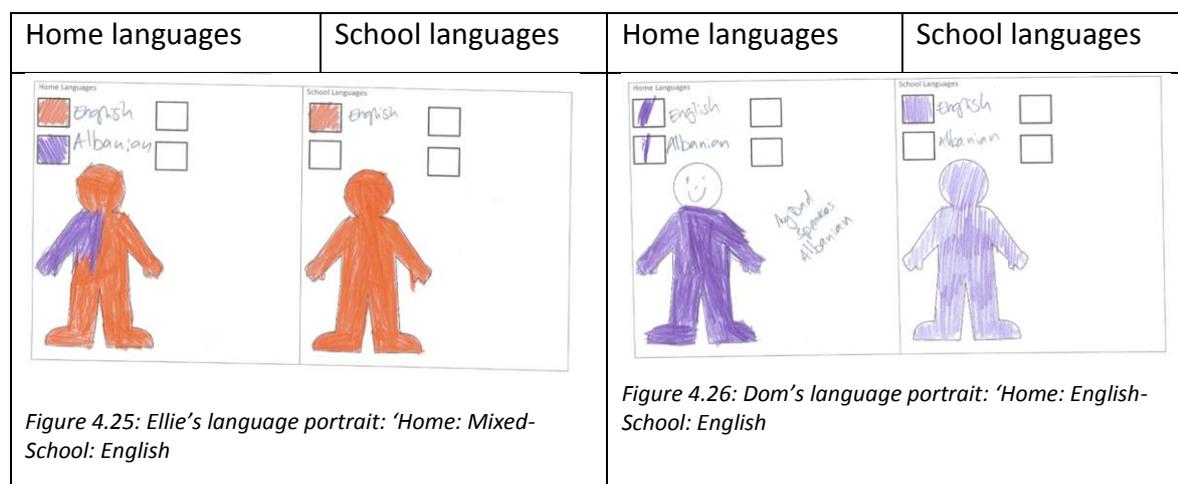
A discrepancy was also detected between the language portraits and data collected from the observations, as it appeared that giving the children a formal task to complete in front of me, an adult, led the children to claim what they thought they 'ought' to say, rather than be completely transparent about their linguistic practices in school. The data gathered from the language portraits indicated that 17 children spoke English at school and other languages at home. However, the ethnographic observations revealed many of these children used languages other than English at school, as will be demonstrated throughout this chapter.

In addition, the 7 children who said they spoke mixed languages including English at home and at school explained the particular conditions of these languages. However, the ethnographic observations again revealed that despite their articulation of these regulations, in reality they spoke languages other than English more frequently and in circumstances that lay outside of the 'rules' they had originally specified. Examples

throughout the rest of this chapter will highlight how the use of languages other than English are more prevalent than one might expect based on the language portrait data. In addition, the data will show how the children's multilingual practices are influenced by cultural-institutional factors, such as the environment and the people around them.

4.3.2 Learning English

The language portraits revealed 25 out of the 29 children who completed the task claimed to speak languages other than English in the home. In addition, Tomng, who left the school shortly after the data collection began and therefore did not complete a language portrait, spoke Tigrinya at home, meaning a total of 26 out of the 30 participants spoke English as an additional language (EAL). The Department for Education defines the term EAL broadly, stating:

> "At one extreme, there are pupils who have lived in England all their life who are likely to have been fluent in English from a very young age… At the other extreme, there are pupils who have arrived in England very recently who could have very little understanding of English." (DfE, 2019)

This definition emphasises the 'extremes', however, linguistic repertoires of the majority of children for whom English is an additional language are situated along a continuum with bi- and multi-lingual children translanguaging between repertoires. In addition, children in the Early Years Foundation Stage are still learning English, even if it is their home language.

Thus all 26 participants who speak languages other than English at home can be classified as learners of EAL. With this in mind, it will be recalled that the literature review presented historical and current policy responses to children with EAL, highlighting the intense focus on 'learning English' within schools. Consistent with this focus, the site of the research had weekly 'New to English' classes with a teaching assistant, NK, where children who were just that, *new* to English, were explicitly taught English using flash cards and repetition to support them in building vocabulary and sentence structure in English. These classes continued as the children transitioned from F2 into Y1 (Fig. 4.27):
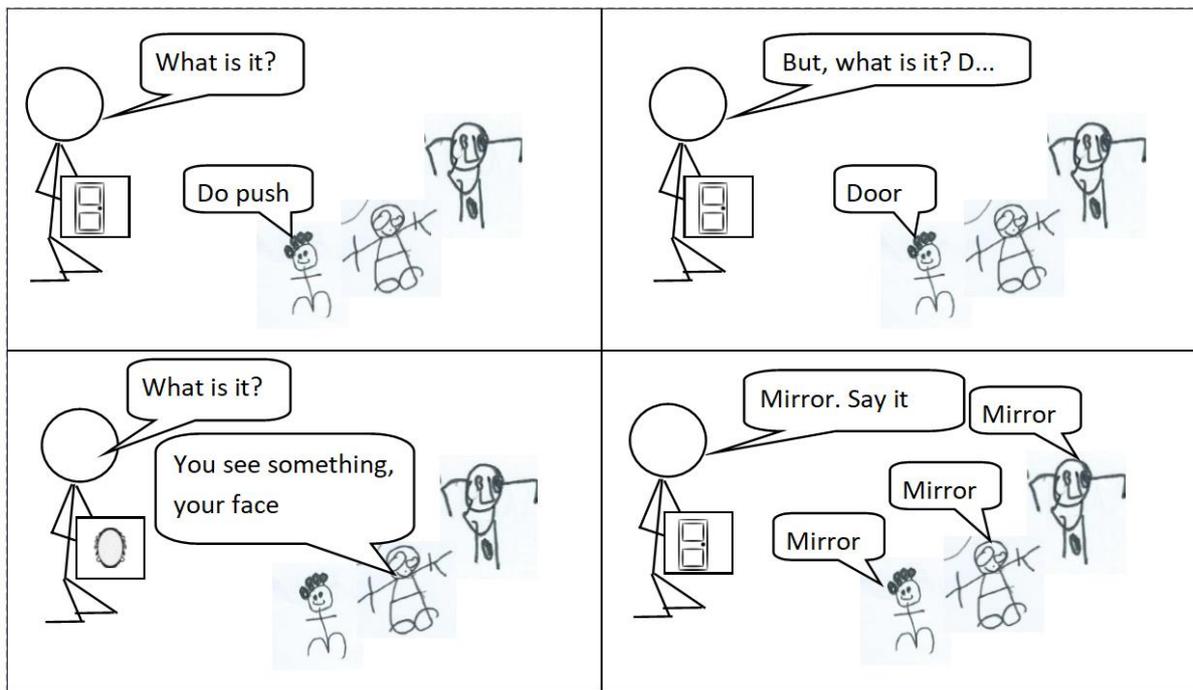
Figure 4.27: New to English

The structure of the New to English sessions was rigid, with little scope for creativity. The aims of each lesson were clearly laid out as were the tasks designed and planned to achieve these aims. Most of the communication that occurred during New to English followed the 'known-answer-quizzing' (Rogoff et al., 2011, p.11) format, which is simultaneously both a lesson and a test.

In a similar vein, many of the interactions that occurred during the regular 'input' on the carpet involved the teacher extending the vocabulary of children who spoke English as an additional language (Fig. 4.28):
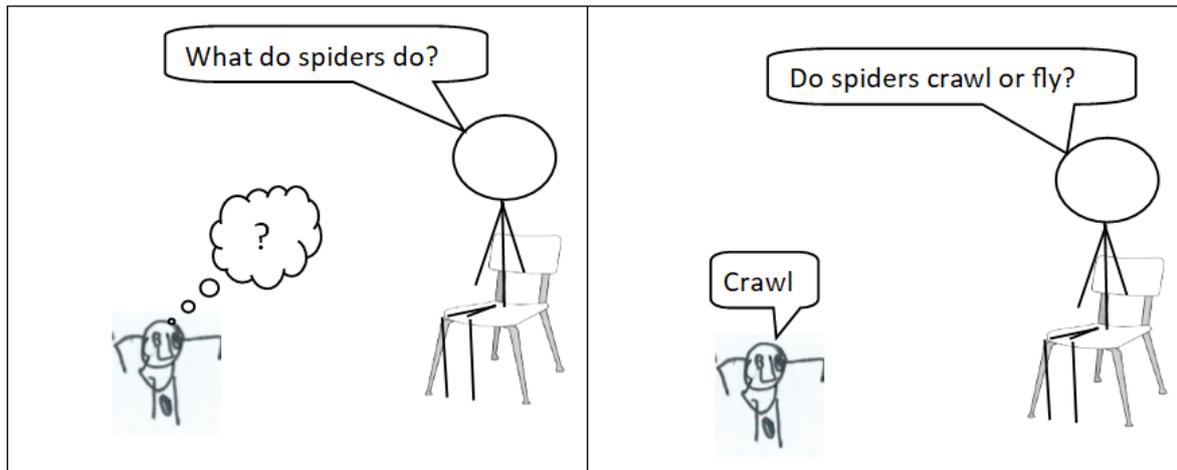
Figure 4.28: Do spiders crawl or fly?

The literature review established the historical and present policy that emphasises learning English as a key skill for academic success (QCA, 2003; Safford & Drury, 2013; Costely, 2014; DfE, 2017). This narrative was clear throughout the data collection where opportunities were frequently sought to assist the children for whom English is an additional language to learn more vocabulary, and thereby advance their proficiency in English.

While the formal teaching of English to children who spoke EAL is commonplace and expected in schools, there were also multiple instances where children demonstrated they had learned English colloquial phrases that certainly would not have been part of the 'New to English' content. The use of such colloquial phrases (see examples below in Table 4.4 below) demonstrates that the children in the study acquired linguistic resources from a wide range of sources within school, in their homes, in their communities and through digital media (Pennycook, 2007).

'What the heck?' (Bob),
'Party on, dude!' (Afaq)
'Oh daaaarling' (Ali)
Tadaaa! (Ivy)
Why, thank you m'lady! (Bob)
'Innit' (Darth Vader)
Using 'bare' to mean 'very' (Mofaq)

Table 4.4: Colloquial phrases

Furthermore, it could be argued that the children in the study intentionally used colloquial phrases in a bid to 'pull off' a more 'English' identity (Safford & Costley, 2008) - although it is accepted that 'Party on, dude' would be considered more American than British English, highlighting popular culture (in this instance the Teenage Mutant Ninja Turtles) as a source that influences the development of children's repertoires in English.

An example of this emanates from Ali, who came to Sheffield from Iraq as a refugee, having first spent time in Poland as an asylum seeker. Ali gradually began to learn English as the data collection continued into Y1, but at the beginning of the data collection period (in the summer term of F2), he spoke very little English. However, he often used phrases he had picked up from sources other than the official 'New to English' route. For example, one of his favourite games was to 'capture' his friends. He would point his index and middle finger at his friends, curling the remaining fingers to form the shape of a gun and shout 'Hands up! Let me see your hands up!'. On one occasion Ali was caught by a teacher lining his friends up on their knees with their hands behind their backs, executioner style. As he did so, he told his 'victims' to 'be quiet or I'll shoot you!' (Fig. 4.29):
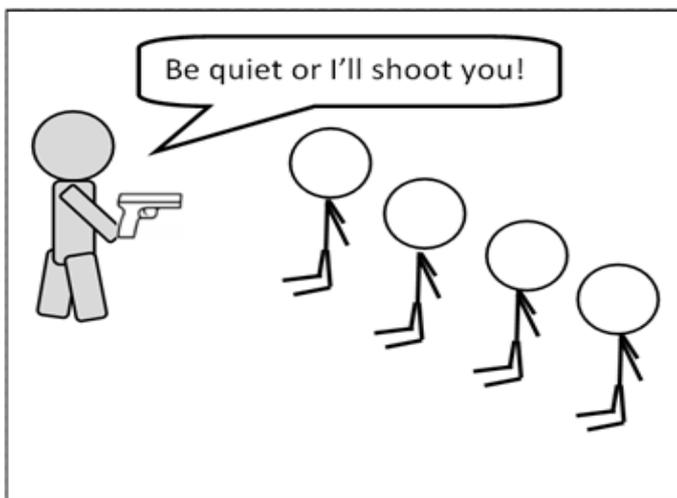
Figure 4.29: Be quiet or I'll shoot

This vignette clearly demonstrates that the children learn English from funds of knowledge that exist beyond the formal curriculum of the school. The graphic content of his role-play would generally be considered inappropriate for children, and when the teacher asked where he learned about the themes of his play he replied 'TV'. Thus, as demonstrated in Section 4.2.4, themes amassed from children's engagement with digital media permeate

their play (Marsh, 2017), and in this instance it is clear that Ali had learned some English from watching TV as well.

A further example comes from consideration of Darth Vader's language practices in English which where observably more extensive when he was engaged in activities that aligned with his personal interests. The following examples contrast Darth Vader's language practices in the playground while playing football (Fig. 4.30) and in the classroom when learning about insects (Fig. 4.31) during F2:
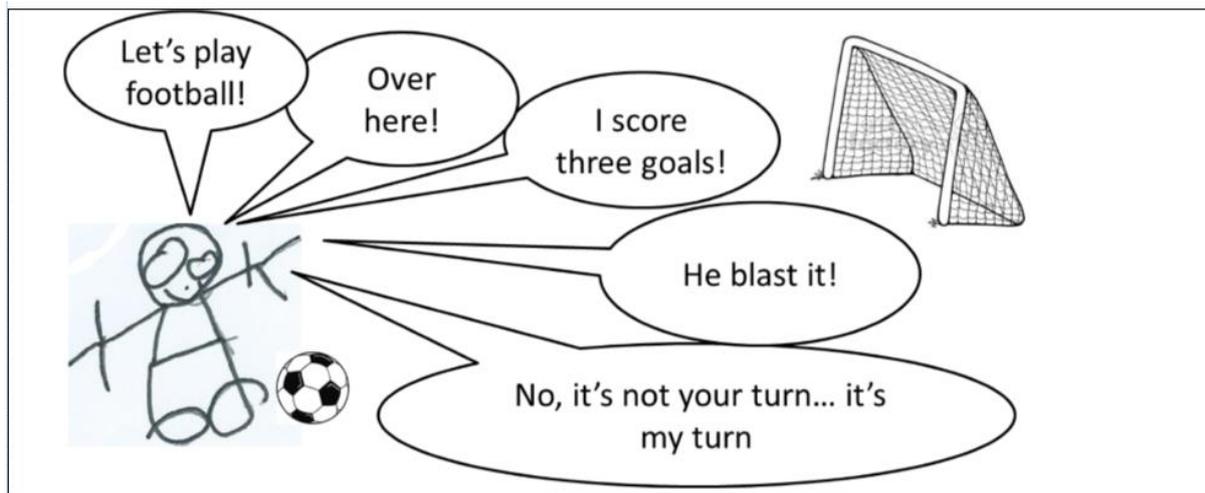
Figure 4.30: Darth Vader in the playground
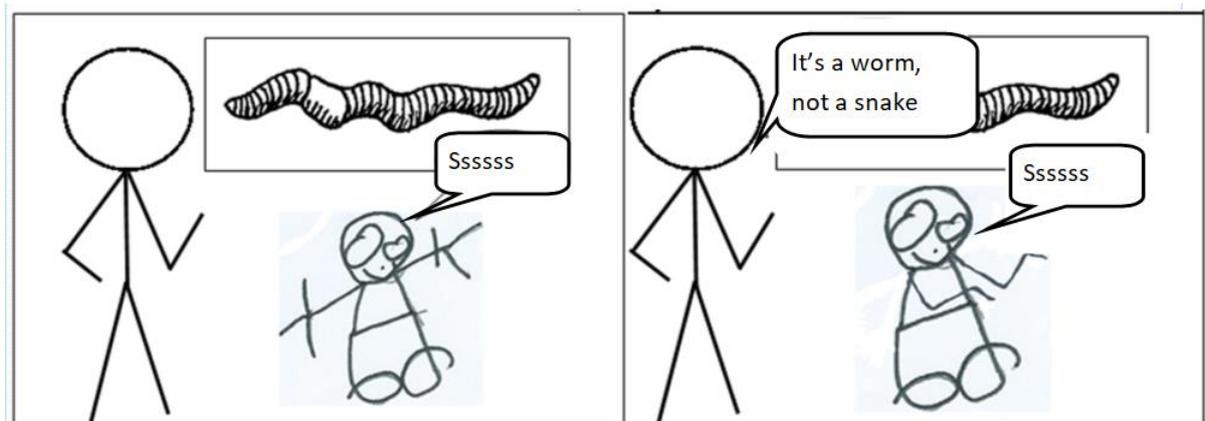
Figure 4.31: Darth Vader in the classroom

In these vignettes, there is a marked distinction between Darth Vader's proficiency in English when he is engaged in football on the playground and his difficulty in speaking English in the classroom. When Darth Vader is playing football, an activity which is in line

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with his interests, he demonstrated that he has a specialist vocabulary including terms such as 'blast' that clearly falls outside of what would be taught in the formal 'New to English' sessions. The context, playing football in the playground, is meaningful to Darth Vader and thus supports his English language acquisition (Pim, 2010). Furthermore, the language he uses is designed to communicate immediate actions and instructions to his friends, constituting what Cummins (1984) calls Basic Interpersonal Communication Skills (BICS). In contrast, when Darth Vader is engaged in a more 'abstract' conversation in the classroom, his vocabulary and understanding is limited. Despite the presence of a visual image, the absence of a concrete experience or hands-on activity in that context meant the Cognitive Academic Learning Proficiency required to relate to the concept of a 'worm' was out of the scope of Darth Vader's linguistic proficiency in English. In addition, the teacher did not scaffold Darth Vader's learning by supporting him to make connections between existing knowledge of a snake and new knowledge, for example by comparing the features and characteristics of the two.

The above examples of 'learning English' have illuminated that children play an active role in their learning of English. In addition to learning specified vocabulary during 'New to English' classes, or in formal lessons with the teacher, the children also learn from their communities (Moll et al., 1992; González, et al., 2005), from their peers (Corsaro, 1988) and from digital media (Pennycook, 2007; Marsh, 2017). Thus, opportunities for children to actively engage meaningful, play-based, endeavours facilitated the children's experimentation with language (Wood & Attfield, 2005). In contrast, during formal, abstract tasks the children struggled to relate to the concepts being taught - a reality that is commonly recognised among children with EAL (Cummins, 1984; Gibbons, 1993). Importantly, the children had more opportunities to actively engage in learning with concrete resources in F2 as they spent the majority of their day 'choosing' in the indoor areas; however, as will be discussed in Section 4.4.1, as the children progressed into Y1 they had fewer opportunities to play. The impact of this pedagogical transition was that children had fewer opportunities to initiate activities based on their interests and therefore had less agency to develop their English language autonomously.

4.3.3 Translanguaging

There were fourteen languages other than English spoken amongst the thirty children in this study (see Table 3.3). Therefore, it is unsurprising that the children were observed to be speaking languages other than English throughout the study. Indeed, there were occasions when the adult-in-charge legitimised their home languages by expressing an interest in them, for example during a New to English session in Y1 the following event occurred (Fig. 4.32):
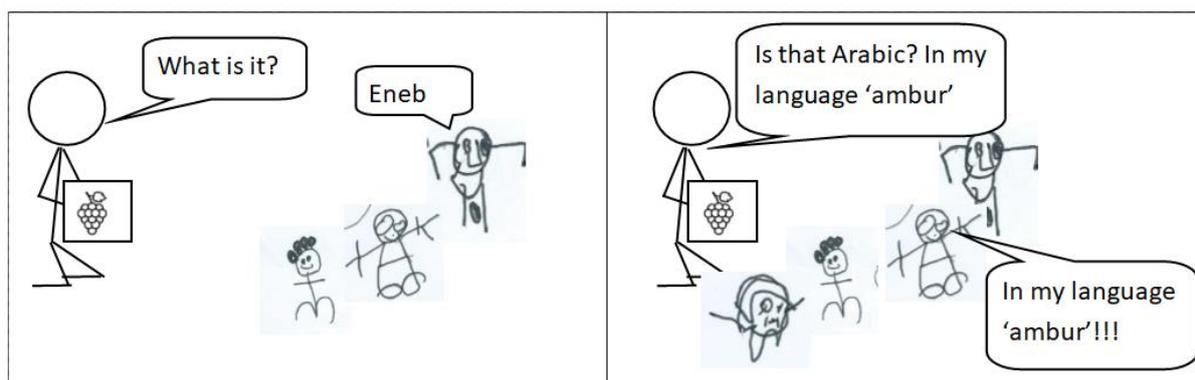
Figure 4.32: Ambur

In this vignette we can see the teaching assistant, NK, engaging with the children about the words they use in their own languages. Communication during the New to English sessions predominantly consisted of highly structured 'known-answer-quizzing' interactions. Learning was decontextualized as vocabulary was introduced through the use of pictures, rather than through collaborative endeavour in a meaningful task – thus the New to English sessions embody what Rogoff et al. (2015) describe as 'Assembly Line Instruction' (p.2). When languages other than English were used during these sessions, they tended to be isolated fragments of vocabulary such as naming a noun or an action from the picture NK presented.

Another interesting idea illuminated by the vignette is that the children are using words in languages other than English in front of an adult. Once NK has opened up the topic of how to say the word 'grapes' in Arabic, Darth Vader immediately responds by sharing his linguistic knowledge. It will be recalled from Section 4.3.1 that some of the children attested during the language portraits that they were permitted to speak home languages at school under certain conditions (such as when there was a language assistant in the vicinity) in a similar way Darth Vader relishes the opportunity to share the word for grapes, 'ambur', in

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his language. A further example of Jason using his home language once it had been recognised by an adult is presented in Section 4.3.4.

Alongside permitted uses of the children's home languages, there were also multiple instances of the participants speaking in languages other than English at the peripheries - either in conversation with friends who spoke the same language or by translanguaging seamlessly between English and other languages. The interesting point about the children's use of languages is the metacognition that occurred alongside their translanguaging. For many of the children it may be assumed that translanguaging was a common practice in the home, but at school there was an implicit expectation that they ought to speak English (Fashanu, Wood & Payne, 2019). During the language portraits, 17 out of 29 children in the study claimed they spoke languages other than English at home and English at school, whilst 8 conceded they spoke language languages other than English at school, but with particular restrictions, as explained in Section 4.3.1. The findings presented in this section reveal that, contrary to their assertions during the language portraits activity, the children used languages other than English more often than they had claimed and in variety of contexts. One potential explanation for this discrepancy is that the children have internalised the dominant discourse that 'English' is the only appropriate language in schools, and thus, they masked their use of other languages accordingly (Fashanu et al., 2019).

In addition, children interacted with peers from different backgrounds who did not necessarily speak the same language as them. These contextual factors led children to analyse and explain their language practices, revealing the thought processes about their own linguistic identities and those of the children with whom they were conversing (Fig. 4.33):

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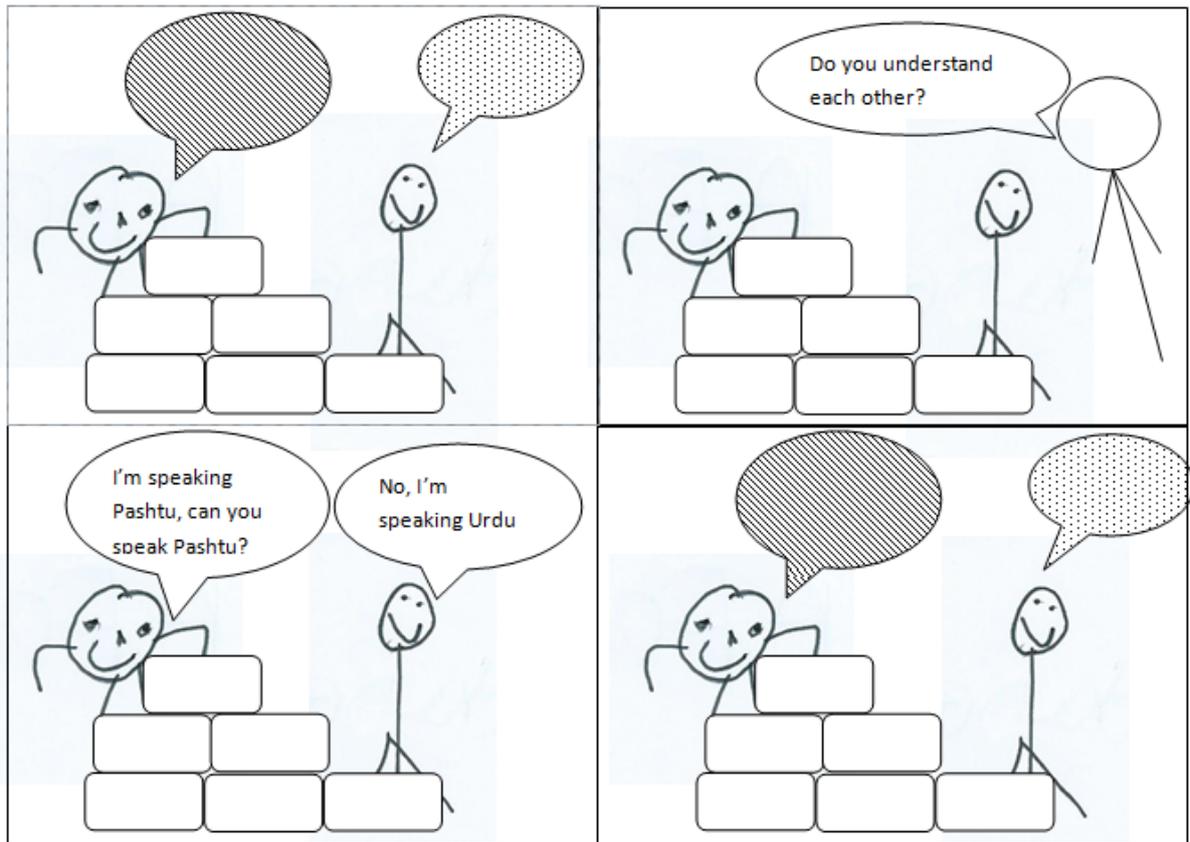
Figure 4.33: Making snails

In this vignette Arman Ali and Naan are engaged in structured play in the construction area of the F2 classroom. The activity they have been set is to construct snails out of different building materials. As the two boys become engrossed in the activity, they began to speak in a different language. Though Arman Ali and Naan are both from Pakistan, they claimed to speak different languages at home - Pashtu and Urdu respectively (see Table 3.3) and language portraits). I therefore enquired if they understood each other and Arman Ali responded in a rather puzzling way - he stated he spoke Pashtu, but then he asked Naan if he could speak Pashtu, to which Naan responded he was speaking Urdu. It was interesting that even though I asked them if they understood each other, they did not answer directly with a 'yes' or a 'no' based on their judgement of whether or not they had been conversing in a mutually intelligible way. Instead, they referred to the discrete language variations they believed they spoke. As their answer to my question 'do you understand each other?' was inconclusive, I revisited the event with the cartoon I had drawn to prompt further discussion on the matter. When they saw the cartoon and we spoke about its content, Arman Ali suddenly realised 'I speak Urdu too!'.

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There are several factors that need to be considered when drawing conclusions from this vignette. The first is that a diglossia operates in Pakistan with Urdu being reserved for more formal matters, while Pashtu is one of many language variations that would be spoken more commonly in the home (Ilahi, 2013). Therefore, many Pakistani families living in England may claim to speak Urdu, while in reality they speak a different language variation. In addition to this, the distinctions between different language variations spoken in Pakistan are not clear and there is overlap between them, meaning people can be speaking different dialects and yet still be mutually intelligible. However, the children may not be aware of the subtle distinctions between different language variations and where/when it would be appropriate to speak each. They have been brought up with the name 'Pashtu' or 'Urdu' given to their home language and thus they have understood this to be their language. However, it is more likely that both Arman Ali and Naan speak similar language variations and they probably speak some Urdu as well, as this is the most usual case with Pakistani children. The complex nature of their linguistic practices highlights how the conceptualisation of different languages as discrete categories with clear boundaries is problematic (Grillo, 1998). Nevertheless, what is more important here is that the children are using whatever linguistic resources they can in order to communicate with each other in the most effective way.

The following vignette occurred in the outdoor area in F2. Two children, Tomng and Asad, were playing in the sand pit when the following conversation took place (Fig. 4.34):
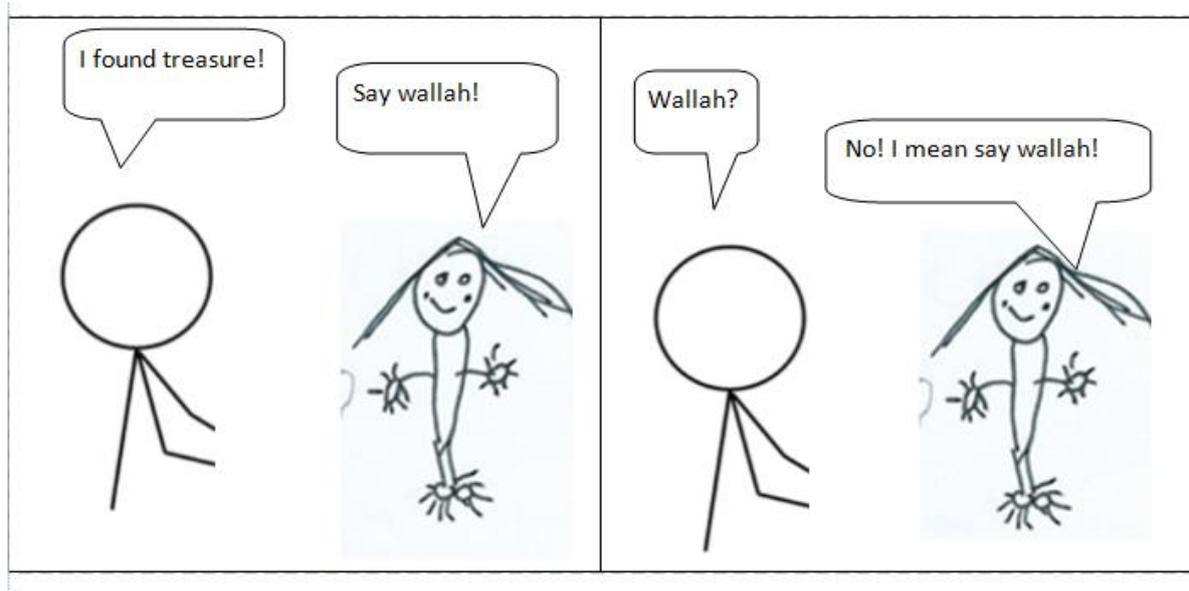
Figure 4.34: I found treasure

As explained in Section 4.2.2.1 Asad is a Muslim, Somali, girl whilst Tomng is Christian and from the Tigray region of Ethiopia. Tomng finds a plastic gemstone and exclaims that he has found treasure. Asad says to Tomng 'say wallah!' and Tomng complies by saying 'wallah', though his tone of voice and facial expression make it clear that he does not understand what Asad is asking of him. When the children had finished their conversation and returned to playing individually, I showed them the cartoon I had drawn and asked for their interpretation of the event. Tomng confirmed he had not understood the word 'wallah', so Asad explained to him it means 'tell the truth', like when her sister lies, then her mother tells her to 'say wallah', to *tell the truth*. As we had this conversation, Mofaq was nearby and was prompted to contribute to the exchange, saying 'Wallah, I play! You have to tell the truth my dad always tells me'.

The word 'wallah' is technically Arabic, though it is used commonly throughout the Muslim world. Therefore, even though Asad and Mofaq are both Somali, they are also Muslim and so they were familiar with the term and its meaning. Tomng, however, is Christian and speaks Tigrinya, therefore, he was not familiar with the word wallah. When it became apparent that there was a dissonance in the children's understanding, Asad and Mofaq were able to relate the word to their home lives and apply their out-of-school experiences to the present situation.

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First, the vignette demonstrates that miscommunication can occur in super-diverse environments where people do not always share the same communicative resources due to the plethora of linguistic and cultural experiences that co-exist in the space. The second point of interest is that Asad and Mofaq were able to conceptualise that a word that is firmly embedded in their own repertoires might not be the case for another person. Then, they skilfully explain the meaning of the term drawing on concrete examples to contextualise the word for Tomng. This requires quite a sophisticated understanding of languages, an awareness of their own repertoires, and the intercultural communication skills to convey meaning to someone of a different background. This clearly demonstrates both the size and scope of the challenge to be overcome, and also an impressive range of intellectual skills by the 5 year olds who were able to achieve a good result.

In one instance that was observed, the use of communicative resources in a language other than English was met with a negative response. The children were in Y1 and working together in a group at a table (Fig. 4.35):
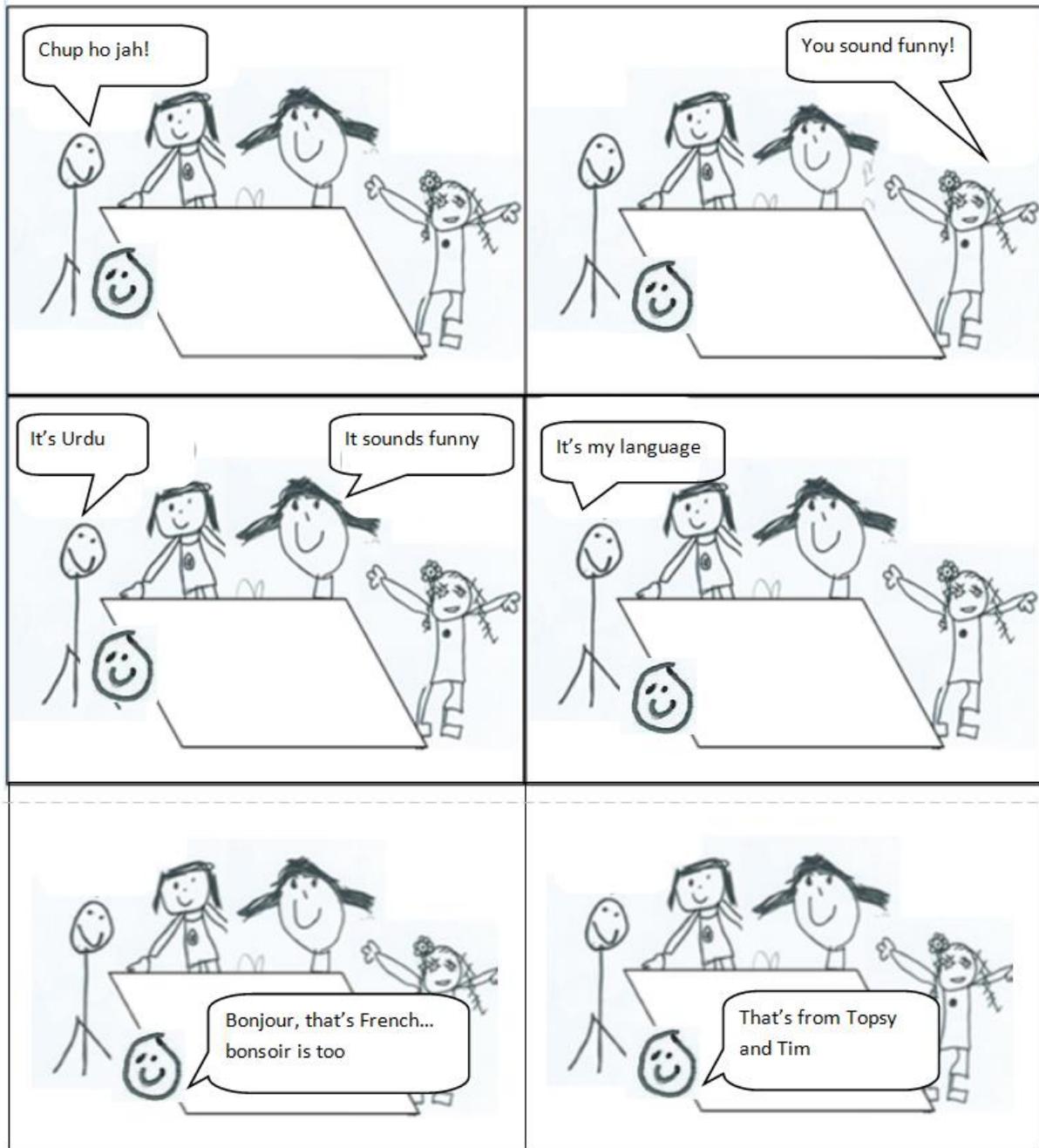
Figure 4.35: Chup ho jah

This vignette began when Lilly told Naan that he couldn't use the pink coloured pencil, to which Naan responded *chup ho jah* (shut up). Lilly and Ellie then began to tease Naan about how his language 'sounds funny'. When Naan tries to explain that he is speaking Urdu the girls do not understand what he is saying and continue to persist that he 'sounds funny'. Naan looks visibly upset by the girls' comments but then Afaq, responds to Naan saying he knows some words in French. In doing so, Afaq shows he understands that Naan is speaking

another language and, instead of ridiculing Naan, he demonstrates an interest in what Naan is saying. Naan is clearly relieved by Afaq's intervention and the girls stop teasing Naan.

Lilly and Ellie are best friends. They were both born in Sheffield and have not lived abroad, however Lilly's mother is from Zimbabwe and speaks Shona, and Ellie's father is Albanian. Lilly and Ellie have both been taught to speak a little of their parents' languages, therefore they would have an awareness of the notion that different languages exist, however, as neither are from Pakistani backgrounds, they may not be familiar with the word 'Urdu'. Lilly and Ellie were also members of the top groups for literacy and numeracy, and they were among the strongest readers in the class as evidenced by their reading of books that were two levels beyond most of the other children.

These attributes seemed to give Lilly and Ellie a sense of superiority among their peers and they were often observed confidently passing judgement on matters. In this sense, it is unsurprising that when Lilly expressed an opinion, Ellie supported this opinion and yet both girls backed down once Afaq shows solidarity towards Naan. On the one hand, this could be because they genuinely did not understand Naan and, once it was explained to them by Afaq, they no longer felt the need to challenge Naan. On the other hand, it is possible that because Afaq was also a high achiever academically, they may have respected his opinion. The final possibility could be that when the girls were teasing Naan, they may have assumed that because they did not understand Naan, no one else could either. When Afaq clearly demonstrated that he understood Naan was speaking a different language, the girls went quiet and this may have been because they realised that they were the ones who came across as ignorant for *not* knowing that Naan was speaking another language. Whatever the reason, it is clear that the girls saw Naan's use of Urdu as 'funny' and their teasing him (even when he became upset) revealed they believed his use of another language to be a less valuable language practice in comparison with English.

Even though this was an isolated incident, it does highlight how using communicative resources in languages other than English was not always welcome in the class. In addition, whilst there were no explicit rules that banned languages other than English, there was the implicit expectation that children should speak English at school. This expectation was underlined by the fact that the children who were learning English as an additional language were provided with multiple small-group interventions in order to support their learning of

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English. The implicit expectation that the children should learn English was also reinforced by regular praise for 'good talking' when they did, indeed, speak English. Children learned the "implicit conventions for the conduct of interaction in everyday classroom life" (Rogoff et al., 2016, p.377) informally by engaging in activities side-by-side with peers and observing which forms of interaction are valued. Despite the expectation that the children ought to conduct interactions in English, many occasions were recorded where the children opted to not to do so. In this way, the children create a script that lies in parallel to 'formal' script of the classroom, undercutting the roles that children are expected to play (Gutiérrez et al., 1995; Rogoff et al., 2016). More examples of the use of languages other than English that have been summarised in this chapter are presented in the following table (Table 4.5):

Figure 4.3: Burtun
Figure 4.4: Burtun continued
Figure 4.5: Dudu
Figure 4.9: Allah means when you are praying
Figure 4.12 : Devloro
Figure 4.32: Ambur
Figure 4.33: Making snails
Figure 4.34: I found treasure
Figure 4.35: Chu pho jah
Figure 4.38: Hiding in the reading corner
Figure 4.41: Rocky no Wallah
Figure 4.42: Shaadi
Figure 4.70: Grapes avoiding work

Table 4.5: Languages other than English

In summary, the participants in the study demonstrated that, despite the claims they made during the language portraits, they spoke languages other than English at various points throughout the school day. This supports the challenge inherent in the reality that the children are exposed to multiple, sometimes conflicting, ideologies regarding the legitimacy of home languages in the school (Robinson & Diaz, 2006). In addition, fluid, seamless translanguaging tended to occur more frequently when children were engaged in mutual

endeavours with their peers in the less formal spaces of the school and, conversely, translanguaging rarely occurred in the more formal spaces such as the carpet. The relationship between the different spaces the children occupied and the types of communication that occurred will be explored in detail in Section 4.4 (Contexts of Communication).

4.3.4 'Concealing' home languages

In light of the continual emphasis on English (rather than the promotion of a pluralistic approach to languages) it is perhaps unsurprising that children were not always so forthcoming about their home languages. For example, Ivy was born in China but came to Sheffield when she was aged one. In Ivy's language portrait, she claimed she spoke 'Chinese' with her mother - although it is noted that 'Chinese' is not the name of a language itself, but can be used to refer to any one of a large number of language variations such as Cantonese, Mandarin and Hokkien. Ivy was also observed speaking with her mother in her home language before and after school. In the summer term of F2, Naan and Ivy are together in the craft area. Ivy is making a Chinese lantern which she says she learnt to make at Chinese New Year (Fig. 4.36):
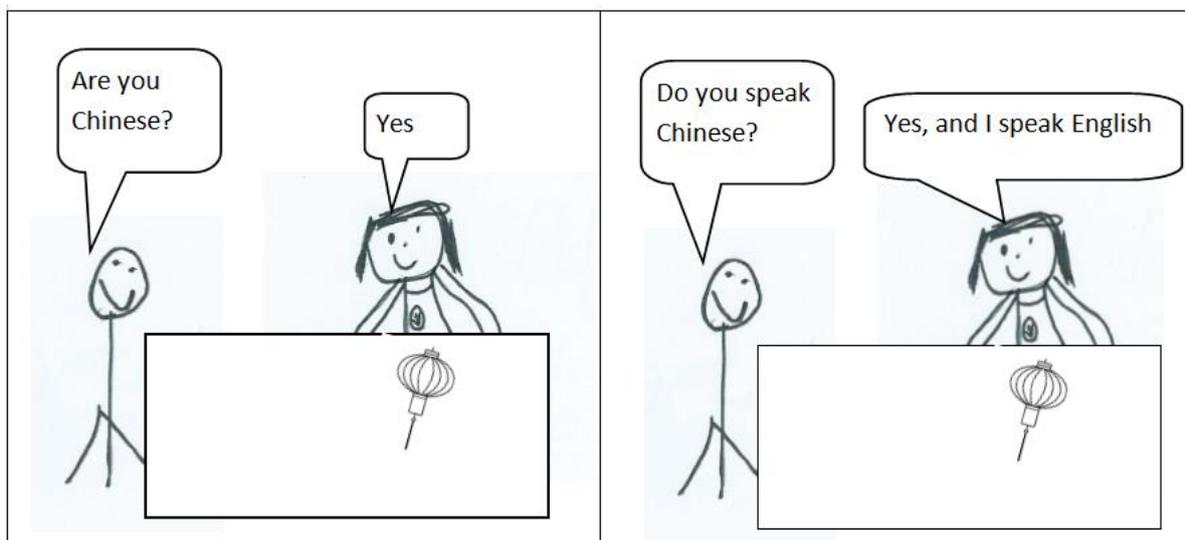

Figure 4.36: Are you Chinese?

While Ivy does not deny that she speaks 'Chinese', it is interesting to note she felt the need to reinforce the message that she speaks English - which would have been evident to anyone who knew her, including Naan who would have known this through being in the same class. It was as if Ivy did not want to be defined as purely a Chinese speaker and she

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self-identified as an English speaker as well in order to ensure that aspect of her linguistic repertoire was also noted.

In a similar way, Jason did not reveal that he spoke any language other than English for the first two terms of the data collection phase. During the language portrait activity, Jason coloured in his 'home' portrait with English and French, and with English exclusively at school (Fig. 4.37):

Home languages	School languages
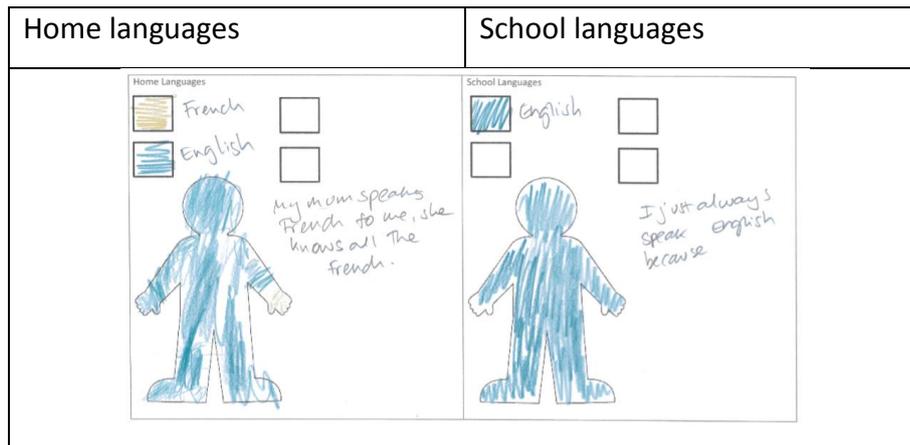
Figure 4.37: Jason's language portrait: 'Home: mixed- School: English

When asked to comment on his use of French at home, Jason responded 'my mum speaks French to me, she knows all the French'. Jason omitted to tell me that he also spoke French, or any other language. Jason's mother was from the Democratic Republic of the Congo, and his father from Rwanda, and in both countries French and Swahili are widely spoken.

Just before Christmas in Y1, I met with Jason and his mother to debrief them on the research achievements to date and to keep them informed about the observations I was recording. Jason's mother was surprised that Jason had not told me he also speaks some Swahili and French. Jason was hiding behind his mother at this point and when I asked him if this was the case, he shyly nodded that it was. With some encouragement from his mother, Jason began to say phrases in both languages that he had learned from his parents. This was surprising as Jason had hidden his 'other languages' for eight months. As I reacted positively to this new discovery, Jason became emboldened and he continued to say more things to me in French and Swahili. From that point on, it was as if the floodgates had opened. Jason frequently sought opportunities to find me and speak to me in his home languages. Similar to the above discussion around language variations in Pakistan, Jason did not appear to

have clear mental distinctions between 'French' and 'Swahili' as separate languages. Instead, he blended the two languages, which is congruent with the linguistic make up of both Rwanda and the Democratic Republic of the Congo. However, he clearly drew a definite line between English and his other languages.

Both Ivy and Jason demonstrate agency in choosing when to "claim, downplay or simply ignore ethnic affiliations" according to the situation (Huber & Spyrou 2012, p.299). Ivy was clear about speaking Chinese at home, but wanted it to be known that she spoke English as well. In contrast, Jason 'concealed' his home languages and claimed he only spoke English. When I reacted positively to discovering he spoke languages other than English there was such a significant change in Jason in that he actively sought opportunities to perform his multilingual repertoire. It may be the case that, during the first eight months of the study, Jason had not realised that he spoke languages other than English as no one else in the class shared his languages. However, this explanation is unlikely for several reasons. First, he indicated in his language portrait that he was aware that French was spoken in his home, and he commented that his mother spoke 'all the French'. In addition, there was such a palpable change in his demeanour once he had been given the metaphorical 'green light' and he seemed genuinely proud and excited to share his home languages with me. It seems more plausible that Jason understood the questions he had been asked about his home language practices and chose to conceal them.

Thus far, it has been established that linguistic practices often differ between children's home and the school. A further dimension that adds to the importance of context in influencing language choices is the immediate context of an interaction within the school. For example, the children in the study were not observed to speak home languages at all when gathered together on the carpet for group activities. Occasionally, home languages were observed to have been spoken when the participants were working at their tables. Most frequently, however, home languages were observed to be spoken in the spaces that provided the children the autonomy to move around and to initiate conversations with each other (further data supporting the impact of spaces on children's interactions can be seen in Section 4.4.2).

In the following example, Ali and Issa make use of the reading corner in the F2 classroom to talk covertly to each other in Arabic. They are lying on the floor and conversing in low tones,

when Jason enters the vicinity. Immediately, Ali and Isa switch from speaking in Arabic to English (Fig. 4.38):
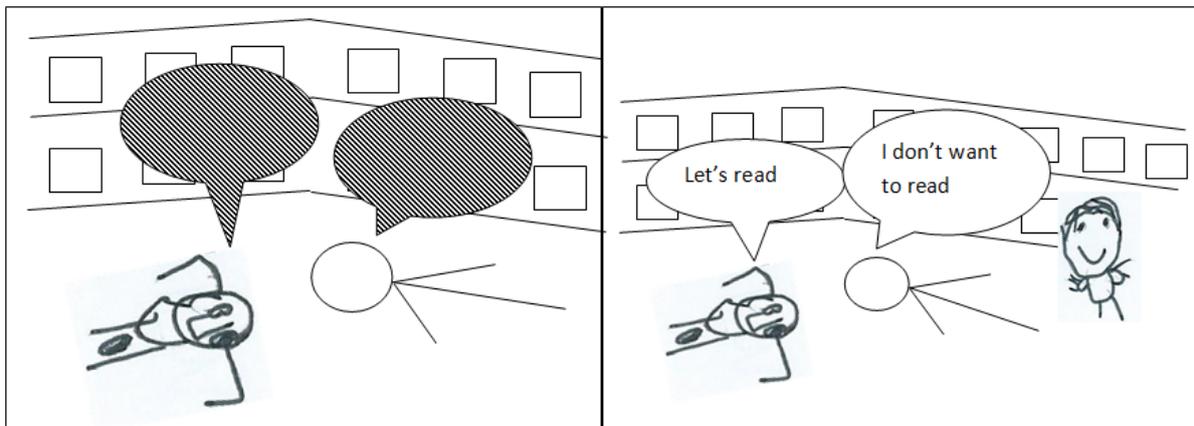
Figure 4.38: Hiding in the reading corner

Though there was never an explicit 'English Only' rule expressed or implemented in the F2 classroom, Ali and Issa's reaction to Jason's presence gives the impression that they were sensitive to the approach of other children and, consequently, they began to speak English instead of Arabic. Furthermore, during the language portraits, Ali said he only spoke English at school and Issa said that, although he did speak Arabic at school, it was only with two other children (Aladdin and Afaq), and only in the playground at lunch time (See Figs. 4.39 and 4.40).

Home languages	School languages	Home languages	School languages
Figure 4.39: Ali's language portrait: 'Home: Other- School: English		*Figure 4.40: Issa's language portrait: 'Home: Mixed- School: English*	
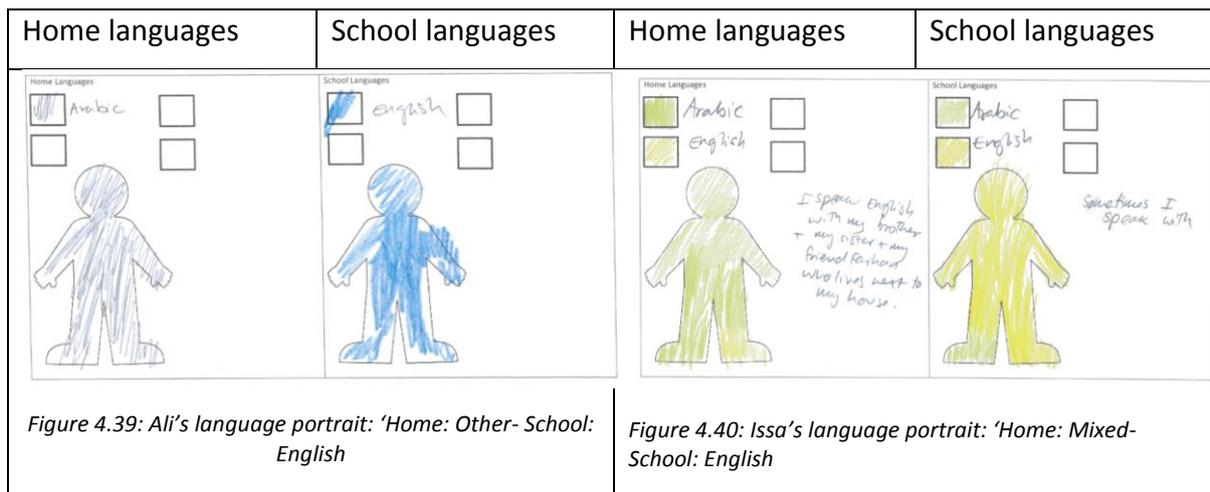
This vignette demonstrates that in reality, Ali and Issa both spoke Arabic in the classroom and it also implies that they sought the least visible space in the classroom and even lay

down in order to hold their 'clandestine' conversation (Pike, 2010). Their attempts to avoid detection were thwarted by Jason who entered the space and unwittingly exposed Ali and Issa's illicit interaction. The events in this vignette signify that the children intentionally found a space in which they could claim their identity and speak their home language, exerting agency in a setting where they are largely compelled to conform to particular cultural and linguistic discourses (Robinson & Diaz, 2006). In doing so, Ali and Issa are negotiating identities "to resist linguistic impositions and to subvert dominant discourses" (Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004, p.3)

The vignettes presented in this section demonstrate the children in the study had clearly developed an awareness of the hierarchy of language practices in the multilingual context of the classroom. In the first vignette, Ivy responds to the question about her speaking Chinese by emphasising that she also speaks English. In doing so, Ivy is unwittingly subscribing to the discourse that the dominant language, English, is superior (Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004). It appears as though she does not want attention to be drawn to the multilingual aspect of her identity, highlighting the tension between the nation state's monolingual ideology and the reality of linguistic heterogeneity (Grillo, 1998).

In the second vignette, Jason can be seen concealing his home language and thereby claiming a particular, English-speaking, identity (Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004). When the 'hidden' resources in his linguistic repertoire are brought to light, it is as though Jason perceives them to be legitimised by my interest in them. This turning point enabled Jason to engage in communicative practices that integrated various dimensions of his lived experience outside of the school gates (Li Wei, 2011). While he had previously compartmentalised languages along socially and politically defined boundaries of 'English' and 'other', he was now able to translanguage fluidly, making use of his full linguistic repertoire (Otheguy, Garcia & Reid, 2015).

In the third vignette, the children again demonstrate awareness of the dominant discourse that they ought to speak English in the classroom, but they choose to resist this symbolic domination through their use of 'illegitimate' language practices in the classroom (Woolard, 1985). Similar to the findings of Heller (1995), the children in the third vignette understand what is perceived to be 'normal' in the classroom (i.e. speaking English), then they collude with each other to subvert this dominant discourse by speaking in Arabic. Using the physical

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surroundings to mask their act of resistance indicates the children's comprehension of the illicit nature of their activity.

All three vignettes presented in this section highlight the disjuncture between a supposedly homogenous, monolingual, norm and the pluralistic reality of super-diverse communities that children must navigate from a young age. Schools have a tendency to privilege homogeneity over distinct identities, as evidenced by the universal goal-oriented format of the EYFS and National Curriculum. In terms of languages, English is the dominant language spoken in educational institutions in England and, as discussed in Section 2.4.4 and 2.4.5, this is evidenced by the historical and current policy responses to children with EAL. The vignettes presented in this section highlight how language is not neutral, rather, individuals choose language practices to conform to, or to resist, the nation state's monolingual ideology (Grillo, 1998; Blackledge, 2004).

4.3.5 Truncated multilingual repertoires

The term 'truncated multilingual repertoires' is taken from Blommaert (2010) who emphasises the need to understand the complexity of mobile communicative resources. In a super-diverse environment, people from multiple linguistic, social and cultural backgrounds interact with one another, learning fragments of each other's languages, leading to 'truncated' multilingualism. Thus, it is more useful to conceptualise a person's repertoire "as a complex of specific semiotic resources, some of which belong to a conventionally defined 'language', while others belong to another 'language'" (Blommaert, 2010, p.102). Truncated multilingual repertoires echo the notion of translanguaging as they emphasise how communication supersedes the socially constructed boundaries between discrete languages (Otheguy, Garcia & Reid, 2015). In a similar way to translanguaging, truncated multilingual repertoires reflect the mobility and transcultural flows present in a globalised world (Jonsson, 2017), as resources from a variety of origins are integrated as a result of people's different experiences (Li Wei, 2011). This section presents examples of children learning communicative resources from each other and shows how their repertoires are made up of fragments of communicative resources, reflecting the mosaic-like qualities of the class's community of practice. Viewed through the lens of translanguaging, these resources are integrated in a way that is more than just a sum of its parts, but "one new whole" (Garcia & Li Wei, 2014, p.21).

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As explained, in Section 1.2 and 4.3.2, 'wallah' is an Arabic word mean 'tell the truth' used broadly by Muslims across the world, so it is unsurprising that the word was commonly used by the participants in this study as two thirds of them are Muslim. The vignette described in my personal rationale for the study (Section 1.2) described a moment when a Roma Slovak boy used the word 'wallah', thereby sparking my curiosity. It was somewhat serendipitous, therefore, that a similar event took place during the data collection. In the autumn term of Y1, the group of children who were 'new to English' were sitting in the reading corner with a book. Igor and Rocky were sitting with the Roma translator, MT, reading a book about penguins (Fig. 4.41):

Figure 4.41: Rocky no wallah

Igor was observed to use the word 'wallah' on one other occasion. In the spring term of Y1, a teaching assistant who knew about my research informed me she was on playground duty during morning break. A child from a different class had accused Igor of pushing him, and while Igor was professing his innocence, he claimed the other child was lying and said 'he no wallah'.

Igor is a Roma Slovak boy from a Christian background and therefore, like the boy in Section 1.2 and Tomng from Figure 33, Igor would have no reason to understand or use the word 'wallah' and yet here it is being used appropriately in context, a reality which demonstrates that Igor clearly understands the meaning of the term. As previously stated, the majority of the participants are Muslim and they used the word 'wallah' frequently. It is therefore highly likely that the children in the study who might not have the word 'wallah' as part of their repertoires of home languages picked the word up from their peers at school. This vignette presents a clear example of translanguaging as it highlights the fluidity and

flexibility of language practices in multilingual environments (Jonsson, 2017). Igor uses multilingual resources to convey his meaning without regard for the socially constructed boundaries between languages (Makoni & Pennycook, 2006; Otheguy, Garcia & Reid, 2015).

There were two other observed examples of children picking up words that traditionally belonged to different languages from their own. The first was presented in S4.2.1 when Ali copied the word 'dudu' from Naan during their role-play of a giving a bottle of milk to a baby. While this is an example of a child using a word from another language, Ali was not observed using the word again. Therefore, it cannot be established that Ali appropriated the word 'dudu' into his repertoire as he may have just been copying his friend in the moment.

The second example took place in the summer term of F2 when the children were choosing in the indoor spaces. In the following vignette, Ali, Naan and Ebo are playing pirates in the role-play area (Fig. 4.42):
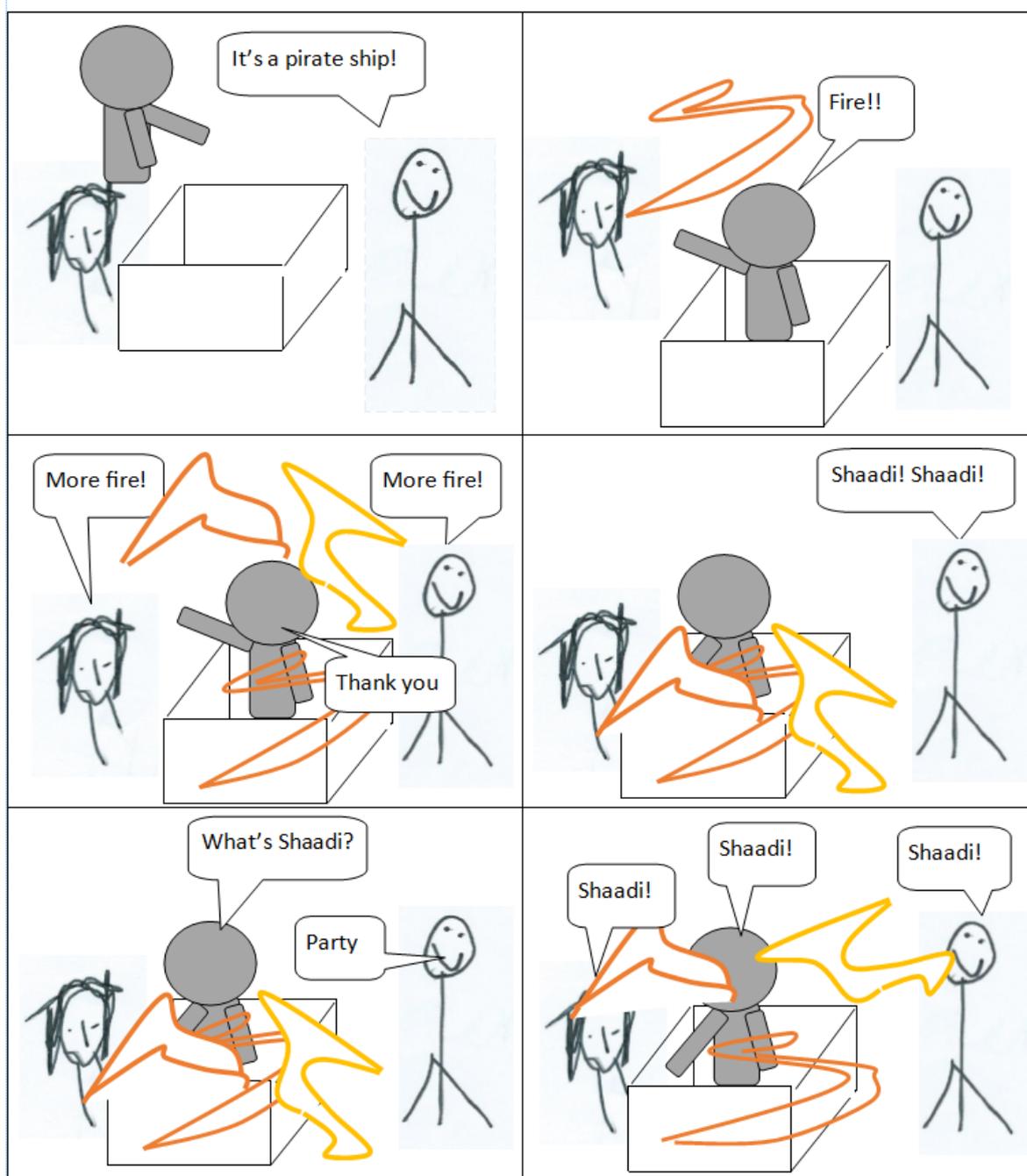
Figure 4.42: Shaadi

In this vignette, the children's play begins with them cooperating with each other to build a pirate ship out of a cardboard box. The shared play theme is evident as they collaborate on creating a narrative, building on each other's ideas and responding appropriately to imaginary events. Ali, the pirate, is sailing in the pirate ship when Ebo throws a piece of orange material at the boat. Ali shouts 'fire' and begins to swiftly sail away. Naan and Ebo are pouring more and more material on the boat and shouting 'more fire!' when Ebo stops and pretends to put the fire out he throws the material up in the air. Ali says 'thank you'

while Naan continues to throw the strips of coloured material up into the air, shouting 'Shaadi! Shaadi!' Ali stops sailing the boat, as he wants to join in throwing the material instead and asks Naan 'what's shaadi?' Naan responds 'party' and then all three children continue to chant 'shaadi'.

In this example, the children are demonstrating the creation of a third space that blends snippets of concepts - pirates, fire and weddings - into a hybrid space (Bhabha, 1994; Soja, 2009). The third space bridges the out-of-school funds of knowledge of each child and transforms the materials and the surroundings into the new space that is more than a sum of its parts (Cole, 1998; Gutiérrez et al., 1999; Moje et al., 2004; Waterhouse et al., 2009). The children's play integrates different interests as it moves quickly from a box that morphs into a pirate ship, the subsequent addition of fire and finally the transformation into a party. The goals of their play shift continuously, but the children pay close attention to these changes and alter their own activities accordingly. They do not halt the momentum in order to discuss what will happen next, rather they simply respond organically to the ebb and flow of the play. This embodies Rogoff et al.'s (2003) notion of 'participation' as the children learn from each other by observing and listening while collaborating in a mutual endeavour. The children's roles are flexible and each personifies a 'leader' at different points throughout the play sequence.

In this vignette, we see Naan translanguaging between Urdu and English - something it has been established in the findings he does frequently (see vignettes 4.5, 4.33 and 4.35). He uses the word 'shaadi', which is Urdu for wedding, yet he translates it as 'party'. Ali, who was born in Iraq and came to Sheffield after living in Poland for a period of time, speaks Arabic and was learning English at the time of the observation. Ebo is English and, though his father was Pakistani, they were no longer in contact so Ebo only spoke English with his mother. Neither Ali nor Ebo spoke Urdu or any similar dialect therefore the word 'shaadi' was new to them both. The following week, Ali and Ebo were in the outside area and they were playing with streamers. When the streamers were thrown into the air, they moved in a similar way to the strips of material they had been playing with in the role-play area. Ali began to shout 'Shaadi! Shaadi!' and Ebo copied. The use of 'shaadi' is interesting because it illuminates several important facets of translanguaging. Firstly, the children employed heteroglossic resources to communicate their meaning which indicates that they are

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steering away from the magnetic pull towards homogeneity that exists in institutions in England (Blackledge, 2008). However, this example also highlights how the transformative nature of translanguaging and the third space go hand-in-hand. The children are blending play concepts to create new meanings in the third space. In a similar way, the children blend snippets of different languages to create new meanings through translanguaging. Furthermore, it is possible to see how the word 'shaadi' is imbued with cultural knowledge from a different societal context (García & Li Wei, 2014) and yet, simultaneously, its meaning is transformed to suit this particular context through the use of the word. This gives weight to translanguaging's view of language as a verb and/or a practice, rather than a static entity (García & Li Wei, 2014).

This vignette demonstrates how words pass on from one child to another through play. This was not a direct lesson in Urdu, but an informal interaction between friends while they were focussed on a mutual endeavour. This confirms Rogoff's notion of 'guided participation' (2003) in that the children learned the word 'shaadi' through an informal interaction where they engaged in an activity alongside Naan, rather than Naan formally teaching Ali and Ebo the word 'shaadi'.

This example clearly demonstrates what Blommaert (2010) referred to as 'truncated multilingual repertoires' as Ali and Ebo applied a word they had learned a week before from Naan to a similar event that occurred on a separate occasion. Naan was not present when Ali and Ebo used the word 'shaadi' in the outdoor area, rather the use of the word was instigated by Ali. Furthermore, the word 'shaadi' actually means wedding so Naan took the word and gave it the new related, but different, meaning of 'party'. Then Ali and Ebo took the word 'shaadi' which they had been told meant 'party' and applied another similar, but different, meaning to it - they associated it with the action of throwing material in the air. This example therefore not only demonstrates 'truncated multilingual repertoires', but also a transformation of communicative resources, as will be discussed in the next section (4.3.6).

4.3.6 Transforming communicative resources

This study adopts the view that communicative resources are not static, external semiotic symbols, but they are dynamic in that they are continually applied in new contexts with different intentions (Bakhtin, 1975; Rogoff et al., 1993; Rogoff 1995). Therefore, the

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examples of communication that have been presented to date all contain an element of transformation. However, this section emphasises how such communicative resources can be given *new* meanings as they are applied in *new* ways.

A central tenet of sociocultural theory is the concept of 'mediation' in which, Vygotsky (1978) posits, humans mediate their response to a stimulus through symbolic means, such as tools and signs. These tools and signs, for example language, are culturally constructed and have historical origins, situated in social context (Scribner, 1990). The examples presented in this section show how cultural tools (gestures and words) are given new meanings, thus emphasising the children's agency in their communication as they transformed existing symbols to capture new ideas in original ways (Bakhtin, 1975; Stetsenko & Arievitch, 2004).

One example of a communicative resource being transformed was presented in section 4.3.5 when the word 'shaadi' is given new meanings. To recall, Naan shouts the word 'shaadi' as he throws material up in the air and when asked what it means, Naan responds 'party'. In his response, Naan is already transforming the meaning of the word from 'wedding' to 'party' as he relates the concept to *his* understanding of the term. Subsequently, Ebo and Ali are observed to use the word 'shaadi' in the outside area when the children throw coloured streamers up into the air. The children have transformed the word 'shaadi' from its standard definition, wedding, to refer to the movement of coloured material through the air. In addition, the concept of translanguaging captures the transformative nature of communication as we see in this vignette, where different dimensions of peoples' histories and experiences are integrated to form one new whole (Li Wei, 2011; Garcia & Li Wei, 2014).

Furthermore, parallels can be drawn between Rogoff's (2003) theorisation of how community traditions and practices are not simply internalised by younger members, but rather: "children also extend and modify traditions through their participation" (Rogoff, 2003, p.295). Naan draws on funds of knowledge (Moll et al., 1992) from his experiences in the Pakistani community when relating coloured materials to the concept of a wedding. Then, Naan shows he is an active meaning maker as he emphasises the 'party' aspect of a wedding as, in his understanding, a 'shaadi' equates to a party that is characterised by

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colourful material. Naan therefore demonstrates he is extending and modifying the traditional concept of a wedding by highlighting particular aspects that he relates to most.

Another example of a communicative resource the children appropriated and transformed is the 'Spiderman-shooting-a-web' gesture (Fig. 4.43).
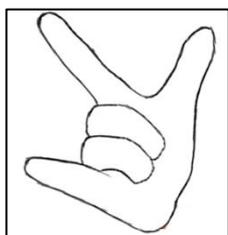
Figure 4.43: Spiderman-shooting-a-web gesture

The children perfected this movement and used it regularly in many different situations. At playtime, the children could be seen charging from one end of the playground to the other, performing the Spiderman gesture as if they were shooting webs to the surrounding buildings to help them travel. The children also used the Spiderman gesture as a greeting for one another as they passed each other in the classroom or in other spaces, such as the dinner hall. The gesture also became a symbol for 'spider', so when the children were learning about 'minibeasts' in F2, they would use the Spiderman gesture whenever the word or a picture of a spider appeared. While on the carpet, the children were supposed to be sitting quietly and paying attention to the teacher, however the Spiderman gesture gave the children the means to communicate subtly with each other without detection.

The interesting thing about this gesture is that its origins can be traced to Darth Vader, a Roma Slovak boy and Minion, a girl from Libya. Both Darth Vader and Minion struggled to communicate in spoken English (the former was learning English as his third language, whilst the latter had a speech language impairment). At the beginning of the data collection, Darth Vadar and Minion were observed using the gesture to each other as they went to the teaching assistant, NK's, room. Soon after, Darth Vader and Minion were sitting on the carpet with Trini, a boy from a Somali background. Darth Vader and Minion were pretending to shoot webs at each other and Trini asked them what they were doing, to which they responded 'Spiderman'. Jason, who was wearing Spiderman socks, showed his socks to Trini who then understood what the gesture was. Darth Vader and Minion showed Trini how to

do the gesture. From then on, Trini could be seen doing to Spiderman gesture to friends in different contexts.

Over the summer term of F2 the gesture spread throughout the class until it became commonplace amongst the children, and the gesture also followed the class as they transitioned in Y1. What is more, as new children joined the class they were initiated into the peer culture by being taught the Spiderman gesture. Rocky, a boy who joined the class from Ethiopia seemed to particularly enjoy shooting webs at people. Rocky spoke no English when he arrived and his home language, Oromo, was only spoken by one other person in the school and she was in Y4. As Rocky did not share a language with his peers, he was somewhat isolated from them to begin with. He was also not used to a formal school setting, as evidenced by observations of him learning the rules regarding how to behave on the carpet (Section 4.4.2.5), and he also found it difficult to navigate the new routines and expectations. Having said that, Rocky understood the Spiderman gesture from the start and he would shoot webs at people in his group (which included Minion, Darth Vader and Trini) as they sat at their table in the Y1 classroom.

In summary, the Spiderman-shooting-a-web gesture became a stable form of interaction amongst the participants, and contributed to their unique peer culture (Corsaro, 1988; Corsaro & Eder, 1990). The children who most frequently performed the gesture were those who found it difficult to communicate in English: Rocky (EAL), Darth Vader (EAL), Igor (EAL), Trini (Speech language delay), Ebo (Speech language delay), and Minion (Speech language impairment). It appeared as though they enjoyed being able to communicate with each other using a gesture that was mutually understood without the need for verbal communication, thus underscoring the significance of multimodal forms of communication (Kress & Street, 2006).

A further example of a communicative resource that transformed was the thumbs up/down/middle symbol. The following vignette occurred in F2. Kaylo Ren was sitting on the carpet waiting for the teacher to begin the lesson while Arman Ali and Caterpillar were making their way to the carpet when the following event occurred (Fig. 4.44):

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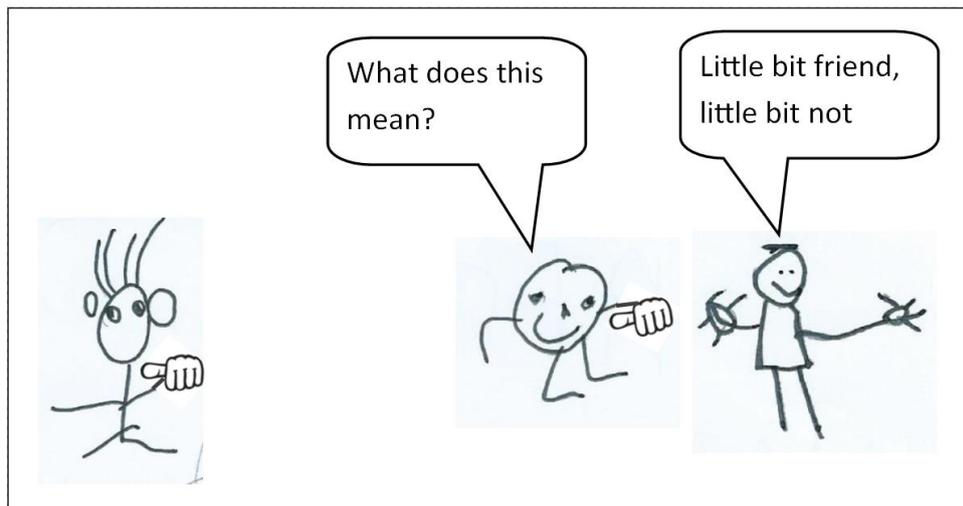
Figure 4.44: Little bit friend, little bit not

By doing the 'thumb-in-the-middle' gesture, Kaylo Ren communicated to Arman Ali that he was a little bit cross with him. Arman Ali was not familiar with the symbol and asked Caterpillar to explain it to him. Once he realised that Kaylo Ren was upset with him, Arman Ali sat next to Kaylo Ren and talked to him to find out why Kaylo Ren had made this gesture. This led to a reconciliation between the two friends, culminating in a 'thumbs up' from each of them.

The 'thumbs up' gesture is a common British symbol meaning when something is good - though the gesture has many different meanings historically and currently across the globe (Kendon, 1997). The children in the study extended the definition of the symbol to mean 'you are good' i.e. 'you are my friend'. In a similar way, the children used the 'thumbs down' gesture to express that someone was not their friend. Children's friendships are an important part of their lives, and children spend a significant amount of time exploring the boundaries of friendships (Roffey et al. 1994). Thus, it is common among four and five year olds for them to continually establish and re-establish who is their friend (and who is not). The children in the study frequently used the 'you are my friend' (thumbs up) and 'you are not my friend' (thumbs down) signs to indicate this, and here a new sign is created - the 'little bit friend, little bit not' sign.

4.3.7 Communicative resources: conclusion

The findings presented in this section demonstrate the complexities surrounding language use and varieties in a super-diverse setting. The participants spoke fourteen languages other

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than English between them outside school, however in school English was the dominant language spoken by all. The findings evidence how children navigate the different discourses that converge at the interface between their in- and out-of-school worlds.

The data shows the children use elements of truncated language and combine these to form "multi-lingual repertoires" (Blommaert, 2010, p.9) that reflect their mosaic-like learning environment, with many fragments of literacies and communications combining in unstructured ways as a result of the informal process of additional language acquisition (Blommaert, 2010). These repertoires are consistent with Garcia and Li Wei's understanding of translanguaging where people with complex histories are released from the fixed language identities of nation states. The resultant communication is transformative as it is more than just a sum of its parts, it is "one *new whole*" (Garcia & Li Wei, 2014, p.21, emphasis in original).

The findings presented in this section attest to Rogoff's theory of cognitive development on the individual level which she describes as 'participatory appropriation' whereby the children do not simply passively acquire static pieces of knowledge. Instead, these vignettes demonstrate how the children are actively involved in the process of situated learning as they change and apply concepts or communicative resources from one context to subsequent similar activities. Furthermore, these examples demonstrate the notion that cognition is distributed *over,* and not [divided] among, members of a community (Lave, 1988; Rogoff, 2003). Importantly, therefore, it is argued that in order for these communicative resources to evolve and to have new meanings that gain a foothold amongst the members of the community of practice (the class), moments of interaction are needed in which these new meanings are mutually developed and understood.

4.4 Contexts of communication

The literature review (Section 2.2.1.2) established the importance of contexts in shaping human experience. It will be recalled that the field of sociolinguistics focuses on language socialisation, investigating the relationship between communication and the contexts within which different varieties develop. This section addresses the immediate contexts of interactions, examining what Duranti and Goodwin (1992) referred to as the "field of action" (p.3). This section will foreground the cultural-institutional focus of analysis by

looking at the specific nature of the activity, and also the institutional structure within which the activity occurred.

The section is divided into two main subsections:

1) Transitioning from F2 to Y1
2) Different spaces

The first subsection examines how the context changed over time as the participants progressed from F2 through the transition week and into Y1. The second subsection explores the different spaces which the children occupied and how these 'immediate' spaces impacted the communication that occurred within them.

4.4.1 Transitioning from F2 to Y1

The findings in this section are presented chronologically as they reflect the children's journey from F2, through transition week and into Y1. Importantly, there was a clear distinction between the behaviours and interactions observed in Foundation Stage 2 (F2) and those conducted in Year One (Y1) which can be attributed to a shift from primarily play-based activities in F2 to formal learning in Y1. Observations conducted in F2 predominantly captured seemingly chaotic, spontaneous interactions and tended to comprise of child-initiated activities. To the observer, these interactions were so energetic that they appeared wild, however, closer inspection demonstrated that they contained elements of structure from the children's perspective as they explored and tested working theories. In contrast, the interactions in Y1 were more ordered and mainly teacher-directed, focusing on the learning objective of the lesson. It was clear from the data analysis that contributing factors that led to the contrast in styles of interactions between F2 and Y1 were: the way the day was structured, the types of activities the children engaged in, and the layout of the spaces in which these activities took place. These cultural institutional factors had a significant impact on the interactions that occurred within the setting, as will now be explained.

4.4.1.1 F2

In F2, the day was divided into three long sessions. On some days, one of the sessions might have been shorter due to other events, such as on Monday morning there was a whole-school assembly after the register. Nevertheless, the structure of the day was designed to

create and encourage sessions that ran continuously for a longer period of time, as
demonstrated by the following timetable (Fig. 4.45):

8.45	Register
9.00	Session 1
10.30	Break time
10.45	Session 2
11.40	Lunch time
12.45	Session 3
3.15	End of day

Figure 4.45: The timetable for a typical day in F2

Each session began with a short (maximum twenty-minute) 'input' from the teacher
introducing the topic. The children then broke into the groups allocated by the teacher, e.g.
triangles, stars. The session would then progress following an organised structure that
indicated where the children should be, as depicted in Figure 4.46 (An example of a session
overview in F2, below). Once the children had completed their set tasks, they were allowed
to flow around the classroom and choose different activities, hence the term 'choosing
time'. During choosing time, the children could choose to be inside or outdoors, they could
choose the activity they wanted to do, and they could choose who they were with. Choosing
time would typically continue for around forty-five minutes in the morning and around
ninety minutes in the afternoon, whereupon the children would be asked to tidy up and
then line up ready for break, lunch or home time.

Figure 4.46: An example of a session overview in F2 (N.B. the two blanked-out squares contained the teacher and teaching assistant's photos and names, so they have been covered up to protect their identities).

Choosing time was facilitated by the layout of the classroom, which was designed to contain multiple areas and provide a range of activities for the children to engage with, as depicted by Figure 4.47 (Map of F2 classroom, below). A detailed analysis of the events that took place in the indoor choosing area is held in Section 4.4.2.3 (Indoor Choosing Areas), but include Figure 4.66 (Repurposing Construction Blocks) and Figure 4.67 (Y1 Construction Area).

Door to entrance hall

Door to outside area

Reading corner

Role play area

Maths area

The whiteboard

The 'carpet'

Small world

Investigation station

Work with teacher

Construction area

Malleable area

Writing area

Painting area

Sand area

Door to toilets

Door to outside area

Tables and chairs

Sitting on carpet
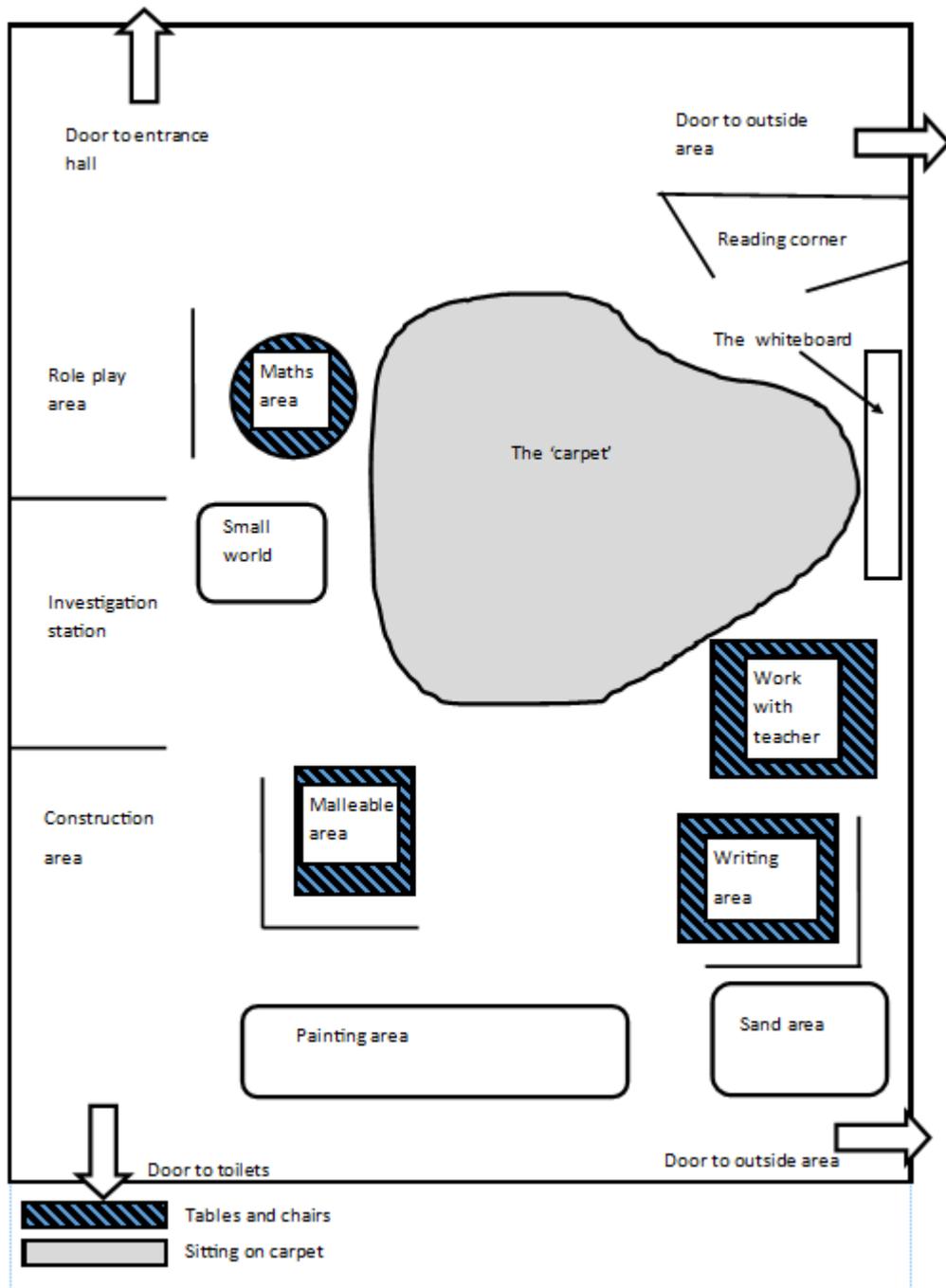
Figure 4.47: Map of F2 classroom

In addition to the multiple spaces for choosing time inside the classroom, there was a large outdoor space adjoining the F2 classroom (Fig. 4.48, Map of the outside area, below). Examples of activities that occurred in the outdoor spaces are provided in some detail in Section 4.4.2.2, Outside Area, but include Figure 4.63 Birthday Cake, Figure 4.64, Angry Birds and Figure 4.65 Building a Car.
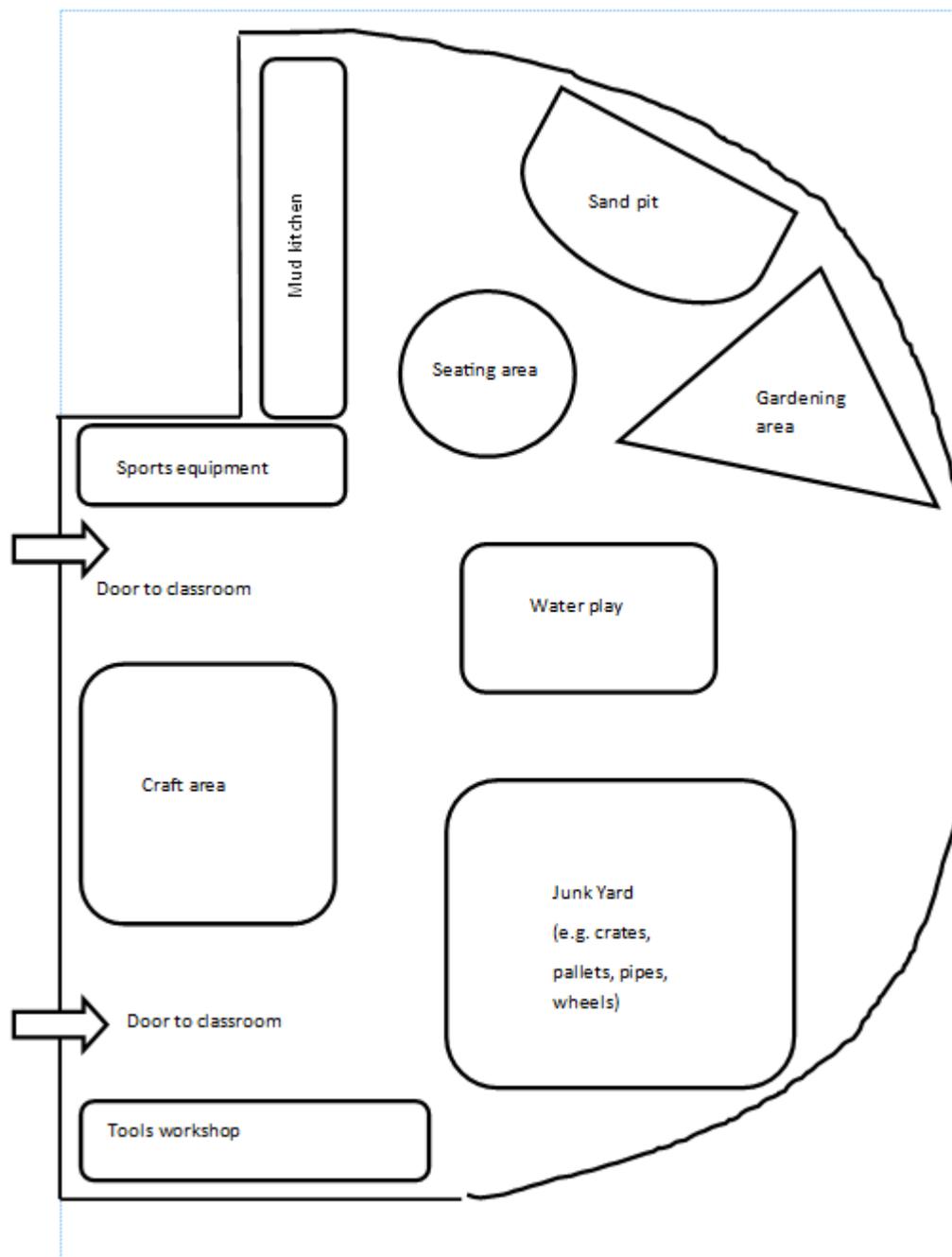
Figure 4.48: Map of F2 outside area

Choosing time in F2 created a 'free flow' environment where children could engage in their preferred activities and select who they wanted to share their tasks with. During choosing time, there were multiple layers of conversations occurring simultaneously in the same or neighbouring spaces. The children's conversations connected to, overlapped and sparked further communications between different children in what often felt like a frenzy of energy

that snowballed, gaining momentum and leading to new and unexpected interactions. The following example occurred during the second term of F2(Fig. 4.49):
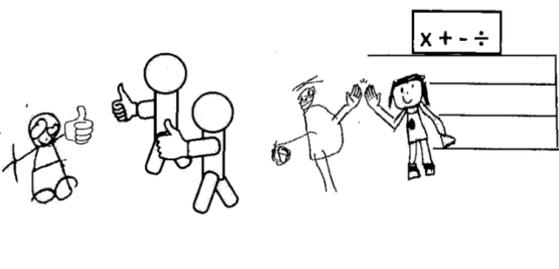
Darth Vader and Minion enter the classroom singing and clapping because NK gave them stickers	Tomng and Ali give Darth Vader thumbs up, Ivy gives Minion a high five
Ivy the goes to play 'princesses' with Lily and Ellie in the role-play area	Caterpillar takes a chain from the maths shelf and pretends to play with an imaginary dog
Caterpillar then makes crowns for the princesses, Lilly, Ellie and Ivy, out of the chain from the maths area	Ali, Trini and Darth Vader are playing 'The Three Little Pigs' in the investigation station
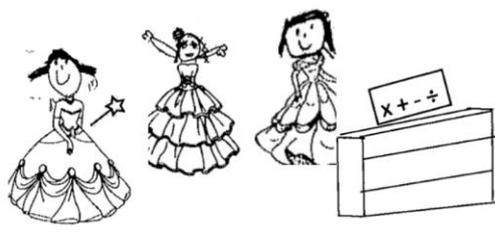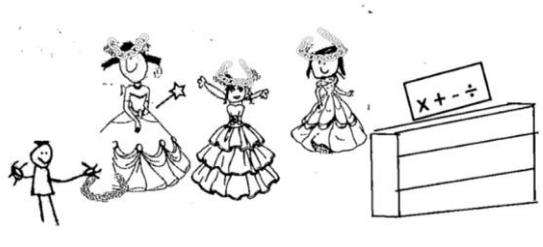
| Ali takes the chain and tries to tie Caterpillar's hands up behind him because he is the 'big bad wolf' | The princesses run away, scared of the big bad wolf. Trini and Darth Vader tease the captured wolf |
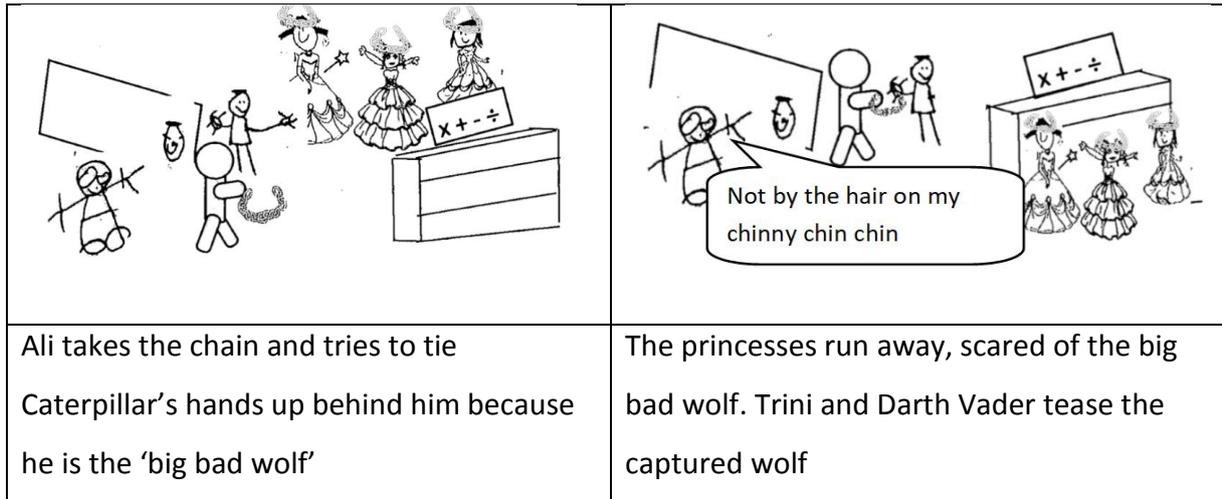
Figure 4.49: Repurposing the maths chains

In this example, the extended period of time and the flexible use of the space contribute to the children's engagement with each other and the materials around them. Broadhead (2004) conjectures that play needs sufficient time and space to build momentum and reach the 'cooperative domain' which supports the development of language and social behaviours in young children. In the cooperative domain, children engage in problem solving and goal achievement often through the offering and acceptance of gifts. In the example above, Caterpillar first uses the chain from the maths area as an imaginary dog lead, then he transforms the chain into crowns for the princesses. Another feature of the cooperative domain is the use of resources to extend play. In the example (Fig. 4.48), the chain is used to support the princesses' play theme, before taking on a new meaning as 'hand cuffs' for the big bad wolf. Finally, consistent with the cooperative domain, the role-play has clear dramatic qualities. As new scenarios emerge, such as the appearance of the 'big bad wolf', the children stay in character and respond to the imaginary plot as if it were real as they remain focused and highly absorbed in the play theme.

Once again, the ability to move freely and the absence of a fixed goal prescribed by an adult enables the children to create a third space. They transform their environment and re-appropriate resources in line with the evolving objectives of the child-directed activity (Cole, 1998; Gutiérrez et al., 1999; Wilson, 2000). The third space bridges the different children's funds of knowledge and forms a meeting place where ideas are fused together, culminating in a hybrid space that is beyond the intended purposes of the surroundings and objects they engage with (Bhabha, 1994; Moje et al., 2004; Soja, 2009).

Further examples of interactions that occurred in F2 can be found throughout this chapter, as summarised by the following table (Table 4.6):

4.2.1 Home and family	Figure 4.3: Burtun
	Figure 4.4 : Burtun continued
	Figure 4.5 : Dudu
4.2.2.1 Identifying Muslim people	Figure 4.7: Are you Muslim?
4.2.2.2 Sharing understanding of religious practices	Figure 4.8: Don't kill spiders
	Figure 4.9: Allah means when you are praying
4.2.3 Different countries	Figures 4.13 and 4.14 Caterpillar went to Pakistan
	Figure 4.15: Suraya
	Figure 4.16: Somalia
4.2.4 Popular culture	Figure 4.17: Frankenstein and princesses
	Figure 4.20: Debating wrestlers
4.3.2 Learning English	Figure 4.28: Be quiet or I'll shoot
	Figures 4.30 and 4.31: Darth Vader in the playground and in the classroom
4.3.3 Languages other than English	Figure 4.33: Making snails
	Figure 4.34: I found treasure
4.3.4 'Concealing' home languages	Figure 4.36: Are you Chinese?
	Figure 4.38: Hiding in the reading corner
4.3.5 Truncated multilingual repertoires	Figure 4.42: Shaadi
4.3.6 Transforming communicative resources	Figure 4.43: Spiderman-shooting-a-web
	Figure 4.44: Little bit friend, little bit not
4.4.2.1 The playground	Figure 4.61: Princesses in the playground
	Figure 4.62: Superman in the playground
4.4.2.2 Outside area	Figure 4.63: Birthday Cake
	Figure 4.64: Angry birds
	Figure 4.65: Building a car

4.4.2.3 Indoor choosing areas	Figure 4.66: Repurposing construction blocks
4.4.2.4 At the tables	Figure 4.68: One and a one
4.4.2.5 On the carpet	Figure 4.72: The fantastic four rules Figure 4.74: Darth Vader on the carpet
4.4.2.6 Liminal spaces	Figure 4.78: Lining up

Table 4.6: Vignettes taken from F2

In F2, the pedagogical approach was largely child-centred, meaning that, for most of the day, adult intervention was limited and the children engage in 'free' play that was child-initiated, freely chosen and enabled children to control their activities (Wood, 2014). The relatively 'adult-free' time, places and spaces in F2 enabled children to draw on funds of knowledge, derived from their social and cultural experiences. Play, fuelled by the participants' interests, was characterised by spontaneous, self-motivated discussion and inquiry (Hedges, 2010). The observations conducted in F2 revealed that the children spent most of their time investigating their funds of knowledge, testing out different identities and exploring their peers' interests with curiosity. In this way, the children's activities in F2 often appeared wild and chaotic, however, from the children's perspective they contained elements of structure.

4.4.1.2 Transition week

In the week before the summer holidays all children in the F2 spent a 'transition' week in Y1. Transition week constituted an 'induction' where children could experience the processes and conditions of being in Y1 before the six-week break and thus, upon returning to school in September, there would be less of a shock when they formally entered Y1 in September (Fabian, 2007). During transition week, there was considerable discussion around the rules and expectations of Year One, where the teacher emphasised being 'grown up' and 'big Year One children', in line with the common perception that they are now entering 'big school' (Dockett & Perry, 1999). The following conversations were recorded during transition week (Fig. 4.50):
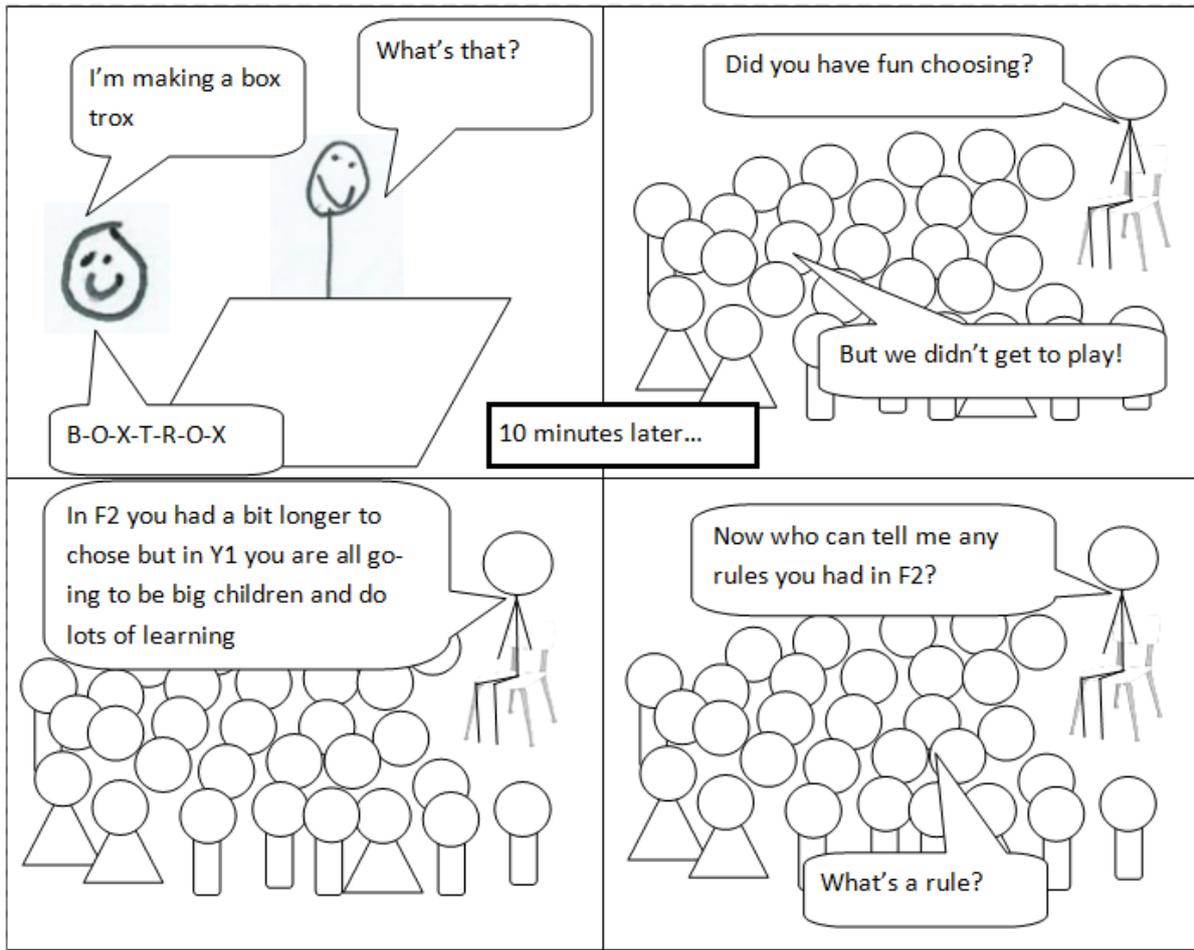
Figure 4.50: Choosing in transition week

Accompanying this observation, I wrote the following memo (Table 4.7):

Research memo – Transition Week: Monday	All children are very quiet, a lot less interactions to observe - shell shocked? or is it because nearly all the time is spent focussed on an activity or on the carpet? Are they just getting used to the new normal? Will they warm up and become themselves again? Maybe because the adults are unfamiliar

Table 4.7: Research memo 1 from transition week

As transition week progressed, the children continued to lament the lack of play opportunities (Table 4.8):

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Research Memo- Transition Week: Wednesday	The children have been sitting at the desks doing a literacy activity 'all about me' for 25 minutes. Ebo, Minion, Caterpillar and Mofaq had finished already and each child asked if they could go and choose now that they have completed the task. The teacher (LS) directs them back to their tables, saying that they could do more colouring or think of something else to write. When the task is over LS asks all the children to come back to the carpet because it is time to get ready for lunch. Ebo looks shocked and Mofaq turns to Ebo on the carpet and whispers 'when do we play?' The children seem genuinely confused about why they can't go and choose once they have finished their work. They are quietly complying with the new routine but are visibly sad about the lack of opportunities to play.
Research Memo- Transition Week: Thursday	Ryan, Dom, Minion and Mofaq asked separately throughout the day 'can we choose now?'. Each time they are directed back to their tables to extend their work. You can practically see the cogs turning in their heads as they put two and two together, realising that things have changed now they are in the new classroom and the days of free play in the F2 classroom are far behind them.

Table 4.8: Research memo 2 from transition week

The observations conducted during the transition week were markedly different from the previous observations from F2. The children were subdued and quietly complied with the directions they were given. The reduced levels of noise and movement around the classroom were noticeable throughout the school day. In the classroom, the children paid attention to the teacher while they were sat on the carpet and focussed on set tasks when they were at tables.

The literature review established the significance of the transition from early childhood to formal school in Y1 (Kagan, 1999; Dockett & Perry, 2001; Margetts, 2002). The difference

between the physical setting, the nature of the activities and the limited length of time children were given to engage in autonomous endeavours was clear. As the observations show, the children were subdued as they processed the new culture of 'big school' (Dockett & Perry, 1999), the new rules of settings (Johansson, 2007), their new role as a 'worker and learner' rather than a 'chooser and player' (Folque, 2007), and how their identities fit with these new expectations (Fabian, 2007).

4.4.1.3 Y1

In Section 4.4.1.1, I presented the timetable of a typical day in F2, which consisted of three lengthy sessions. By contrast, a typical day in Y1 was split into four sessions, each divided into multiple subsections as shown in Figure 4.51:

8.45	Early morning work, register
9.00	Spellings
9.30	Lesson 1
10.30	Break time
10.45	Handwriting
11.00	Lesson 2
11.40	Lunch time
12.45	Phonics
1.00	Lesson 3
2.10	Afternoon break
2.20	Lesson 4
3.00	Comprehension
3.15	End of day

Figure 4.51: The timetable for a typical day in Y1

In each lesson, the children sat on the carpet and received the 'input', which lasted around twenty minutes. The task following the formal teaching on the carpet then lasted for an average of half an hour. The children then returned to the carpet after completing the task for a 'plenary' that summarised and consolidated the children's learning. Occasionally, there was time to spare for the children to 'choose' for ten minutes. The choosing activities facilitated *structured* play, in that they contained elements of playfulness; however, the children had little control over the goal or choice about how to achieve it (Wood, 2010). In addition, the 'choosing time' was limited to one particular group being able to choose at once, thereby eliminating the possibility for children to choose with whom they engaged in an activity. These factors constrained the children's agency and reduced opportunities for free play (Wood & Attfield, 2005).

Another notable difference between F2 and Y1 was the way each session was organised. It will be recalled that in F2 different groups completed different tasks at the same time (see session overview, Image 1). However, in Y1 the children all simultaneously completed the same task as each other, albeit the task was differentiated according to the targets of each group.

In contrast to the free-flow of movement between and within spaces in F2, the Y1 children spent the majority of their day stationary - either sitting on the carpet or at tables. The layout of the physical space in the Y1 classroom supported the focus on more formal work by enabling all students to work at desks and be able to view the white board while they worked. This restricted movement also ensured that all children were in view of the teacher, facilitating surveillance and encouraging self-surveillance (Gallagher, 2010). The classroom had numeracy, literacy and craft resources available on shelves and there was a reading area (which often doubled as a calm area when a child was feeling stressed). There was one area, the 'construction/role-play' area, which was themed to align with the week's topic, as depicted in the plan of the classroom in Figure 4.52:

Craft materials

Literacy materials

Numeracy materials

Door to Y2 and toilets

Reading corner

Construction / role play area

The whiteboard

The 'carpet'

Door to play-ground

Door to Y2 and toilets

Tables and chairs

Sitting on carpet
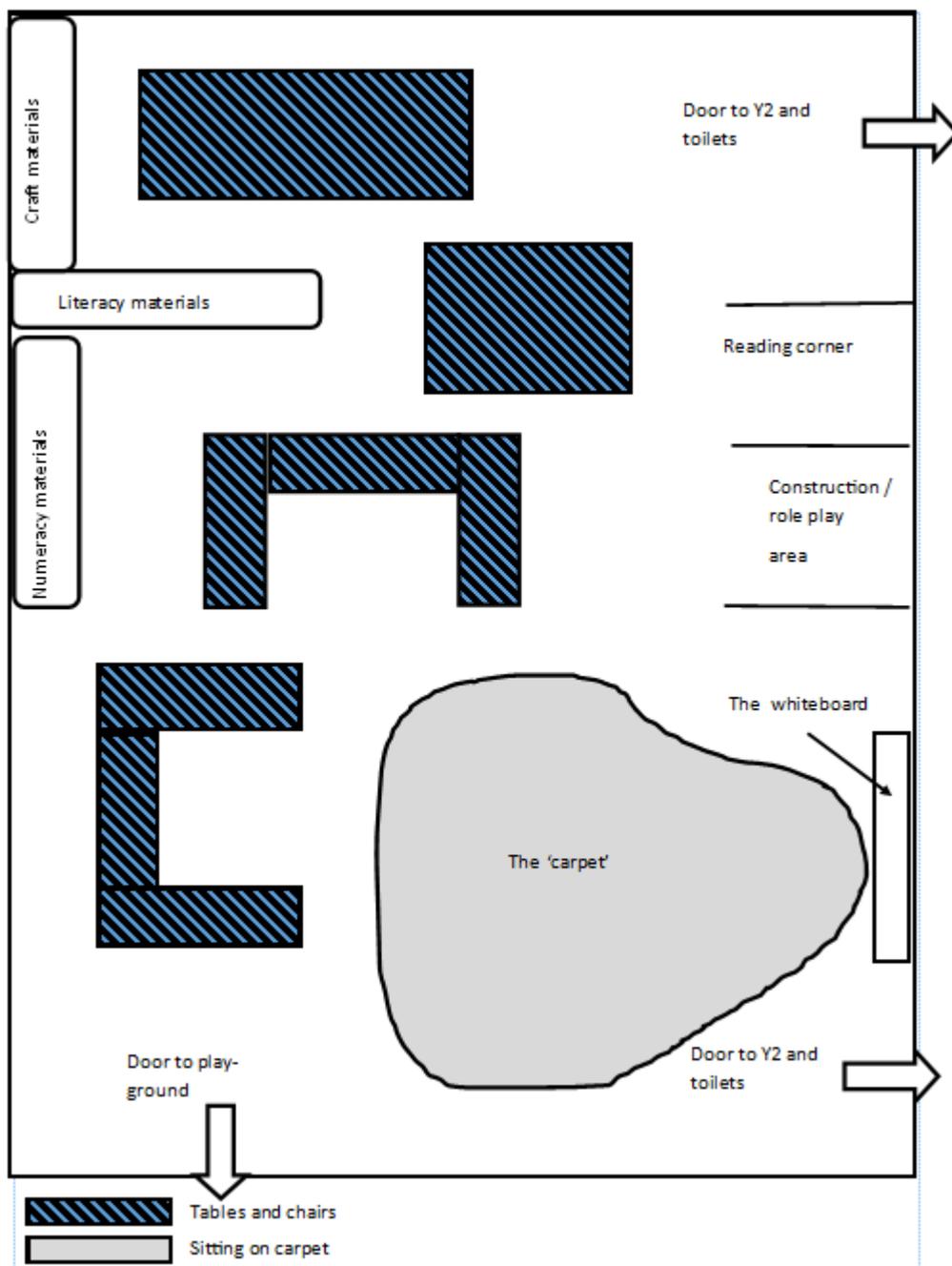
Figure 4.52: Map of the Y1 classroom

The observations conducted in Y1 consisted of learning on the carpet where the teacher controlled the flow and direction of the conversations, as demonstrated by the following example (Fig. 4.53):
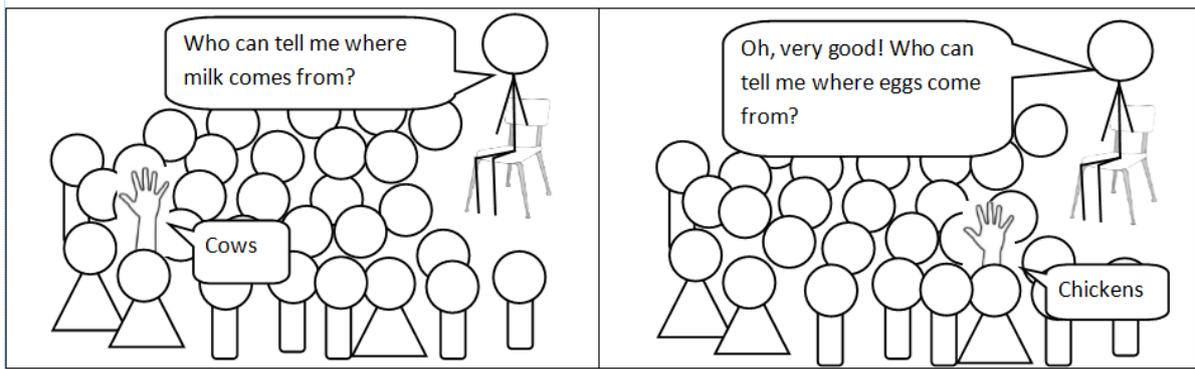
Figure 4.53: Known-answer-quizzing in Y1

This vignette exemplifies the typical interactions that occurred throughout most of the day in Y1. Whether the children were on the carpet or at the tables, the majority of conversations were adult-led, adopting the format of "known-answer-quizzing" (Rogoff et al., 2015, p. 11). The goals of the interaction were set in advance, and there was little scope for spontaneity or adjustments to the session to meet children's interests. Further discussion of adult-led, formal interactions can be found in Sections 4.4.2.4 and 4.4.2.5.

Children helping and teaching each other was, however, a regular occurrence in Y1, particularly when the children split off into their groups and worked at the tables. The following example is taken from an observation of a literacy activity where the children were writing independently, but seated in mixed-ability groups (Fig. 4.54):
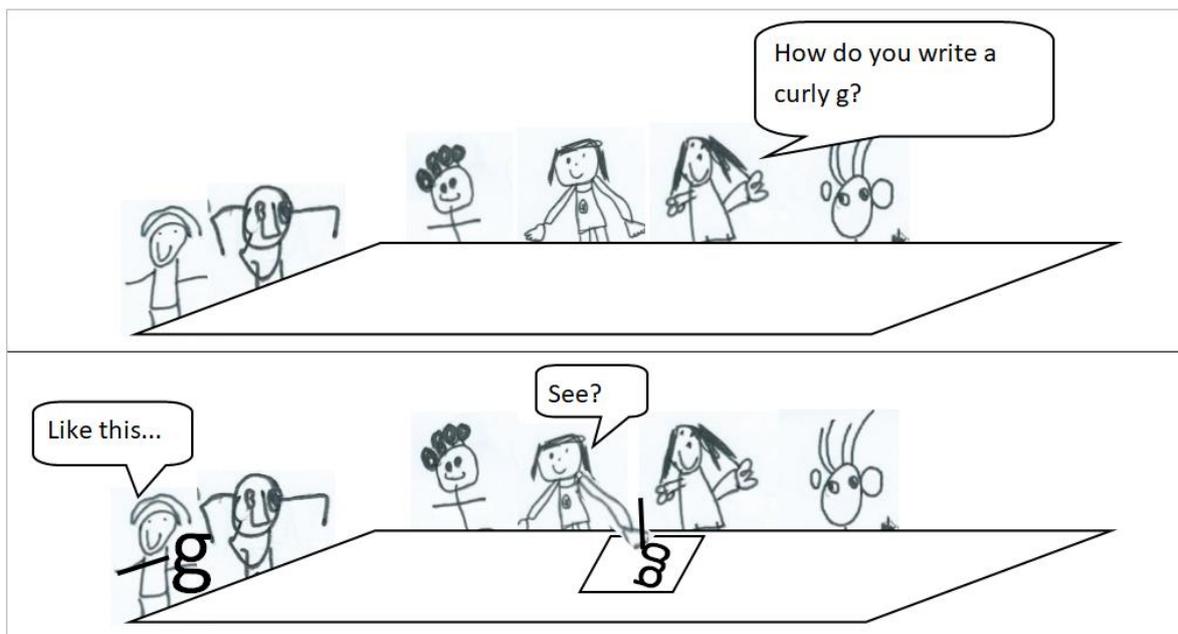

Figure 4.54: Helping each other in Y1 literacy

The children were often placed in mixed ability pairs to encourage collaboration. In the following numeracy activity, the children had to find two shorter sticks to equal the length of the longer stick (Fig. 4.55):
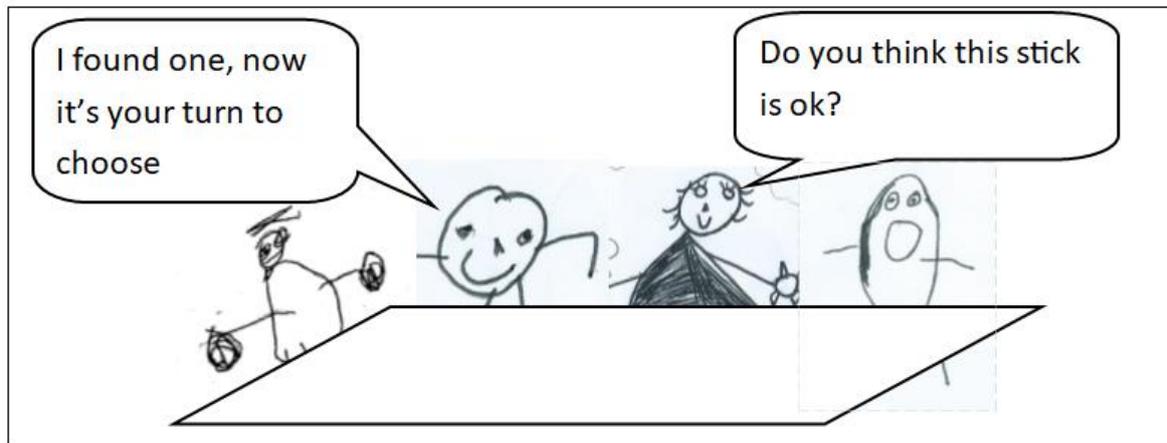

Figure 4.55: Helping each other in Y1 numeracy

These sorts of conversations mimicked the teacher's expectations of what 'good learning' looked like. In addition, the children told each other off for being 'off task' in Y1, as shown in the following example (Fig. 4.56):

Minion and Igor are fighting over a pencil. Minion gives Igor a thumbs up, Igor gives Minion a closed fist	Igor, Trini and Ebo are putting their pencils behind their ears
Minion takes Igor's pencil and they begin to fight	Cinderella and Darth Vader tell their friends off for messing around
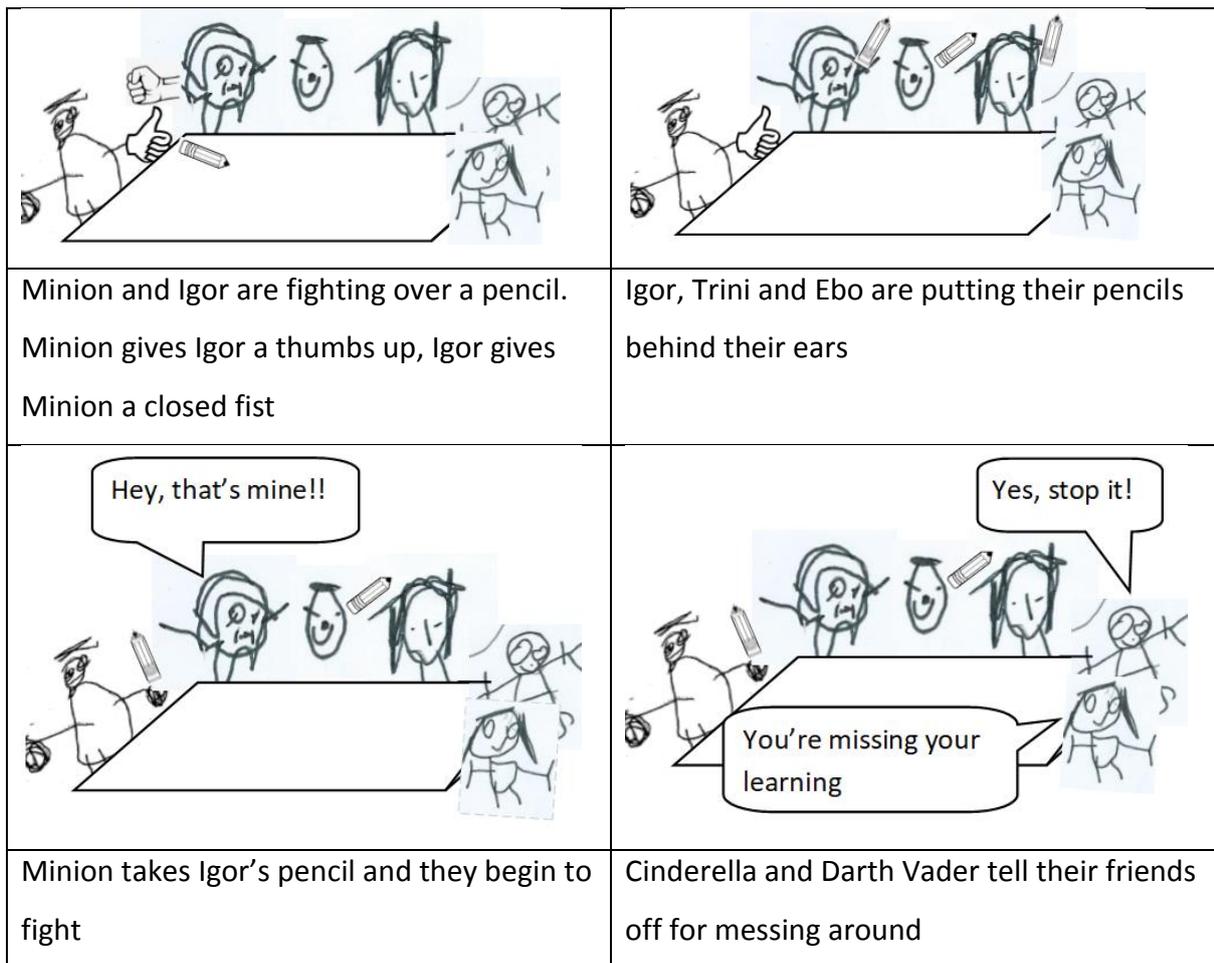
Figure 4.56: You're missing your learning

The vignette depicts the children's concern regarding learning and the importance of focussing on the task. Similarly, children began to apply the importance of learning to others, as the following example shows. The event occurred in Y1, when Naan returned from Pakistan. In the playground, a boy from F2 said his dad has gone to Pakistan, which leads to a conversation about another child in F2 who had also gone to Pakistan. The conversation was perhaps influenced by Naan visiting Pakistan for an extended period during the term time himself, and he may have picked up the idea that someone would 'miss out on all their learning' when in his own situation (Fig.4.57):

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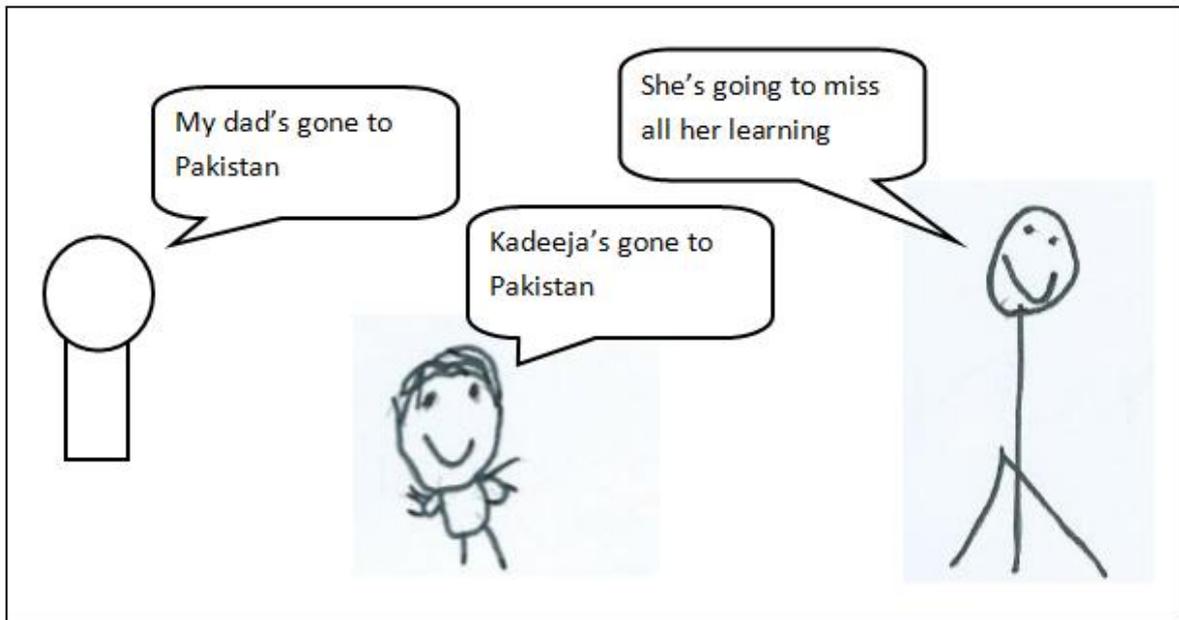
Figure 4.57: Kadeeja's going to miss all her learning

The intense focus on goals and the dominant discourse of learning transformed the nature of interactions between children in Y1. The children still demonstrated creativity during the interactions observed in Y1, however their inventive communication was largely centred around their learning task, as the following example shows (Fig. 4.58):
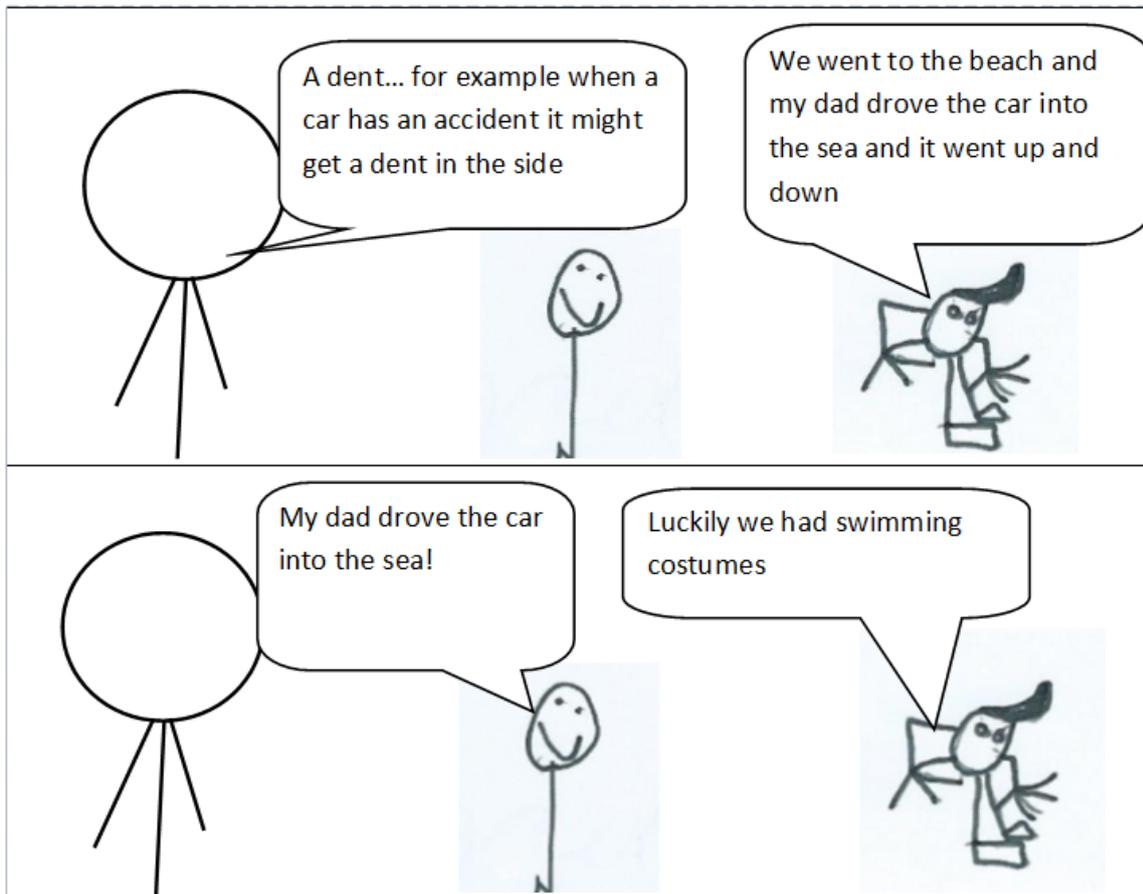
Figure 4.58: My dad drove the car into the sea

This vignette shows how the children in the study told imaginative narratives that sparked the imagination of those around them. In this event, we see a glimpse of third space creation as the children begin to adapt the subject of their learning, i.e. the phoneme 'ent'. The children extend the word 'dent' by telling stories that are inventive and bring in the children's individual identities (Gee, 1990; Wilson, 2000), but the formality of the task and the environment meant that such moments of creativity were short-lived as the children's attention was constantly called back to the task at hand.

Though the majority of children settled into the new routine with ease, there were children who found the rigid structure of Y1 challenging, as demonstrated by the following vignette (Fig. 4.59):
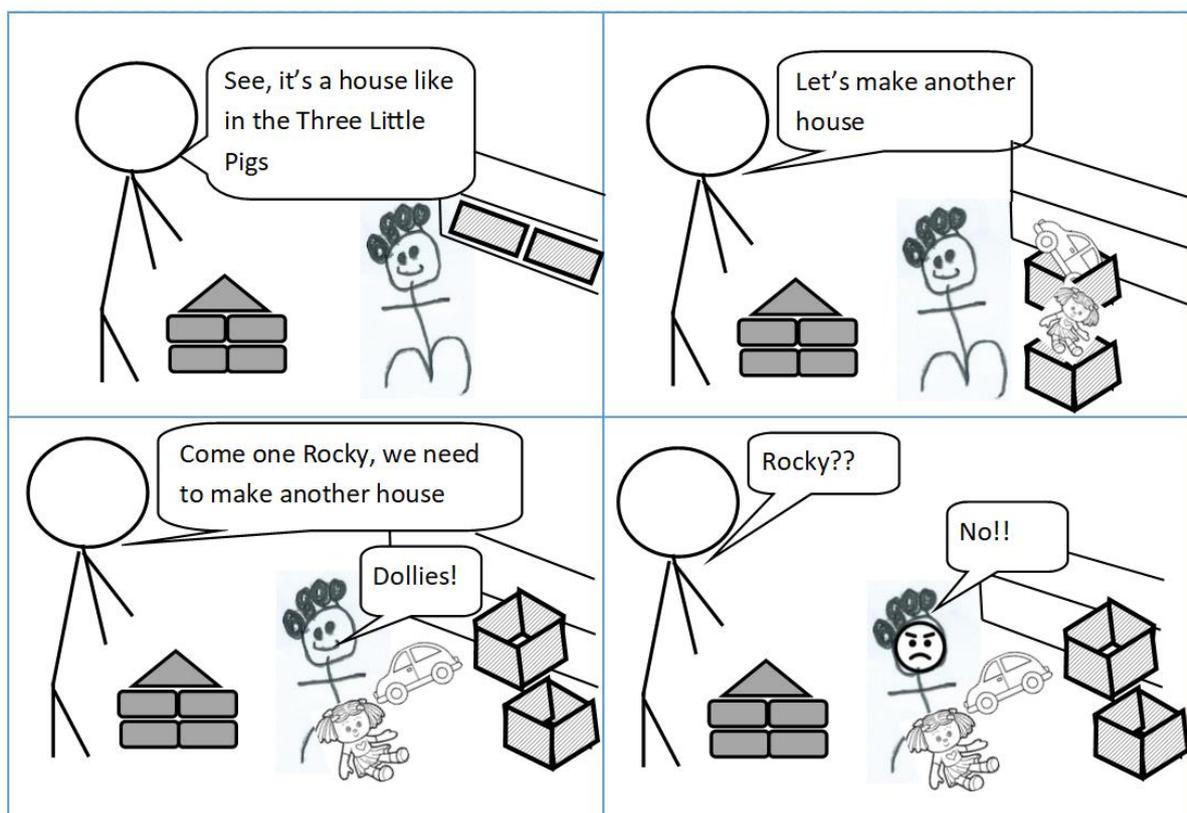
Figure 4.59: Rocky playing dollies

Rocky visibly struggled to conform to the task that was set for him and desperately tried to express his wishes regarding his preferred activity. Rocky was had recently come to England and, at the time of the observation, did not speak much English which may have contributed to his frustration; however, it is clear he would have been more tranquil in F2 where choosing time would have allowed Rocky to engage in his preferred activity without restrictions.

The examples presented in this section evidence the formal nature of learning in Y1. The observations were similar to Fisher's (2010) findings as children spent the majority of the day stationary, either on the carpet, listening to the teachers or at tables, working independently. The participants engaged in conversations around the teacher-directed tasks and learning objectives. The children demonstrated they were continually preoccupied with learning – both their own and that of their peers. They also showed concern for peers who would 'miss their learning' and they stepped in to help each other with their learning in class.

More examples of interactions that occurred in Y1 can be found throughout this chapter, as summarised by the following Table (Table 4.9):

4.2.1 Home and family	Figure 4.2: Moving house
4.2.2.1 Identifying Muslim people	Figure 4.6: Are you Muslim?
4.2.2.2 Sharing understanding of religious practices	Figure 4.9: Kind of Pakistani Figure 4.11: Devloro
4.2.4 Popular culture	Figure 4.17: Mr. Maker Figure 4.18: Pinocchio
4.3.3 Languages other than English	Figure 4.34: Chup ho Jah
4.3.5 Truncated multilingual repertoires	Figure 4.40: Rocky no wallah
4.4.2.1 The playground	Figure 4.61: Wrestling in the playground
4.4.2.3 Indoor choosing areas	Figure 4.68: Y1 Construction area
4.4.2.4 At the tables	Figure 4.70: How do I spell fox? Figure 4.71: Grapes avoiding work 1 Figure 4.72: Grapes avoiding work 2
4.4.2.5 On the carpet	Figure 4.73: The fantastic four rules Figure 4.74: Human vs nature geography Figure 4.75: Darth Vader on the carpet Figure 4.76: Rocky learns to sit down Figure 4.77: Rocky learns to stand up Figure 4.78: Numicon super-hero masks

Table 4.9: Vignettes taken from Y1

In general, the children spent the vast majority of the time in Y1 stationary and focussed on a specific task. The content of each day was planned in detail with specific, adult-set, learning goals that were in line with the expectations that were deemed to be appropriate for a 'typically developing child' by the curriculum (MacNaughton, 2005). The data confirms that the transition from F2 to Y1 was indeed characterised by a new culture and, consequently, the participants' roles and identities adapted to suit the expectations of the

formal Y1 environment (Fabian, 2007). The impact on the children's communication was palpable. Child-initiated conversations that fell outside the expected 'script' of learning were short-lived. There was a sharp reduction in the creation of a 'third space' for children to fuse their funds of knowledge from out-of-school experiences with new understandings they came across in school. Similarly, the children barely used languages other than English at any point in Y1. The contrast between the plethora of rich, heterogeneous communicative resources observed in F2 and the formal and somewhat predictable interactions that took place in Y1 was clearly perceptible.

4.4.1.4 Direct comparison of F2 to Y1
Research has established that parents, practitioners and children perceive the transition from F2 to Y1 to be momentous (Kagan, 1999; Dockett &Perry, 2001; Margetts, 2002, Fabian, 2007, Roberts-Homes, 2015). Literature that aims to ease the progression from early childhood to compulsory schooling also notes the magnitude of the transition (Dunlop & Fabian, 2002; Woodhead & Moss, 2007). This section will synthesise the ideas presented in Sections 4.4.1.1 (F2), and 4.4.1.3 (Y1) by means of a direct comparison.

The timetables in F2 and Y1 were presented in Sections 4.4.1.1 (Fig. 4.45) and 4.4.1.3 (Fig. 4.51) respectively. The following Table (Table 4.10) compares a typical 'day in the life' of a child in F2 and Y1.

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Time	F2		Y1	
8.45	Register on carpet		Early morning work at tables	
9.00			Register on carpet	
9.30	Session 1	- Input on carpet - Set task at tables or in choosing areas - Choosing indoor and outdoor areas	Spellings	
10.30			Lesson 1	- Input on carpet - Activity at tables - Plenary on carpet
10.45	Break time		Break time	
11.00	Session 2	- Input on carpet - Set task at tables or in choosing areas - Choosing indoor and outdoor areas	Handwriting	
11.40			Lesson 2	- Input on carpet - Activity at tables - Plenary
12.45	Lunch time		Lunch time	
1.00	Session 3	- Input on carpet - Set task at tables or in choosing areas - Choosing indoor and outdoor areas	Phonics	
2.10			Lesson 3	- Input on carpet - Activity at tables - Plenary
2.20			Afternoon break	
3.00			Lesson 4	- Input on carpet - Activity at tables - Plenary
3.15			Comprehension	
3.15	End of day		End of day	

Table 4.10: Direct comparison of F2 and Y1 timetables

Comparing the F2 and Y1 timetables side-by-side emphasises the relative intensity of the Y1 timetable and highlights how many different learning tasks are packed into a day. By contrast, the F2 timetable was based on continuous sessions and was designed to minimize interruptions.

In Sections 4.4.1.1 (F2) and 4.4.1.3 (Y1) maps of the spaces available to the children were presented (Figs 4.47, 4.48 and 4.52). The following table summarises the two maps (Table 4.11):

F2 Indoor choosing areas	Y1
• Role-play area • Maths area • Small world • Investigation station • Construction area • Malleable area • Painting area • Sand area • Writing area • Reading Corner • The carpet • Tables for working with a teacher	• The carpet • Tables • Reading corner • Construction area/role-play
F2 Outside areas	
• Mud kitchen • Sports equipment • Craft area • Tool workshop • Junk yard • Water play • Seating area • Gardening area • Sand pit	

Table 4.11: Direct comparison of F2 and Y1 spaces

The observations show that children spent the majority of their day in F2 autonomously choosing where to go, who to play with, how to use the resources in the choosing areas and for what purpose (see Sections 4.4.1.1, 4.4.2.2 and 4.4.2.3 for examples). In contrast, the children's activities in Y1 were highly structured with outcomes that were planned in detail (see Sections 4.4.1.3, 4.4.2.4 and 4.4.2.5 for examples). In F2, the sessions began with a particular goal, but when the children had completed this, they could explore the different areas and set their own goals. These lengthier sessions and freedom to move around the

room without restriction enabled uncertainty and supported child-initiated, open-ended, playful learning (Broadhead & Burt, 2012). Furthermore, the spatial and temporal structures in F2 encouraged imagination, curiosity and agency (Stetsenko, 2007).

However, consistent with the common assumption that play is less relevant to children's learning beyond the age of 5, opportunities for play were phased out almost entirely in Y1, except for the occasional 10 minutes of 'choosing time' (Wood & Attfield, 2005). The clear difference between the two classrooms is visible from the comparisons of the timetables (Table 4.10) and the spaces (Table 4.11). In Y1, the children spent the majority of their time on the carpet or at their desks. This arrangement was designed to hinder children's movement (Gallagher, 2010), maximise teacher surveillance (Giddens, 1984) and encourage children to either listen to their teacher or work independently (Fisher, 2010). Year One is understood (for example by parents) to be more formal than Reception - indeed the entire discourse around 'school readiness' is centred on the notion that children are expected to be ready for formal education at the end of F2 (Kay, 2018). Thus, it is unsurprising that the layout of the classroom and the structure of the timetable were adapted to reflect the formalisation of the curriculum and pedagogy. What is more interesting, however, is the way that the change in spatial conditions impacted the children's interactions, as will be explored in the following section.

4.4.2 Different spaces

This section discusses the impact of the different physical spaces within the school on the kinds of interactions that took place within each space. In the previous section (4.4.1.4), the comparison of the F2 and Y1 timetables showed that the children spent considerable time 'choosing' in F2, whereas in Y1 formal tasks were set and children rarely engaged in choosing time. This section builds upon these findings by looking in more detail at the different spaces the children occupied, and examines the interactions that occurred within each space. Drawing on Soja's social-spatial dialectic (1989), the spaces in both F2 and Y1 were designed with a particular pedagogical model in mind. The resultant impact on children's interactions within those spaces confirms 'space' is not just "a backdrop against which life unfolds sequentially, but rather, is intimately tied to lived experience" (Warf & Aria, 2008, p.4). Each space has expectations in relation the acceptability and value of types of specific knowledge and practices (Johansson, 2007). Children thus learn the rules and

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routines of each space, in order to govern themselves accordingly (Foucault, 1972; Pike, 2008). The following subsections will look at the different spaces within the school setting and their characteristics. Examples will be presented that underscore how children's experiences can be profoundly shaped by the characteristics of a given space, with examples provided that illustrate the arguments being made.

4.4.2.1 The playground

During playtime, it was difficult to conduct observations of the participants as all the children from two F2 classes, two Y1 classes and two Y2 classes were in the playground together. The children tended to move around the whole space and a game that began with a group of children in one corner would potentially end up split into several different games in different areas of the playground. However, although it was not as easy to record specific vignettes from beginning to end, the children often yelled in my general direction describing what they were playing as they came hurtling past me, running from one end of the playground to the other.

The vignettes presented in this section emphasise the dialectical relationship between the spatial and social dimensions of human experience (Soja, 1989; Jones et al., 2016). The playground also had an area reserved for football in which some of the children (particularly Igor and Darth Vader) played. Aside from the football area, the playground was a wide, open courtyard with benches and planters dotted around the edge. The absence of physical obstacles provided the children with space to run around unobstructed and, as a result, the themes of play at lunchtime were predominantly imaginative role-play, where the children took on different roles and transformed the physical environment into an array of fantastical landscapes. The activities observed in the playground at lunchtime ranged from pretending to be at school with children adopting the roles of pupils and teachers, to play where the children became magical creatures - dragons, witches, fairies, knights and so on. The following vignettes are examples of the typical types of play in which the children in the study engaged when in the playground.

During lunchtime in Y1, Aladdin, Trini, Arman Ali and Rocky were playing 'wrestlers'. Arman Ali raised his hand to his cover his face and moved it side-to-side, declaring 'you can't see me' (Fig. 4.60):

Figure 4.60: Wresting in the playground

When the children were shown the cartoon of this episode and asked what they were playing, Arman Ali explained that the gesture was John Cena's signature move. This vignette provides more evidence to support the prevalence of popular culture in children's play. The children were not only play fighting; they were role playing famous wrestlers they had watched on TV. Furthermore, this vignette is particularly significant as it shows the children engaged in a play style that would have been strictly forbidden in all other contexts that the children occupied in the school premises. In the playground, wrestling was not '*allowed*' *per se*, but neither was there rigorous policing of such games, thus the children had the freedom to wrestle and play similar fighting games without the having to go to great lengths to conceal such activities (as they did in the indoor choosing areas, for example, see Figure 4.67 Repurposing Construction Blocks).

The next example shows Ana and Minion playing princesses hiding from Cinderella during play time in F2 (Fig. 4.61):

Figure 4.61: Princesses in the playground

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When asked to comment on their play, the girls explained that Cinderella was a wolf that was trying to eat them. Once more, we can see the children's use of popular culture in their play as they blended characters from different narratives: Cinderella and a wolf, both perhaps from Little Red Riding Hood. In this snapshot of play, the bench had been repurposed from an object that was solely intended for sitting on, to be a physical barrier between the princesses and the wolf. The transformation of the physical environment to suit the themes of play was a common occurrence and more examples of this can be found in Figure 4.42 (Shaadi), Figure 4.49 (Repurposing the maths chains) and Figure 4.67 (Repurposing the construction blocks).

The teachers in F2 and in Y1 often settled the children on the carpet after playtime and asked them what games they had played. In the following example, taken from F2, Minion explains that she was pretending to be Superman during lunchtime (Fig. 4.62):

Figure 4.62: Superman in the playground

This vignette shows once again that the children's play in the playground drew on characters and themes from popular culture. Although Minion's enactment of superman was not observed, it can be hypothesised that it involved some sort of actions such as running to mimic flying or even combating villains. Role playing superheroes was an activity that was limited to the playground as the unobstructed space made it possible to have the freedom of mobility that such superhero games entailed. Minion volunteered the information that she had been playing superman and LO made no attempt to persuade her that this was inappropriate, therefore it can be assumed that LO believed it acceptable to play superman in the playground. By contrast, if children ventured to recreate superheroes

in the classroom, these endeavours had to be carefully concealed as their detection was guaranteed to result in automatic shutting down of their play by a vigilant adult.

These examples are typical of the sorts of play the children engaged in during playtime. However, as indicated earlier, it was difficult to acquire more in-depth data because the participants frequently changed locations around the playground amongst the pandemonium of sixty children who had the freedom to move, to shout and to play, having been released from boundaries or restrictions other than rules regarding safety.

The children were not constrained in their use of space, noise levels or choice of activities. Aside from a football, there were no materials provided for the children during playtime, just a large open space with a few benches around the edge and the resultant play that occurred here was deeply imaginative with few limitations.

In addition, it is highly significant that the children engaged in imaginative play throughout the twelve months of observations that were conducted, although the amount and nature of opportunities for play were greatly reduced in Y1, compared to F2. Section 4.4.1 demonstrated that, in comparison to F2, the children engaged in play less frequently when they moved into Y1. It could be argued that this was to be expected as the children were older and therefore more mature, and as a result, perhaps, less interested in play. However, the findings from this research clearly show that when the Y1 children were released into the playground, they engaged in play just as much as they had previously done in F2. It follows, therefore, that it was not due to some sort of 'developmental norm' that the children engaged in play less when they were in Y1. Rather, it would appear that the context of Y1 in terms of the physical layout of the classroom, the activities undertaken, and the behavioural expectations that were perceived to be acceptable heavily impacted the frequency, duration and depth of play that the children engaged in at this stage of their school careers.

4.4.2.2 Outside area

The F2 classroom had a large outdoor space adjoining it, in which the children could choose the activities they wanted to engage in. The space provided a range of materials, as shown in the map of the outdoor area in (Fig. 4.47). In this way, it differed from the playground where there were few, if any, resources provided (other than a football). The provision of

materials resulted in the children playing with objects, rather than running around and relying purely on their imagination to transform the landscape. The children used the outdoor area during choosing time and the only rule that applied was 'no play-fighting', for which the rationale was the safety of the children. There were no suggested activities and no prescribed goals. In the outdoor space, the children could select the theme and content of their activities, and the teachers and teaching assistants who accompanied the children outside facilitated their learning by extending the children's own ideas. As such, the children were able to let their imaginations flow, leading to transformative levels of ingenuity in the children's play. The following examples are taken from observations of the children in the outdoor space adjoining the F2 classroom. In the first example, Tomng, Cinderella and Ana are playing in the mud kitchen (Fig. 4.63):

Figure 4.63: Birthday cake

In this vignette, the children use the mud kitchen to re-enact events that would usually occur in an actual kitchen in the home. Once again, the children are demonstrating that they draw on funds of knowledge (Moll et al., 1992) and experiences from their home lives to shape the themes of their play. The children's play creates a third space where they can re-enact everyday life situations from their home environments, allowing them to build a space that brings each of their home experiences into conversation with each other's in the school setting (Moll & González, 1994; Moje et al., 2004)

In a second example, Naan and Ryan are using crates to portray 'Angry Birds' (Fig. 4.64):
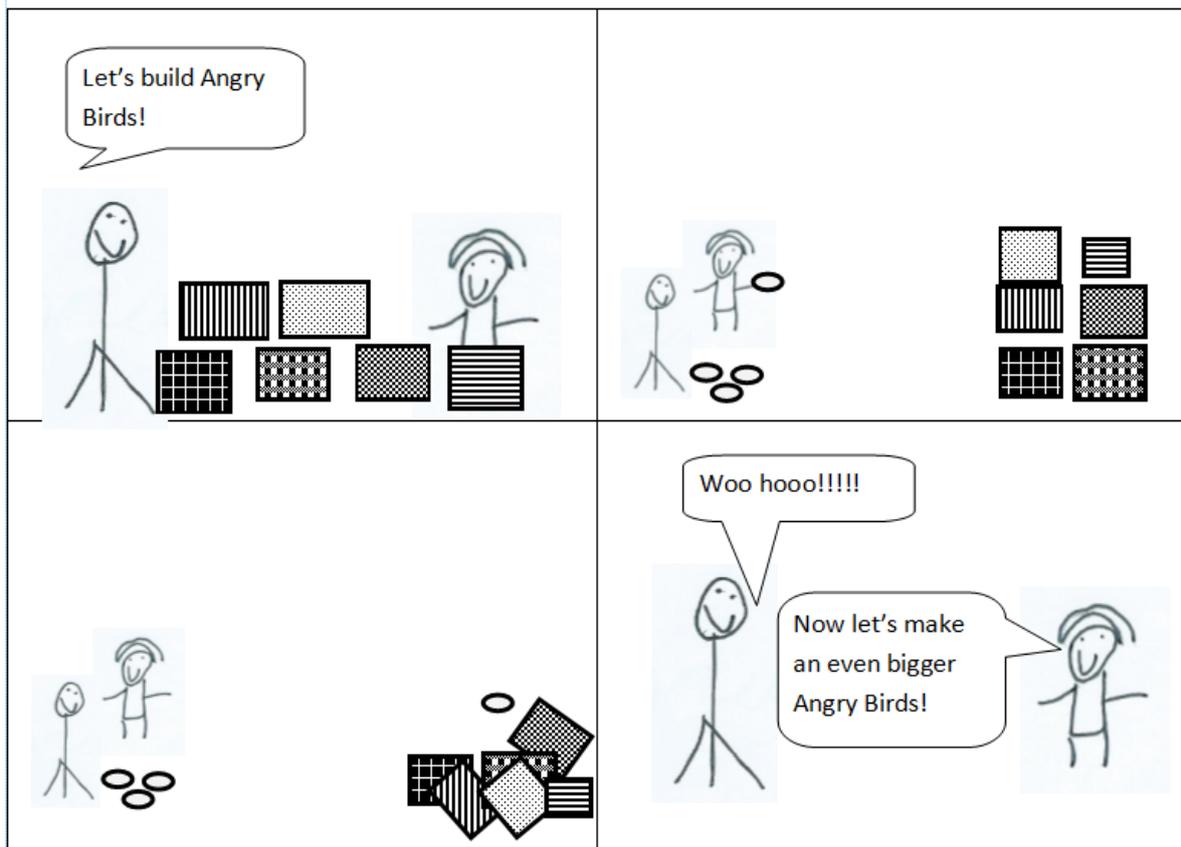
Figure 4.64: Angry Birds

Naan and Ryan sustained this play theme for twenty minutes and created progressively more complex designs with the crates as they continued to experiment with bean bags to see how they could knock down the structures they had built. The theme of their investigation, Angry Birds, reveals how digital funds of knowledge are a genuine source of inspiration for children's play (Marsh & Millard, 2006).

Play in the outdoor area often involved movement and, as the previous and following vignettes demonstrate, elaborate constructions (Fig. 4.65):
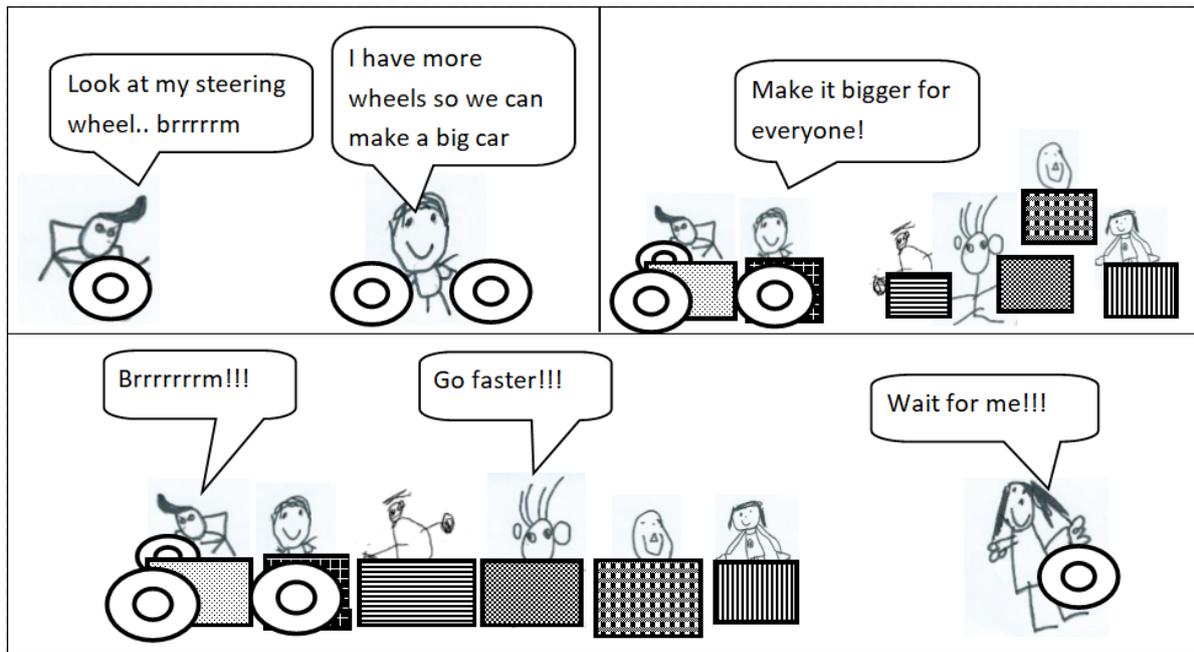
Figure 4.65 Building a car

The children's play in the playground and in the indoor choosing areas was often imbued with gender stereotypes, where girls played princesses and boys engaged in wrestling or cops-and-robbers style games. However, in the outdoor area, the distinction between genders was often less obvious and the children tended to create grand play themes that encouraged a group effort between everyone present, boy or girl. Crucially, ample time and the absence of a specific, goal-oriented task enhanced the participants' play as they drew on each other's ideas to solve problems (Broadhead & Burt, 2012). In the outdoor space, the children's activities embodied what Rogoff et al. (2015) call 'Learning by Observing and Pitching In (LOPI)' (p.2). They describe LOPI as the sort of learning that takes places during mutual endeavours towards a shared goal, where the children participate in activities that are meaningful to them. By coming together, extending each other's ideas, hypothesising different options and testing the adequacy of each contribution towards reaching their shared goal, the children are in charge of setting the aims of their exploratory play and how to achieve these. As a result, creativity is valued and resources are transformed in ways that go beyond their purely functional qualities and attributes.

4.4.2.3 Indoor choosing areas

The F2 classroom mainly comprised of indoor choosing areas, while the Y1 classroom had a single choosing area that served as a combined construction and role play area. In the F2 classroom, the indoor choosing areas were set up with a variety of resources and activities

for the children to use. In contrast to the outside space, the indoor choosing areas had set activities which the children attempted before using the resources for their own purposes. The teacher created the activities to support the week's learning targets and to complement the theme of the week. In addition, there were more rules that governed the indoor choosing areas, such as using quiet 'indoor voices' and not moving resources from one area to another. There were also expectations regarding appropriate play indoors, for example, playing Power Rangers indoors was forbidden, while taking on the roles from other films and popular culture, such as Frozen, was allowed. The seemingly arbitrary prohibition of re-creating certain characters in the classroom hinged on the amount of physical movement required to fulfil that role. If the children chose to take on a role that could be performed quietly and calmly, it was allowed. If the roles required fast movements or for different spaces to be traversed rapidly, the game was banned. Therefore, the interactions that occurred in the indoor choosing areas took on a similar form to those seen in the outside area, but were more subdued in terms of movement and noise due to the restrictions placed on the children in the classroom.

As discussed in Section 4.4.1.1 (F2) there were designated sessions during the day in F2 when the children were able to flow freely around the classroom, typically for periods of forty-five minutes. The extended timeframe allowed play to build momentum. The children were able to choose where they wanted to go and with whom to interact, and this led to creative exchanges which often took on a snowballing effect as different children's play was adopted and extended by others until it reached a point that was far beyond the initial play theme.

The following examples took place in the indoor choosing areas in F2. They demonstrate how children draw on funds of knowledge to create alternative realities that bridge their own experiences while simultaneously extended one other's imaginations (Fig. 4.66):

|	
	"Stop, me first" "Oh you go first, then it's my turn"
Bob and Darth Vader have constructed a maze for cars out of blocks in the construction area	They take turns to complete the maze, Darth Vader is using lots of BICS[3] language
They modify the activity so the new aim is to drive the car on top of the blocks. When each player has finished, they jump up and do a little dance	Ellie, Lilly and Minion tip toe along the maze walls, using them as walkways over lava to a castle. They are swooshing coloured material from the role-play area around, casting magic spells
Darth Vader continues to play with the car; Ivy is dancing with coloured material nearby. Bob joins in the dancing, which turns into Power Rangers fighting with Kaylo Ren and Roger	When the teacher turns to look in their direction, Bob, Kaylo Ren and Roger start to dance to hide their play-fighting
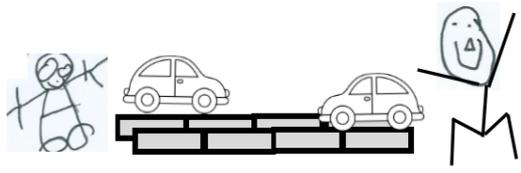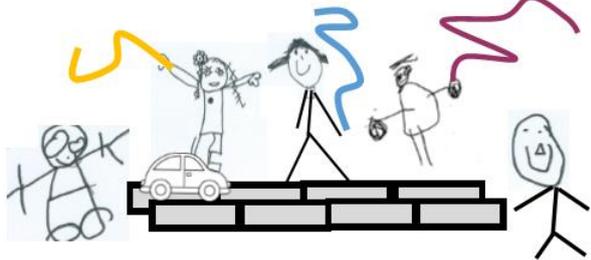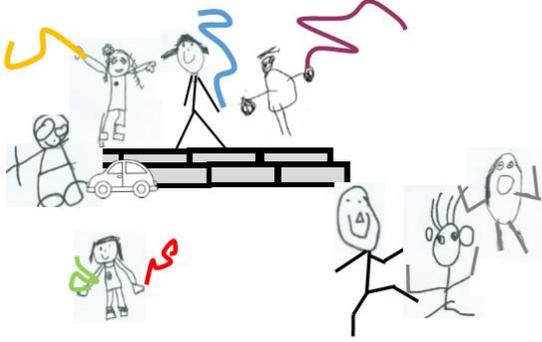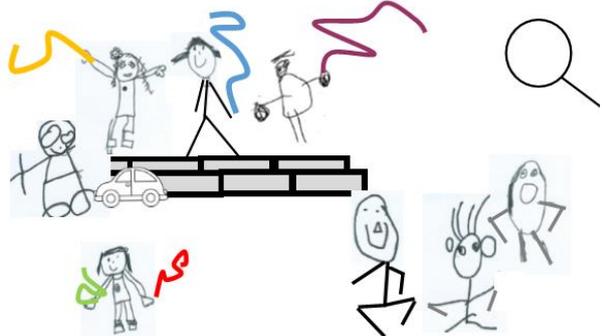
Figure 4.66: Repurposing construction blocks

As this vignette demonstrates, the use of the indoor choosing areas was flexible. The children could move freely around the room and they could elect to use items in a variety of

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ways to suit their own intentions, superseding the predetermined purpose of these spaces and resources. In this vignette, we see the blocks from the construction area being used, first as a maze for the cars. They then modify the aim of their play to driving their toy cars along the tops of the blocks as if they have built a road or a track for the cars to ride on. This allows both boys to play simultaneously rather than take turns as they had been doing previously.

The girls, who are role-playing princesses, then see how the bricks from the construction area have been laid out and re-purpose them into treacherous walkways that they need to cross. Nearby, Ivy simulates the girls' princess play in her own way, dancing with the material in precise movements and watching as the fabric flows through the air. Bob seems to be inspired by Ivy's dancing and also stands up to dance, which Trini and Ryan interpret to be playing Power Rangers movements. Bob, Roger and Kaylo Ren keep a close eye on the teacher as they play-fight, Power Rangers-style and each time she turns her head towards them they sense they are in danger of being discovered, anticipate the teacher's response and change their body movements to dancing.

The possibilities for transformation during 'choosing time' were abundant as the children created narratives, using the environment in imaginative ways to incorporate their interests (Chesworth, 2016) and their funds of knowledge (Moll et al., 1992) into their play. The construction blocks began as the walls of the maze, were transformed into tracks, and finally became the pathway for princesses to cross a pit of lava to the safety of their castle. In addition, the flexibility of the space opened up the scope for engaging in 'clandestine activities', such as Power Rangers fighting, without getting caught (Gee, 1990; Lefebvre, 1991).

Other examples of creative uses of the indoor choosing spaces have already been explored through different lenses throughout this chapter. For example, in Section 4.2.1 (Home and Family), Ali, Naan and Cinderella are seen role-playing feeding a baby a 'dudu'. They re-appropriate the furniture in the malleable area as the desk becomes a cot for the baby. Additionally, in Section 4.4.1.1. (F2) the children are engaged in play that builds momentum and reaches the cooperative domain (Broadhead, 2004).

The F2 classroom's layout with multiple spaces for the children to engage in choosing (see Fig. 4.46) is a good example of Soja's (1989) social-spatial dialect. The classroom was designed with the intention of facilitating collaboration between pairs or small groups. At some points of the day the children were given a specific task to complete in a particular area with a certain group of children. However, the physical layout was also designed to allow free-flow choosing and, as a result, during 'choosing time' the children moved around the classroom, selecting the activities they wished to engaged in and with whom they wanted to interact.

The indoor choosing areas had more rules than the outdoor area as shouting and play-fighting were forbidden. That said, the children's use of the indoor choosing spaces was largely fluid and autonomous which facilitated more informal discussions between the children and prompted them to risk challenging adult authority (Gallagher, 2010). Their conversations often took on a 'counter-script' form (Gutiérrez et al., 1999) as they used snippets of languages other than English or, braver still, dared to play prohibited games such as Power Rangers or Wrestling. The children's frequent attempts to 'get away with' playing Power Rangers created a peer culture that challenged adult authority and, as a result, the children – at least in part – gained control of their lives (Corsaro, 1988). Consistent with Gallagher's (2010) findings, the children were skilled at masking their clandestine activities and, if spotted, they were quick to change their play to conform with the rules of the classroom.

In Y1, there were fewer opportunities to engage in choosing time and, when they were able to do so, it was restricted to one particular group for short length of time. However, on one occasion at the end of the first term of Y1, the teacher had to read with each student individually in order to assess their reading levels. As part of this process, the children were given tasks to do around the classroom and then, once they had completed these, they could engage in choosing time. Although the majority of tasks the children could 'choose' were table-based, such as craft or puzzles, the one 'choosing area' of the classroom (the construction/role play area) attracted the attention of several children. On this particular occasion, the choosing time lasted for twenty-five minutes and the following vignette is taken from the construction/role-play area during that time (Fig. 4.67):

We can build a digger!	Everybody get in line! / Boss, why do we need to make a line?
The children are choosing in the construction area of the Y1 classroom.	Ryan tries to organise the group to build a digger, but each child is building their own thing separately. Only Arman Ali joins in with Ryan's game.
Who wants to make a trowel? / Jungle jungle	Come on everyone! / Waaaah! Me [sic] no your friend!
Trini begins to join in with Ryan and Arman Ali's role-play.	Rocky grabs building blocks from Arman Ali, who pretends to cry like a baby and gives Rocky a thumbs down. Now that Ryan has Trini's attention, he continues to try and organise everyone else to build together.
R-y-a-n / Ok, who's here? Ryan? Rocky, you're here / Yes / Me!	
Arman Ali gets a piece of paper and a clipboard to take 'the register'.	Finally, all the children work together under Ryan's supervision to build a digger.
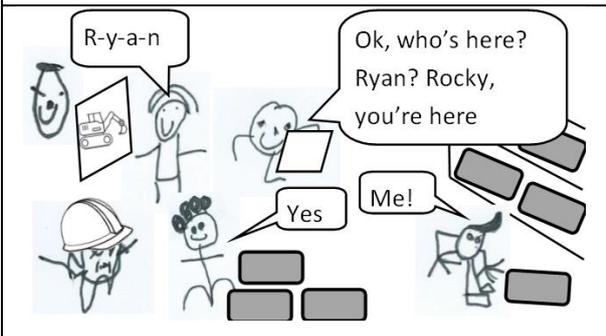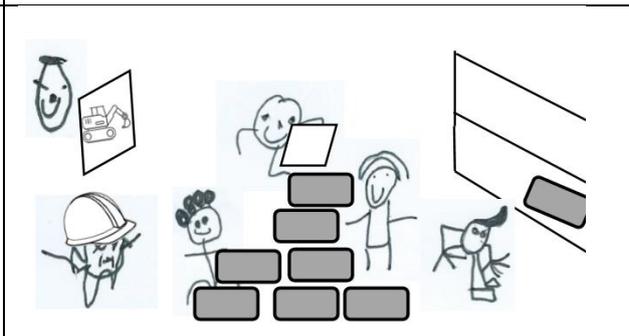
Figure 4.67: Y1 Construction area

The vignette demonstrates how the children still had the capacity to play in an imaginative, creative way, with ideas bouncing from one child to the next and children picking up on the threads of play started by others. The context of the event was 'choosing time' indoors and, the absence of a rigid structure to the task permitted the children to engage in a fluid,

informal interaction (Gallagher, 2010). The event occurred in Y1, which makes it particularly interesting as instances of play were less frequent once the children had transitioned from F2. These findings are similar to those in Section 4.4.2.1 The Playground, where children in Y1 were engaged in imaginative role play during play time throughout the 12 months of data collection. It is apparent, therefore, that the significant reduction in chaotic, energetic, snowballing interactions between F2 and Y1 was a result of the reduction in opportunities given to children to engage in free play, rather than the children not wanting to or knowing how to engage in such dynamic, imaginative play.

4.4.2.4 At the tables
The children worked in small groups at the tables throughout the study. In F2, the participants worked in groups at the tables approximately four times a week and for periods that lasted an average of twenty minutes. In Y1, as discussed in Section 4.4.1.3 (Y1), the children would spend time working at their tables during their early morning work and also during each of the four formal lessons that occurred in the day. This meant the children went from spending roughly an hour and a half a week at the tables in F2 to spending around two hours a day in Y1. This is shift is reflected in the physical layout of the F2 and Y1 classrooms, in that there were few tables in F2 and these were also used as choosing areas, whereas in Y1 the tables featured prominently in the layout of the classroom.

In both F2 and Y1, when the children were sat at the tables they were given a specific task to complete with set targets. Consistent with the thoughts of Giddens (1984), the tables were set up in such a way as to maximise control of body position, movement and gesture, and with the overall goal of facilitating optimum surveillance. There were strict limits on the level of noise children were allowed to make, and conversations that veered from the learning topic were put back on track by the adults in the classroom. While sat at the tables, the most common style of interaction was didactic, where the children discussed the activity they were completing and helped each other to do the task. The following vignettes are examples of the sort of conversation that most frequently occurred as the children worked at their desks.

The first vignette took place at the tables during a numeracy activity in F2. At the time of the event, Issa had only been in England for four months and was very new to English. Having said that, Issa had been to school before and was good at maths, so he was seated with

Roger who was born in the UK and had been in the school since the beginning of F2 (Fig. 4.68):
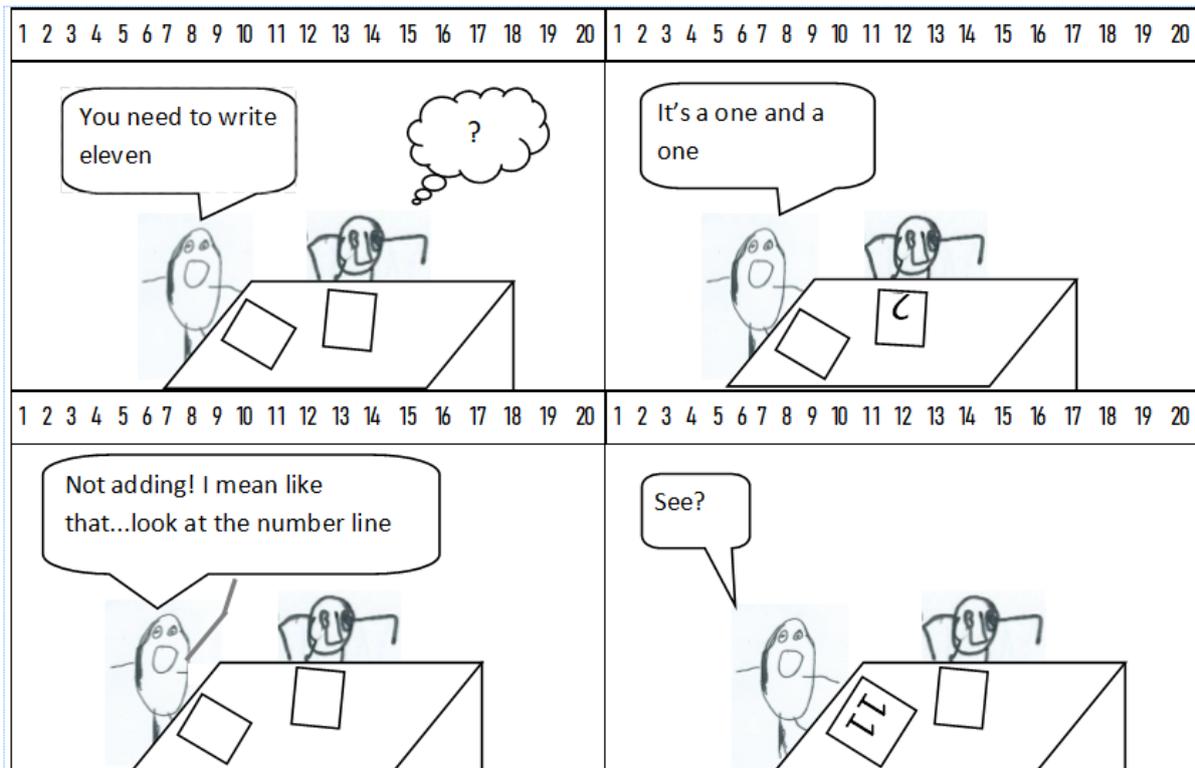
Figure 4.68: One and a one

The next vignette was observed in a literacy session in Y1. Ryan is seen helping Asad to spell 'fox', using the 'Jolly Phonics' gesture for 'x' which is pretending to take a photo (and x-ray) saying 'x x x' (Fig. 4.69):
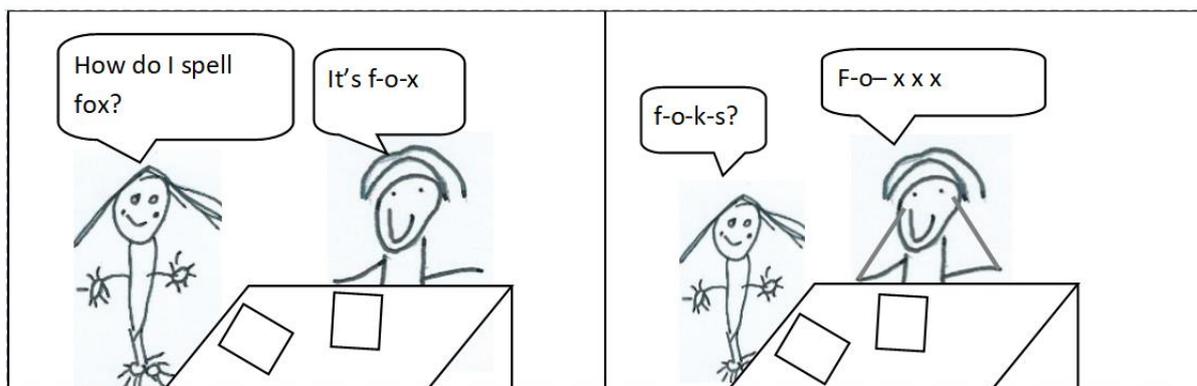
Figure 4.69: How do I spell fox?

While most of the children frequently engaged in work-oriented conversations (as depicted in Figures 4.68 and 4.69), there was one group of children who typically did not conform to

this model. As previously explained, when the children moved into Y1, they spent the majority of their day sitting at desks completing tasks in groups. For literacy and numeracy, the children were placed in groups according to their attainment, with each group being labelled as a kind of fruit. Within this model, the children who were the lowest attaining in the class were the 'grapes'. Some of the grapes were new to English, some had special needs, and some were just behind their peers in terms of literacy and numeracy. The grapes often preferred to engage in various forms of multi-modal communication, which were often centred around child-initiated games, and appeared to be frequently avoiding the task that had been set. The following vignette is a typical interaction that occurred amongst the grapes (Fig. 4.70):

|	
Ebo is reaching behind Darth Vader and tickling Igor's head with his pencil.	Igor explains to Darth Vader what Ebo did in Romani, Darth Vader gives Ebo a 'thumbs down'. Ebo takes everyone's pencils.
Cinderella gives everyone their pencil back. Everyone gives her a thumbs up except Ebo who tries to take the pencils again.	Cinderella stops Ebo, prompting Igor to call her 'very good!
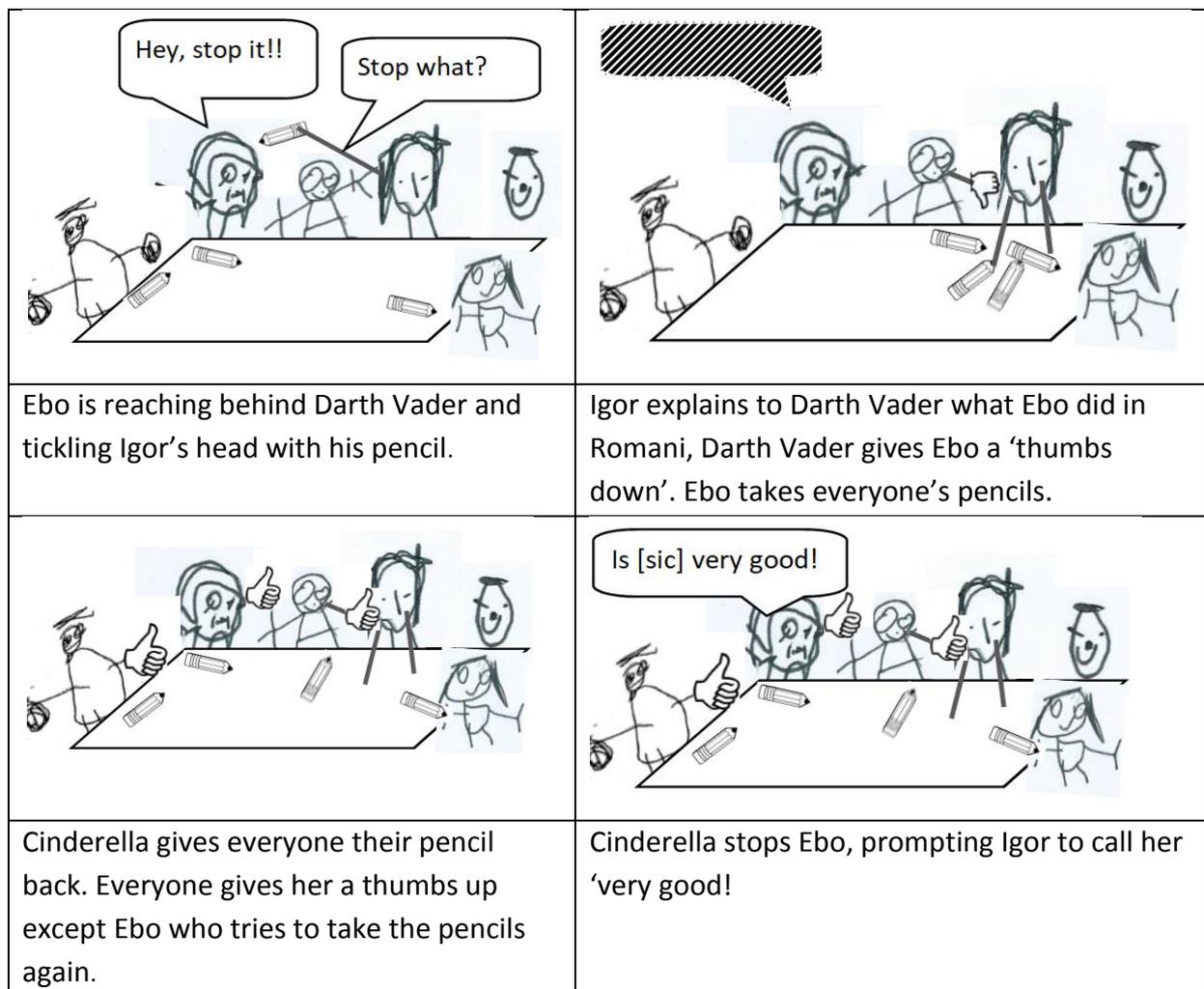
Figure 4.70: Grapes avoiding work

The grapes spent more time playing with, or trying to distract, each other than they did completing the task. They came up with numerous work-avoidance strategies and struggled to sit at their desks for extended periods. They persistently found excuses to stand up and

walk around, particularly if they were left unsupervised. The presence of an adult with the group did encourage them to stay at their tables, but they were still numerous divergences from the task, as the following example illustrates (Fig. 4.71):
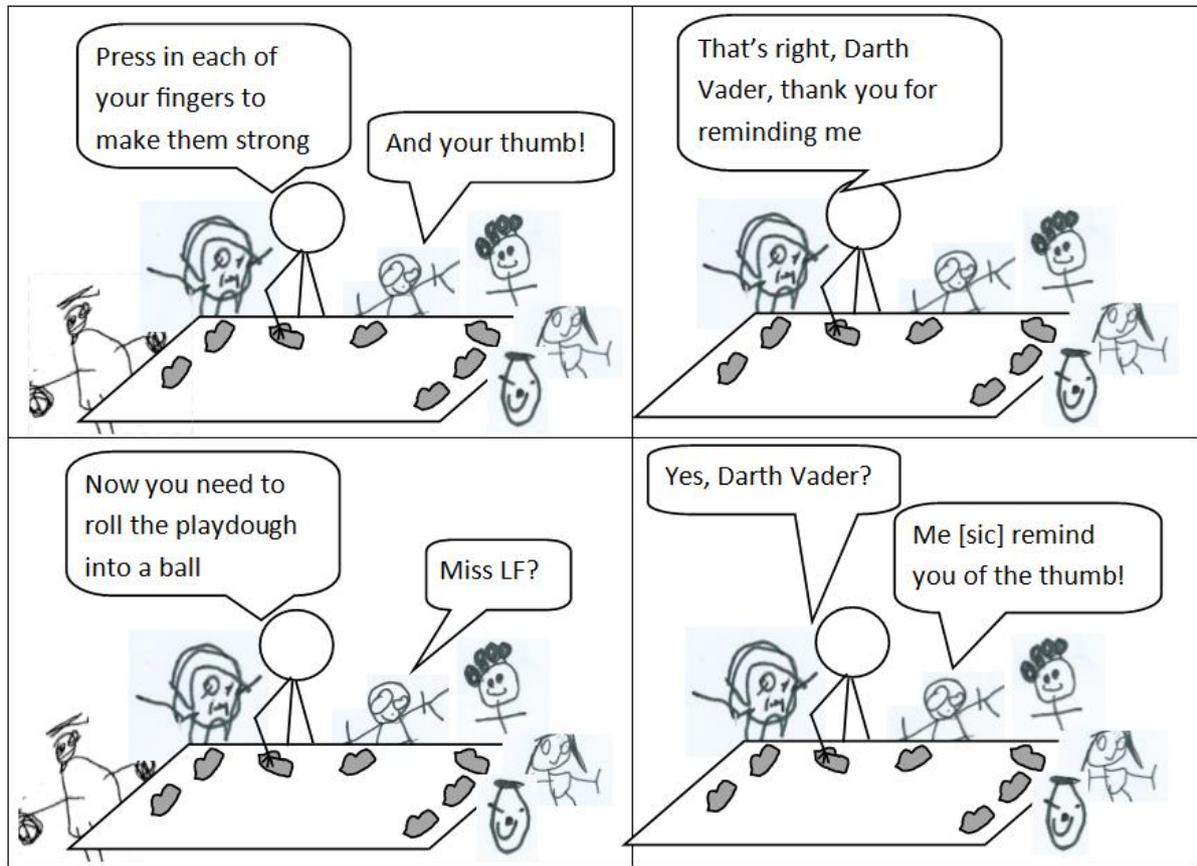

Figure 4.71: Grapes avoiding work 2

It appears that, while the majority of the children in the class seemed 'ready' for formal learning, sitting at tables and working in groups or even independently from the beginning of Y1, the grapes had not reached the expected 'good level of development' in literacy and numeracy, and as a result struggled to complete tasks at the tables. They demonstrated a wide range of tactics to avoid formal work and thus did not accomplish a great deal unless an adult was there to keep them on task and push them onwards. It could therefore be concluded that learning through the practical, multimodal tasks present in F2's choosing time might have been more suitable to the needs to the grapes at that point in time.

The interactions that occurred at the table were mainly characterised by verbal communication with the addition of some multimodal tools and gestures to supplement meaning. When the children were sat at the tables, they seldom used their whole bodies to

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communicate, nor did they traverse from one space to another. Rather they made use of the materials that were available to them immediately on the tables, and generally did not create assemblages out of additional materials from the surroundings, as was often seen in the indoor choosing areas. When comparing the nature of the interactions that occurred at the tables to the those which took place outside, it is clear that the physical layout of the tables was effective in restricting the children's movement (Kernan & Devine, 2010). The contrast from being able to move freely in the playground, outdoor spaces and indoor spaces to being sat at tables clearly had a profound effect on the children's experiences (Kraftly, Horton & Tucker, 2012). Consistent with the social-spatial dialectic (Soja, 1989, Jones et al., 2016), the tables were positioned with the intention of encouraging children to remain stationary and complete a set activity. As a result, the content of their communication tended to be focused on the task at hand and the energetic, imaginative, transformative interactions that were commonplace in the freer spaces became almost entirely obsolete. Not only did the content of children's conversations become more focused on the task, the other interesting pattern which emerged was that the resources children used to communicate became more streamlined as they tended to speak to each other verbally with less reliance on multimodal forms of communication. The final tendency that emerged as they interacted at the tables was that, crucially, the conversations held at the tables were almost always conducted in English. On rare occasions children did speak other languages while seated at the tables, but these tended to be during instances such as the event captured in 4.71 (Grapes avoiding work) where Igor (who had only recently arrived in England and did not speak much English yet), chose to explain what had happened in Romani to Darth Vader, a fellow-speaker of this language. Such translanguaging was even less frequent used at the tables, and while translanguaging that occurred during play in the freer spaces was often accepted and adopted by peers, such as in Figure 4.3 (Burtun), Figure 4.5 (Dudu) and Figure 4.42 (Shaadi), when translanguaging did occur at the tables, other children tended to marginalise, even criticize the practice, such as in Figure 4.35 (Chup ho ja).

Occasionally, the children, particularly the grapes, adopted creative strategies to avoid doing work they had been set. They demonstrated that they were adept at challenging authority by engaging in conversations that were not related to the adult-set activity, while

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remaining undetected by the teacher. This ability to simultaneously conform to the expectations of the context by physically complying (i.e. sitting at the tables and not running around) yet also distance themselves from the teacher-dominated discourse of the classroom demonstrates the children had a deep understanding of the rules that governed the space-and how to get away with breaking them.

4.4.2.5 On the carpet

Other than Assembly where they were required to sit and listen in silence, the carpet was the most formal of all spaces the children occupied during at school. Almost all lessons in F2 and in Y1 began with 'input' where the children sat on the carpet and listened as the teacher introduced a topic.

The rules on the carpet were re-established on a daily basis in F2 where the teacher asked children to recite the 'fantastic four' rules in order to reinforce them, as the following vignette depicts (Fig. 4.72):
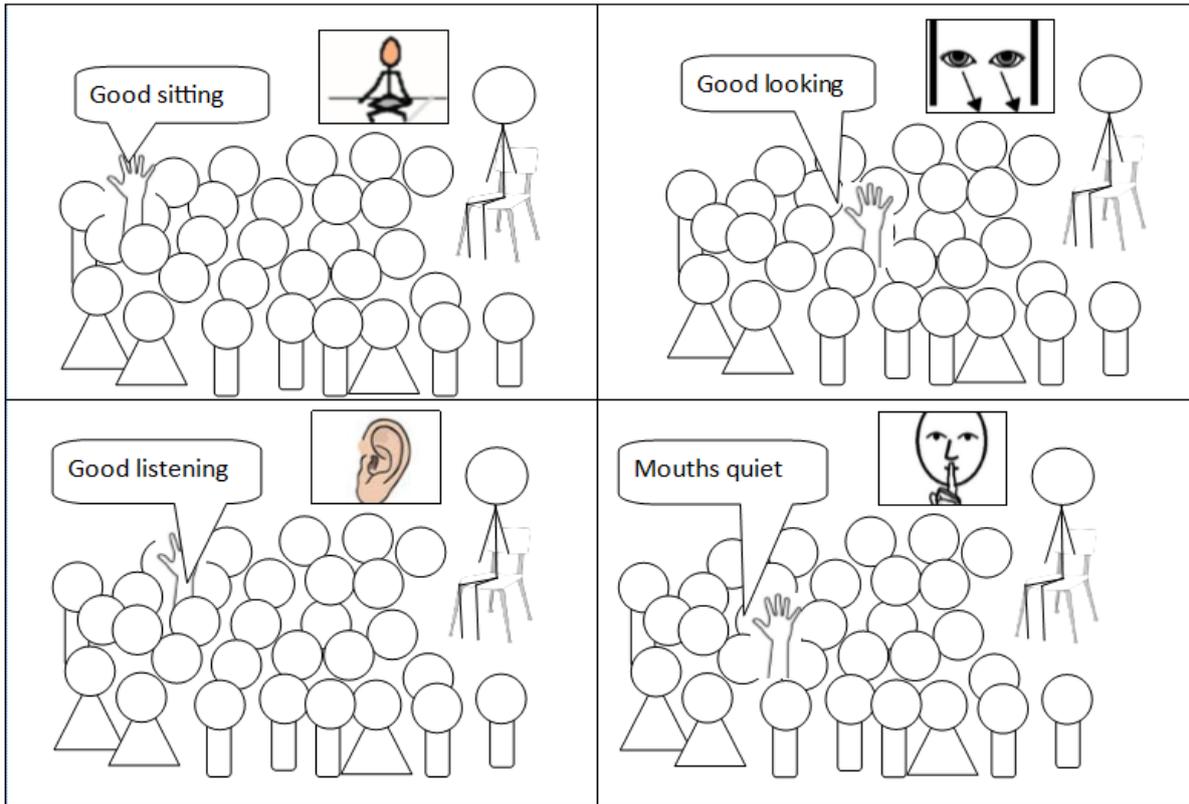
Figure 4.72: The Fantastic Four Rules

However, in Y1 the children were generally only reminded of these rules when someone was breaking one of them, as it appeared that the Y1 teacher believed the children should know the 'rules' of the carpet by the time they reach this class.

Generally, the structure of communication that occurred on the carpet followed a question and answer format that was controlled by the teacher, as demonstrated by the following example taken from the second term in Y1. The children were sat on the carpet in a geography lesson and their task was to say if the things shown to them on the board were man-made or natural (Fig. 4.73):

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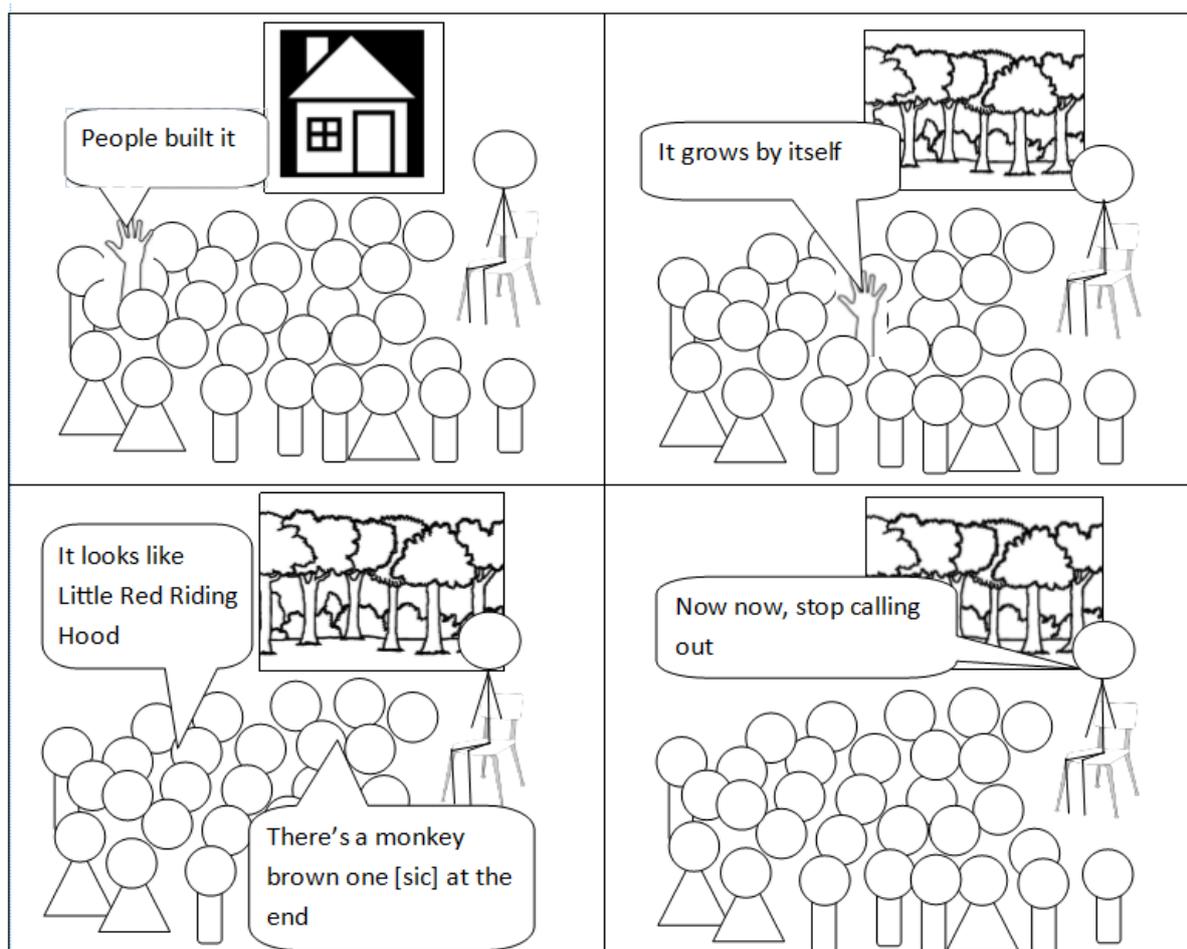
Figure 4.73: Geography on the carpet

As we can see from this observation, the teacher is asking questions to which she already knows the answer and the children are responding to these in a question-answer-further question format of conversation, or 'known-answer-quizzing', which is the dominant didactic method in Western classrooms (Rogoff et al., 2015, p.11). This model of interaction was ubiquitous during the time when children sat on the carpet to receive 'input'. Consistent with Gallagher's (2010) findings, children's communication in these formal lessons was highly restricted. It appeared as though the teacher asked a question and anticipated a range of acceptable responses. Children's contributions to the topic that fell beyond the scope of expected answers were treated as though the children were being silly, and not taken any further. However, it can be readily seen that this highly structured formula of the 'known-answer-quizzing' approach to teaching has the potential to ignore children's broader funds of knowledge. In this context, Hedges et al. (2011) explain that paying attention to learners' interests is a potent pedagogical tool for strengthening

motivation, memory and attention. While the incorporation of children's interests into their learning is extensively catered for by the provision of resources in their play, Hedges et al. (2011) argue that the integration children's interests into didactic teaching is less commonly-adopted, and is thus less effective.

Furthermore, when the children were on the carpet, they rarely spoke in languages other than English. This was in stark contrast to the freer spaces of the school where tranglanguaging was a frequent occurrence. This provides clear evidence that the children, some of whom were just four years old when the study began, were already skilled at negotiating multiple identities within the multicultural context (Brooker & Woodhead, 2008). In line with the findings of Duranti, Ochs & Schieffelin (2012), the children were capable of employing a range of communicative strategies to construct identities, and were aware of how different social identities are ranked in relation to each other in different spaces.

In both F2 and Y1, there was an exception to the rule that prohibited talking on the carpet, namely, talk-partners. During 'input' sessions, the teacher would grant the children short periods of time to discuss the answer to a question with their talk partners. When the teacher decided the talk-partners had discussed the answer sufficiently, they were called to return their focus to the teacher. The teacher would then ask particular children who raised their hands to share what they had discussed. Thus, even the moments when children were allowed to interact with each other on the carpet were highly controlled with specific goals and clear guidelines.

The format of interactions that typically occurred on the carpet emulates what Rogoff calls "Assembly-Line Instruction (ALI)" (2014, p. 70) as the adult controls the children's learning in terms of content, pace and assessment. While ALI of this sort is common in Western schooling (Rogoff, 2014) the observations revealed that the rules governing the expected behaviours on 'the carpet' were not clear to everyone, in particular to children who had recently arrived from diverse backgrounds. In Western cultures it is typically accepted that conversations take place on a turn-by-turn basis (Atkinson & Heritage, 1984), however this structure cannot be assumed to be universally understood (Wierzbicka, 2003).

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For example, in F2 and in Y1 there were multiple observations of children 'shouting out' answers and the responses to this fell into three categories: the teachers either a) ignored the child calling out, b) reminded the class that a child needed to raise their hand if they wanted to speak or c) admonished the child for calling out and not knowing better. While it is tempting to assume that the children who shouted out without raising their hands knew they ought to raise their hands but chose not to, it may be the case that they were genuinely unaware of the rules of the carpet. Indeed, there were multiple observations of children on the carpet which demonstrated that they did not know the rules as the following examples show (Fig. 4.74):
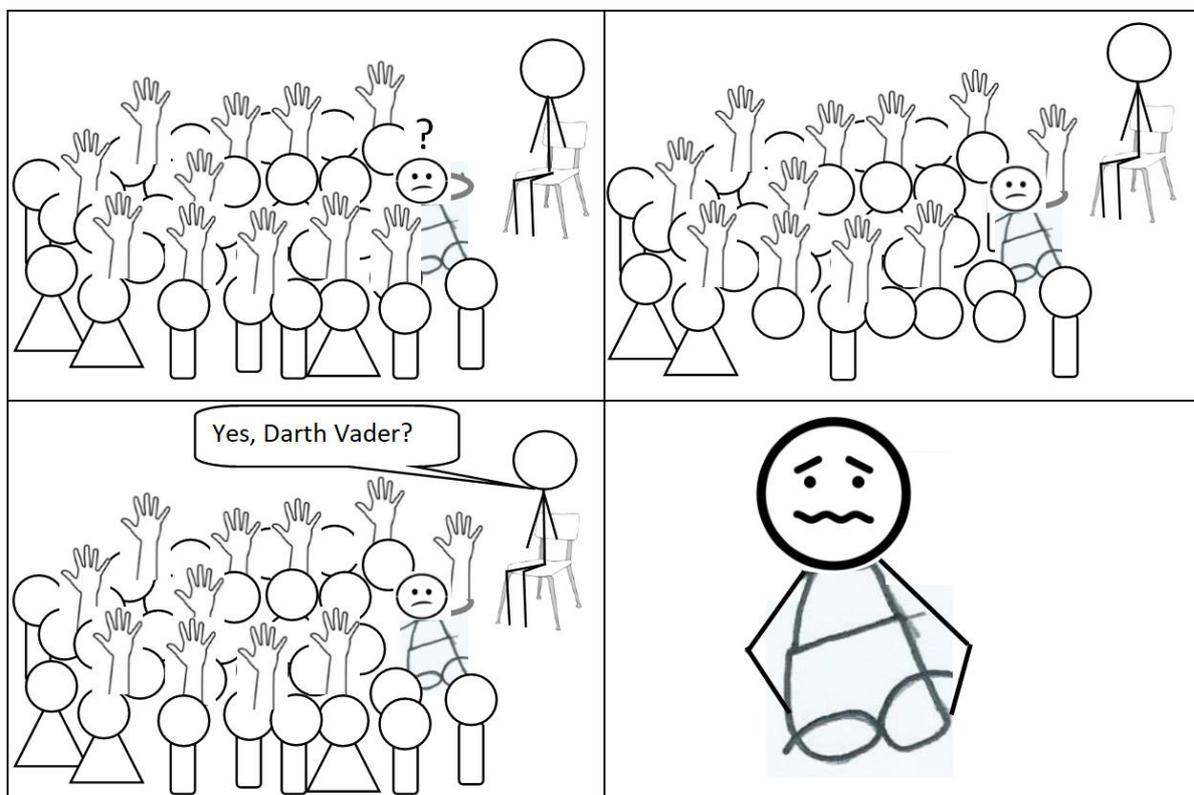

Figure 4.74: Darth Vader on the carpet

In June, in the summer term of F2, the children were all sat on the carpet. The teacher, LO, asked the children a question and all the children in the class raised their hands. Darth Vader looks around, notices everyone has their hands up and raises his hand. The teacher asks Darth Vader to respond to the question and Darth Vader suddenly looks noticeably confused as if he did not understand why the teacher had called his name. After this event, I paid particular attention to Darth Vader on the carpet and noticed he did not attempt to raise his hand again, even when the other children raised theirs. After the children had

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transitioned to Y1 I continued to observe Darth Vader on the carpet and saw that in October he began to raise his hand at appropriate moments when he was able to answer the question the teacher had asked. Though it cannot be confirmed the exact reason why Darth Vader looked surprised that the teacher called his name when he had his hand up in F2, his expression and subsequent actions gave the impression that he did not understand the meaning of the 'raise your hand' gesture until October of Y1. This is particularly important given that Darth Vader joined the school at the beginning of F2 and was not a recent arrival to the class.

In the autumn term of Y1, Igor joined the class. For the first two weeks, Igor regularly sat on the carpet facing any direction - sometimes he faced the teacher, sometimes he faced the back wall. The teacher and teaching assistant had to actually demonstrate to Igor which way to face on five separate occasions (that were observed) until Igor understood that when seated on the carpet he needed to face the front.

Rocky also joined the class in the Autumn term of Y1. For the first few days Rocky wanted to play in the construction/role-play area all day. The teacher and teaching assistant began by asking him to sit down and it became apparent that he did not understand them. They then used Makaton signs to ask Rocky to sit down, but Rocky just copied their hand gestures without understanding. For the first two weeks, the teacher had to physically take Rocky to the carpet area and show how to sit down. Gradually, Rocky began to understand the Makaton sign for 'sit down' and connect the ideas that when the children were sat on the carpet, he also needed to make his way to the carpet area and sit down (Fig. 4.75):
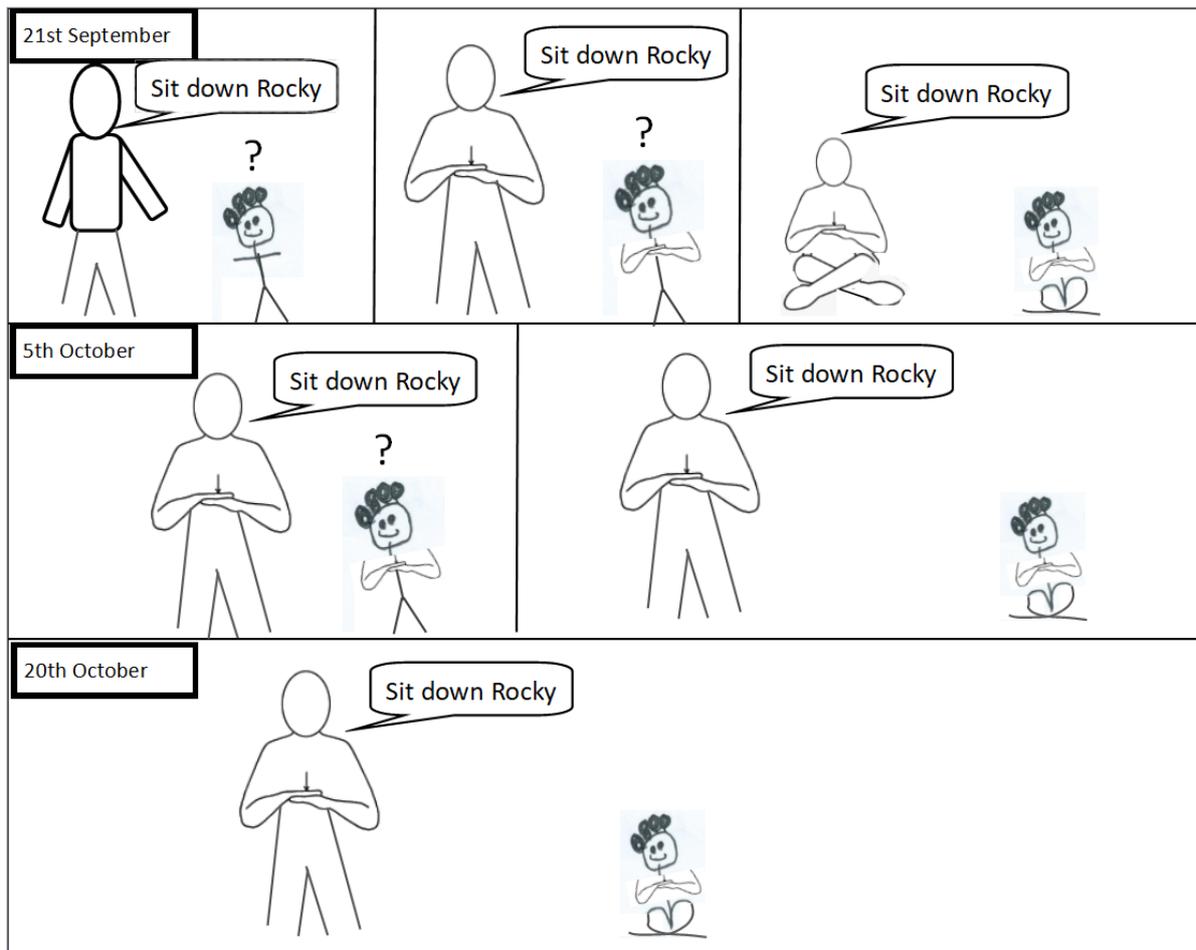
Figure 4.75: Rocky learns to sit down

As the observations demonstrate, it took Rocky a month to understand that when the children were on the carpet, he also needed to be on the carpet and *sit down.* That said, Rocky took even longer to understand the instruction 'stand up', and he required a physical demonstration of 'stand up' for the first six weeks of being in the school (Fig. 4.76):
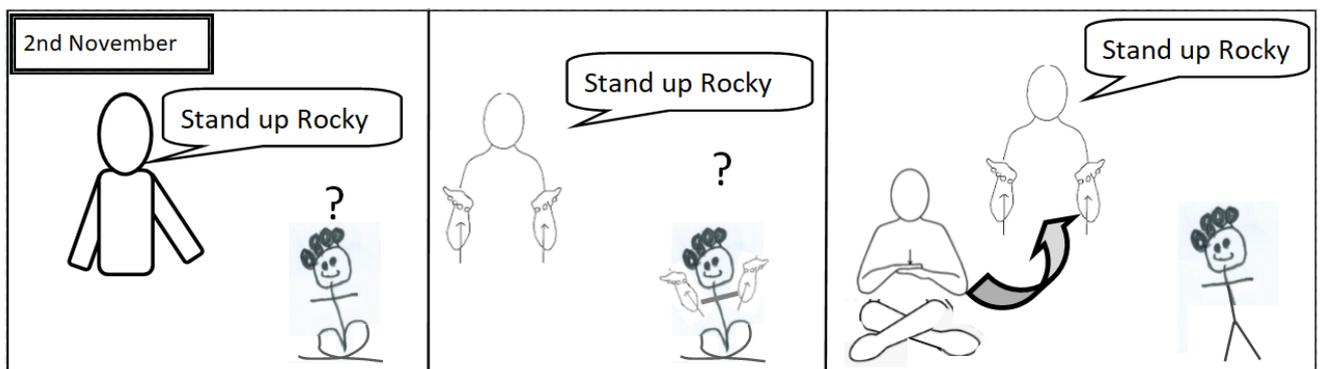

Figure 4.76: Rocky learns to stand up

The institutional structure of 'the carpet' is a key feature of the school day where the children are expected to sit on the carpet, face forwards and raise their hands when they know the answer to a question. In order to conform to the cultural expectations of the space, the children first need to understand and learn how to behave on the carpet - a process that can take months as demonstrated by the examples above. This highlights NALDIC's (2003) view that when children who are new to English join an educational setting, there are cognitive and socio-cultural dimensions that they must learn about alongside the actual language of English.

The children are expected to learn the officially sanctioned ways of behaving within certain spaces (Pike, 2008), and then modify their conduct according to the expectations that govern each space (Kraftl et al., 2012). Here, we see the social-spatial dialectic (Soja, 1989) in action as the classroom layout is designed to have a 'carpet' space which maximises the children's view of the teacher and the teacher's surveillance of the children (Gallagher, 2010). Thus, the carpet is design by the adults with a particular purpose, while simultaneously the carpet provokes particular behaviours that reflect the dominant discourse that the adult is superior and more knowledgeable than the children (Foucault, 1972). However, due to the carpet being such a highly controlled space that restricted the children's autonomy, it follows that it actively hindered the development and expression of agency (Stetsenko, 2007).

Throughout the literature review, multiple pieces of research have been presented which suggest that where there are restrictions on human behaviour, people, or more specifically, children, will find ways to resist these boundaries in order to gain control through agentic expressions of their own identities (Corsaro, 1988; Gee, 1990; Lefebvre, 1991; Soja, 2009). Accordingly, the children in the study often dared to communicate with each other in clandestine ways, using subtle tactics to avoid detection. Choosing not to conform to the strict expectations on the carpet was risky, and if a child went too far they might end up on the 'grey cloud'. Therefore, the children used multimodal forms of communication, such as Spiderman impressions and thumbs up (Section 4.3.6) as these would avoid 'sonic surveillance' (Gallagher, 2010), attracting less attention than verbal communication as the following example, taken from Y1, shows (Fig. 4.77):
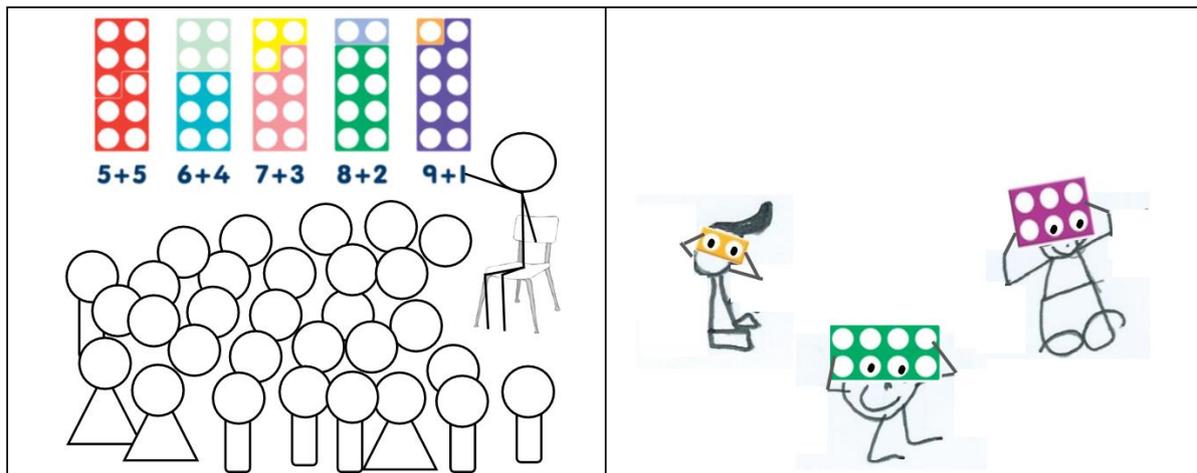
Figure 4.77: Numicon superhero masks

The children in this vignette are seen to be re-appropriating the resources that were intended to be used for the purposes of a maths lesson to teach them number combinations adding up to 10. In doing so, they are risking being told off by the teacher; however, the potential penalty seems to be worth it as the children are challenging the social order of the carpet and shaping their own experiences of the space (Markstrőm & Halldén, 2009). The 'disruptive' activities that occurred on the carpet were skilfully attuned to the teacher's attention as the children were vigilant of the teacher's surveillance, demonstrating they knew how to get away with unauthorised activities conducted under the radar (Halstead & Jiamei, 2009). In particular, the children made use of multimodal gestures to avoid detection from the teacher's 'sonic surveillance' (Gallagher, 2010). The children were able to communicate with each other in the third space in creative ways, resisting the homogenising rules of the carpet (Gee, 1990; Lefebvre, 1991). In doing so, they risked getting in trouble by choosing not to conform to the expected ways of behaving, but the risk was worth it in order to maintain their individual identities (Wilson, 2000).

There is a stark contrast between the characteristics of communication on the carpet and the freer spaces, such as the playground, the outside area and the indoor choosing areas. When the children were allowed to choose their activity and with whom they wanted to interact, the resultant conversations were heterogeneous in nature. The children drew on their repertoires of funds of knowledge accumulated from diverse experiences outside the school, in the community and from different countries. The children's communicative practices in the freer spaces also integrated a range of multilingual and multimodal

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resources, learned ways of communicating from each other and created new, transformative semiotic meanings. The children brought a significant portion of their individual identities into the conversations they held in the spaces where they had more freedom and choice.

By contrast, while the children were on the carpet, their interactions were tightly controlled within a narrow range of acceptable options. Spontaneous communication was prohibited and the children had to seek permission to speak by raising their hand. There was the implicit expectation that dialogue on the carpet was conducted in English with minimal multimodality albeit hand gestures were allowed, so long as the child's body remained firmly planted in its designated spot. Furthermore, the content of the children's conversations on the carpet were either direct responses to the teacher's question (which, again, had a limited number of possible options) or at the very most could explore children's experiences in relation to the question posed by the teacher. Anything that was not specifically related to the learning topic was rejected as not relevant and the Assembly-Line Instruction would be resumed immediately. In this space, it was difficult to distinguish between the different children. Their individual identities were side-lined in favour of a more homogenous group identity. It was barely noticeable who answered what question as the finite number of expected answers meant that children's individual experiences, perspectives and funds of knowledge were superfluous. Ironically, even though the carpet was the one time during the day that the children were sat together, they were not encouraged to think collaboratively. Cooperation between children took place under strict conditions in the form of talk partners, but the topic of their talk and the duration for such talking was highly restricted. As a result, the children were sat on the carpet, they were like multiple individuals – almost clones – who were physically in close proximity, however intellectually they were isolated from each other.

4.4.2.6 Liminal spaces/transitions between activities

As the data collection took place, I recorded all the spaces that the children occupied throughout the day. The data was analysed during the data collection in an iterative process, as outlined in Section 3.3.2. However, it became clear from an early stage that there were numerous observations that took place in spaces that were not easily identifiable, such as the spaces that have been explored in Sections 4.4.2.1-4.4.2.5. Indeed,

the transitions *between* activities and spaces yielded a flurry of interesting and diverse communication, such as exchanges between children in languages other than English. It also became apparent that the children were skilled at noting when the teacher's attention was diverted in order to take advantage and interact with each other in ways that did not conform to the behaviour of an 'ideal learner' conceptualised by the school rules. The following vignettes are examples of interactions that occurred in the liminal spaces as the children transitioned from one structured activity/space to another in F2 (Fig. 4.78):
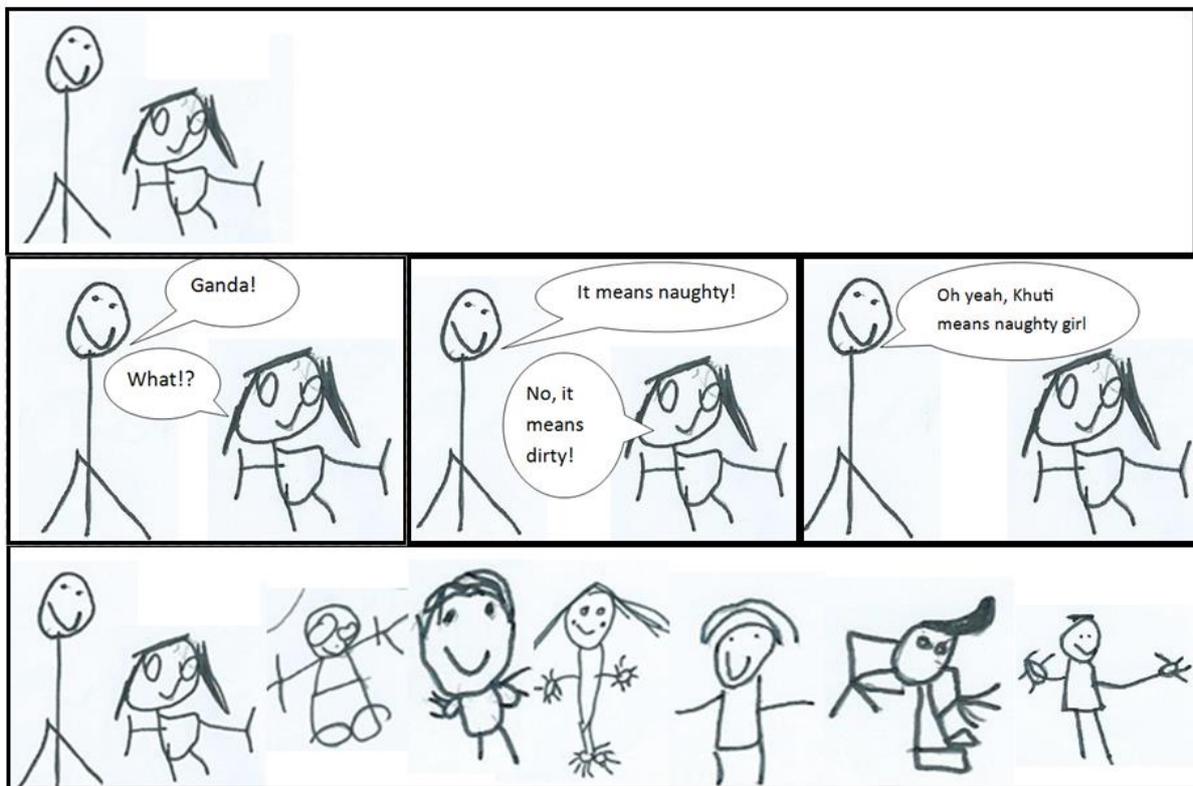

Figure 4.78: Lining up

The vignette (Fig. 4.78) shows two children, Naan and Cinderella, lining up for lunch. Moments before this event took place, the participants had all been sitting on the carpet in silence. The children were asked one by one to gather their things ready for lunch. This prompted a commotion and the teacher's attention was drawn into helping children locate their lunch boxes and coats. Naan and Cinderella sense a lapse in surveillance and took advantage of the opportunity to speak in Urdu amongst the hubbub. Naan calls Cinderella 'ganda', to which Cinderella gasps in shock and exclaims 'what!?'. Naan then clarifies the meaning of 'ganda' in English for Cinderella stating 'it means naughty!' but Cinderella corrects him 'No, it means dirty' and Naan agrees 'Oh yeah, khuti means naughty girl'. Naan

and Cinderella cease their discussion, sensing that silence that has returned to the class once they have all lined up.

In this example, we can see a transition between activities triggering a pocket of chaos in which the Naan and Cinderella can test the power relations that exist in the classroom by asserting their agency and engaging in a conversation that contains mild swear words and would be considered taboo in formal classroom discourse (Jay, 2009). The children in this vignette are not outwardly disrupting the teacher-dominated procedure of lining up as they are complying with the teacher's request, but they are distancing themselves from the officially sanctioned script of the classroom and camouflaging this by fitting in and lining up (Gutiérrez et al., 1999). In doing so, they are maintaining their individual identities instead of conforming to the teacher's instruction for them to line up in silence (Gee, 1990; Wilson, 2000).

The children in the study frequently took advantage of such lapses in surveillance in order to express agency within an adult-controlled context (Gallagher, 2010). In this way, it can be appreciated that the power relations that exist in a classroom are not just 'top-down', rather they are in continual flux with participants negotiating the rules and restrictions impressed upon them (Flohr, 2016). In this way, the children actively sought opportunities to reclaim and retain their identity.

4.4.3 Different Spaces: Conclusion

In summary, this section of the data has demonstrated how the behavioural expectations and level of adults' control over the different spaces impacts the frequency and variety of communication that occurs between the children in each space, as depicted by Figure 4.79:
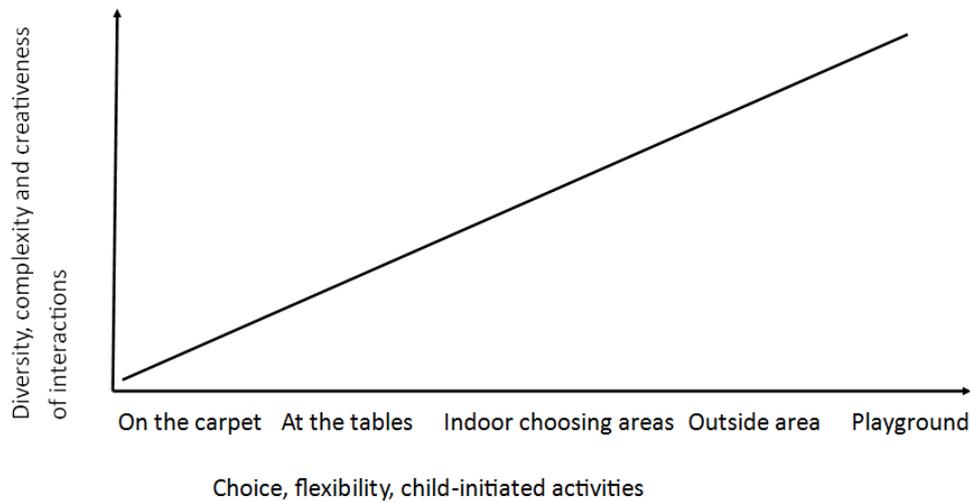
Figure 4.79: The relationship between spaces and characteristics of communication

The diagram demonstrates how the more 'free' spaces, such as the playground and the outside area, were the sites of more diverse, complex and creative interactions, with the most controlled space the children occupied being that of sitting on the carpet. Here, the interactions tended not to digress from the learning topic and often took the form of answers to the teacher's questions. In addition, it was clear from the observations that interpersonal communication between children is encouraged by the more free spaces, while the more controlled spaces tended to produce more development on the individual plane. This is significant as, according to sociocultural theory, greater and more profound learning occurs through interpersonal interactions, thus by restricting such interactions it can be argued that spontaneous opportunities for learning are actually being discouraged.

Chapter 5 : Discussion

5.1: Introduction

The literature review in this study explored communication from a sociolinguistic perspective, highlighting the importance of the environment in influencing interactions, in line with sociocultural theory. The literature review also presented an overview of the policy frameworks employed in England which surround the inclusion of children with diverse backgrounds in the Early Years education, through to the first year of formal schooling. Whilst these studies acknowledge the complexities of diverse children's experiences in the Early Years and beyond, there is little research that examines the impact of transitioning to formal schooling in Y1 on the communicative practices of young children. There is also a lack of studies conducted with young children in *superdiverse* environments as the majority of research focuses on bicultural educational settings.

This study was thus guided by the main research question:

How do the intersections between different socio-cultural contexts contribute to children's multimodal communicative practices in a super-diverse environment?

The objective of this chapter is to answer this question by consolidating the findings from chapter 4. The three subsidiary research questions will also be addressed by examining communication through Rogoff's three planes of analysis. In addition, the chapter will demonstrate how 'third space theory' can be extended by revealing how the level of formality in communication is intimately tied to the availability of opportunities for third space creation. The following table is a copy of Table 3.1 in Section 3.2.1 and summarises how analysing the data on Rogoff's three planes of analysis will answer the three subsidiary research questions (Table 5.1):

Subsidiary Research Question	Plane of Analysis
1) How do the repertoires children learn in out-of-school socio-cultural contexts contribute to children's multimodal communicative practices in a super-diverse environment?	Individual

2) In what ways does the interaction with others, who in turn draw upon their own resources from different socio-cultural contexts, contribute to children's multimodal communicative practices in a super-diverse environment?	Interpersonal
3) What is the relationship between the immediate contexts of communication, as defined by space and activity, and the resources children draw upon to communicate in a super-diverse environment?	Cultural-Institutional

Table 5.1: Subsidiary research questions and Rogoff's planes of analysis

The findings in Chapter 4 revealed that communication between children, their peers and the adults in a given setting ranged from formal to informal in relation to three prominent variables: the content of communication (Section 4.2), the communicative resources (Section 4.3) and the contexts of communication (Section 4.3). The following model represents these findings along a continuum spanning highly structured, adult-directed formal communication, through semi-structured communication, characterised by elements of both adult- and child-led interactions, to informal communication that is child-initiated and unconstrained.

At one end of this continuum, children's communicative practices conform to the formal, highly adult-controlled, officially scripted, skills and knowledge goals that are in line with the universal standards set out by the EYFS and National Curriculum. In the middle of the continuum the children blend the learning objectives and topics with knowledge and experiences that they have developed through participation in different funds of knowledge, such as homes, communities and digital media. The other end of the continuum represents children's communicative practices that constitute resistance and agency, directly opposing the powers of homogenisation that seek to supress individual identities in favour of universal developmental goals.

The model of a continuum is particularly pertinent as it avoids binary distinctions between formal and informal as such a dichotomy would be misleading given that the extreme poles of the continuum were, indeed, distinct. That said, the majority of communicative practices

observed in the study fell into the zone of 'semi-structure communication' where aspects of formality and informality overlapped.

This continuum is inspired by the 'model of integrated pedagogical approaches' (Wood, 2010) which is designed to "combine the benefits of adult-directed and child-initiated activities" (p.20). Each zone of the continuum will now be considered in relation to Rogoff's three planes of analysis (Figure 5.1):
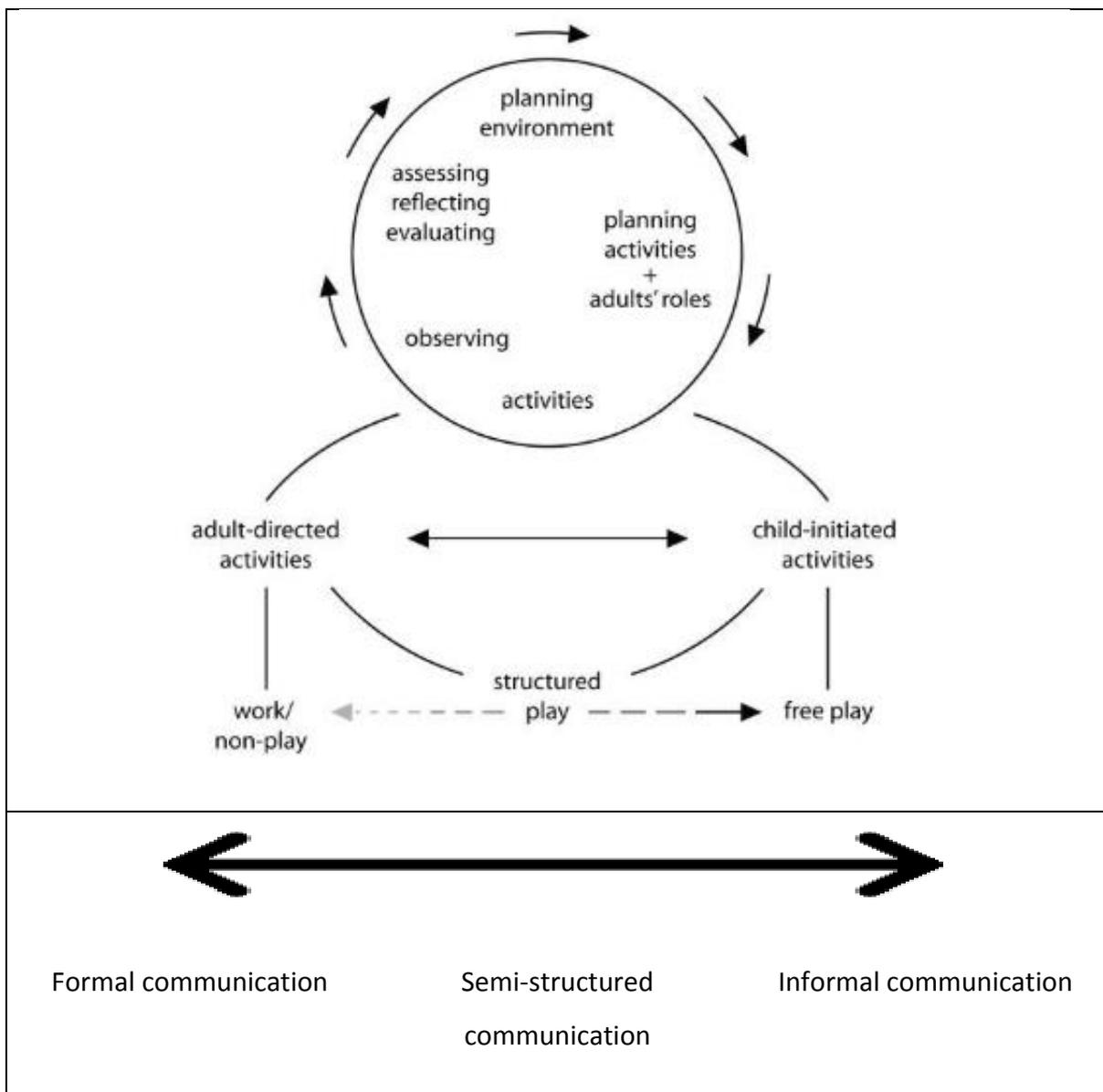

Figure 5.1: Continuum of formal to informal communicative practices, based on Wood's (2010) pedagogical approaches model

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To recall, the *individual plane* of analysis highlights how people change and develop as they participate in, and contribute to, cultural activities. A person then learns from these and handles subsequent events based on their experiences of previous involvement in similar situations. Rogoff (1995) uses the metaphor of 'participatory appropriation' to describe the process of transformation a person undergoes as they engage in culturally organised activities. Rogoff argues against the terms 'acquisition' or 'internalisation' as they infer the knowledge a person learns is static and external until absorbed, thereby making it 'internal'. In contrast, the concept of participatory appropriation emphasises that a person taking part in an activity is *part of* the activity. From this perspective, development is seen as a dynamic process that continually changes as events unfold. Examining the data through the lens of the individual plane of analysis will answer the first subsidiary research question:

1. How do the repertoires individual children learn in out-of-school socio-cultural contexts contribute to their multimodal communicative practices in a super-diverse environment?

The *interpersonal plane* of analysis looks at the relationships between a child and the people around them, for example, in terms of the activities they are engaged in together (Rogoff, 2003). Rogoff uses the term 'guided participation' to encompass the mutual involvement of individuals and their social partners, and how such interactions are arranged. Rogoff (1995) argues that all interpersonal interactions and arrangements can be considered through the lens of 'guided participation'. This includes immediate face-to-face interactions as well as people's engagement with (or avoidance of) activities set by others, even if they are not in each other's presence. Guided participation is concerned with the shape of communication between people - whether it is direct instruction or informal learning by observing (Rogoff et al., 2015). An essential aspect of guided participation is that the endeavour must be shared with a mutually understood goal that needs to be accomplished, necessitating a 'common ground' - even if that 'goal' is having fun and avoiding work (Rogoff, 1995).

Examining the data on individual plane of analysis will answer the second subsidiary research question:

2. In what ways does interpersonal communication with others, who in turn draw upon their own resources from different socio-cultural contexts,

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contribute to children's multimodal communicative practices in a super-diverse environment?

The third plane of analysis foregrounds the *cultural-institutional* processes that shape an activity. Rogoff (1995) uses the metaphor of 'apprenticeship' to explain how the individual and the sociocultural world are mutually embedded. Apprenticeship encapsulates a system of interpersonal arrangements in which people are involved in activities that are culturally organised. This plane focuses on "cultural constraints, resources, values relating to what means are appropriate for reaching goals, and cultural tools such as maps, pencils, and linguistic and mathematical system" (Rogoff, 1995, p.142).

Examining the data on individual plane of analysis will answer the third subsidiary research question:

3. What is the relationship between the cultural-institutional contexts of communication and the resources children draw upon to communicate in a super-diverse environment?

As part of this discussion the role of the so-called 'third space' will be emphasised. It will be recalled from the literature review (Section 2.2.2) that a third space is a lived place, where people can create alternative ways of thinking, being and using the space which differ from the conventional, socially defined, ways of doing things. The concept of such a third space has been demonstrated by numerous studies to be particularly appropriate for describing the transformational, hybrid space that is created by members of diverse communities when they are brought together in a location that has different norms and discourses (Gee, 1990; Bhabha, 1994; Cole, 1998; Gutiérrez et al., 1999; Moje et al., 2004) (See Section 2.2.2, in particular Box 1) for further discussion. The findings presented in Chapter 4 clearly demonstrate how the children bring their funds of knowledge into 'conversation' with the officially sanctioned discourses of the school in the third space. The following discussion of the data will, therefore, integrate the notion of a third space with Rogoff's (1990) three planes of analysis (described in Section 5.1).

This section applies Rogoff's three planes of analysis to the continuum presented in Figure 5.1 where communication ranges from formal, structured and adult-controlled to informal,

indefinite and child-directed. Accompanying this, will be a discussion that identifies how the level of formality influences the creation and characteristics of the third space.

5.2 Formal communication

The *individual plane* of analysis highlights how people change and develop as they participate in, and contribute to, activities, with the direction of such developments varying in line with local cultural values (Rogoff, 1995). Throughout the observations underpinning this research, the participants frequently engaged in formal learning activities that were planned by the teacher to be highly structured and to scaffold the skills that the children had mastered in the previous lesson on that particular subject.

In addition to learning targets in line with the curriculum, and unsurprisingly given the multilingual backgrounds of the children, the school placed considerable emphasis on the development of English language. The children who had only recently begun to learn English attended focussed 'New to English' sessions. In addition, the adults in the class continually sought opportunities to improve the children's English knowledge and understanding by providing them with activities designed to extend their vocabulary. All of these activities were designed to be aligned with historical and current educational policy which views English language proficiency as essential for success at school (DfE, 2014a; 2017) and which, in turn, reflects the 'mono-lingual mindset' present in educational institutions in England (Safford & Drury, 2013).

On the *interpersonal plane*, there were culturally situated expectations regarding the format of interactions during periods of formal learning. The pedagogical practice of asking the children questions to which the teacher already knows the answer was dominant throughout such formal learning sessions. Communication on the carpet, in particular, tended to follow the 'known-answer-quizzing' model that is dominant in Western educational institutions (Rogoff et al., 2015). This style of communication is entirely teacher-led and scripted to align with the standards prescribed by the EYFS and National Curriculum. Consequently, there was little scope for creativity or child-initiated conversations during such periods of formal learning, other than when the teacher permitted the children to discuss a topic with their talk-partners - however both the subject of such discussions and

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the time allowed was set by the teacher. This was particularly apparent in Y1 compared to F2, however, a key issue highlighted by chapter 4 is that profound learning occurs through interpersonal interactions. Formal spaces discouraged interactions between the children and consequently the potential for learning through communicating was limited.

During the formal periods, there was a near-total absence of opportunities for children to play or engage in deep conversations with each other, which meant there was little scope for creating the zone of proximal development through rich discussions. Consequently, the class was, in effect, divided up into thirty individual children whose cognitive development was isolated from that of their peers with little opportunity for cognition "beyond the skull" (Rogoff, 2003, p.271).

Furthermore, during the formal periods there was little evidence to suggest the children were able to apply previous experiences and knowledge to the present concept by creating a third space. Indeed, some attempts to do so were actively quashed by the teacher and treated as if they were irrelevant or, even impertinent. It may be that the children were 'internally' connecting funds of knowledge to the current topic, however if we are to accept the "majority of [third space]'s practices are interactive in nature" (Wilson, 2000, p.61) then the potential for children to fully explore such connections would be stunted by the lack of opportunity for such interactions.

Furthermore, during such formal moments, the children adhered to the expectation that communication was to be conducted verbally and in English. Whilst the use of multimodal gestures did occur when a child did not know the word for a particular concept, this was rapidly followed by the child being instructed on the correct word in English. The only occasions when children were observed to use languages other than English during formal communication periods were when they were describing a particular concept, such as 'oobar', with the teacher's permission.

On the *cultural-institutional plane*, the spaces in which interactions took place were more than the 'disinterested stage or setting of an action' (Lefebvre, 1991). Each of the spaces in the setting had a set of regulations that embodied the social-spatial dialect (Soja, 1989, Jones et al., 2016). Thus, the formal spaces were designed with a particular intention in

mind and produced the resultant effect that the children (on the whole) conformed to the expectations of formal behaviour in those spaces.

The carpet was the most formal of all the spaces in the setting and was characterised by children following the 'fantastic four rules' of the carpet: they were expected to sit, face the teacher, be quiet, and listen. The arrangement of the children on the carpet in front of the teacher, who was elevated on a chair, afforded maximum surveillance and both the teachers in F2 and Y1 tightly policed the children's "posture and comportment" (Gallagher, 2010, p.265).

On the carpet the individual children morphed into one homogenous group of 'learners' who appeared to be placid, passively complying with the teacher's demands and focusing their attention on the set topic of study. That said, there were exceptions to this generalisation with some children breaking the rules because they did not know them in the first place, and others who actively chose to break the rules.

The strict expectations that governed children's physical positioning and behaviour in the formal spaces revealed some of the inherent complexities that exist around inclusion and equality for children who are culturally diverse (Ang, 2010). The rich cultural knowledge developed through participation in the community has little transfer value if the children do not possess the social and cultural capital to negotiate the rules of regulative and instructional discourse of the setting (Brooker, 2002). Consequently, the rules imposed in the formal spaces created an additional challenge to some children, resulting in them being at a disadvantage when compared to their peers who were well-versed in the acceptable ways of behaving, for example, by following the fantastic four rules on the carpet.

The observations also revealed how, in the formal spaces, the children were subjected to strict measures of control over all aspects of their behaviour- their cognition as they were instructed what to think about; their communication as they were directed when and what to talk about; and their physical posture as they were ordered where and how to sit. However, there were many occasions when a brave child dared to engage in illicit interactions with peers. To do so required the skill to sense an opening in the teachers' focus (Gallagher, 2010) and specialist strategies for communicating under the radar, such as

by employing the 'spider-man-shooting-a-web' gesture. Furthermore, any chink in the wall of formality lead to an intense burst activity in which the children drew on a plethora of multimodal and multilingual resources to exchange ideas and break free from the constraints of the adult-directed, formal communication.

In doing so, the children revealed their attempts to create a third space in which they could maintain their identities and resist the homogenising rules that governed the formal spaces (Gee, 1990; Lefebvre, 1991). Though these attempts were usually short-lived, they draw attention to how things may have appeared calm on the surface – but, in reality the children were brimming with funds of knowledge and waiting in eager anticipation for the liminal moments when they could express themselves using a range of communicative resources that lay in wait in the borderlands and on the peripheries of the 'officially sanctioned script' of the formal spaces.

5.3 Semi-structured communication

On the *individual plane* of analysis, the children in the study demonstrated in numerous ways that they drew on funds of knowledge which they had developed through engagement with members of their families and communities, and then applied these to the current learning objectives in the school. The children frequently linked topics that came up as part of their formal learning to anecdotes about experiences they had engaged in with family members, with their communities, or in other countries. This process demonstrated how they actively sought meanings to explain unfamiliar concepts by relating them to previous situations or by seeking advice of their peers who, in turn, were able to draw on their (different) family and community experiences. Here, the children were able to create a third space, bridging home and school discourses by drawing on their funds of knowledge (and those of others) and bringing these into conversation with the activity they were attempting to complete (Moll & González, 1994; Moje et al., 2004). Thus, in addition to developing knowledge and skills prescribed by the teacher, the children simultaneously learned about their own and their peers' out-of-school experiences.

On the *interpersonal plane*, the children's communication became more fluid when they were given a task to perform without the teacher's immediate involvement. The format of

their conversations meandered from a turn-by-turn basis to overlapping interjections and self-talk that did not necessarily require a response from their interlocutors. The resultant conversations were informal, wandering between the learning objective and their out-of-school experiences. Whilst the children's focus was predominantly on the adult-directed task, this was fused with snippets of conversations related to their background knowledge and experiences.

Through this process, they consolidated how elements of their own experiences fitted in with the adult-directed subject of the learning, while simultaneously learning about those of their peers. In this way, the third space that the children created between their own out-of-school discourses and those present in the school was extended beyond the individual child, evidencing cognition "beyond the skull" (Rogoff, 2003, p.271). In addition, during group activities, the children were engaged in the mutual endeavour of a set task while sharing their funds of knowledge. In this way, learning was distributed: the children created a third space "stretched over and not divided among" (Lave, 1988, p.1) the group.

On the *cultural-institutional* plane, semi-structured communication occurred when the children were focused on an adult-directed task, either at the tables or in the different learning areas. The children were directed to work with specific peers in groups that were typically designated to reflect the children's 'ability'- either by placing children of similar ability together, or by placing the children in mixed-ability groups, and the tasks were differentiated accordingly. The tables were arranged in groups to allow children to work with each other and once the children were given a task to complete in the learning areas, they had to remain in that space until the task was completed. These physical arrangements of the tables and choosing areas exemplified the social-spatial dialectic (Soja, 1989) in that the spaces were set up with the intention of facilitating learning in pairs or small groups and were effective in achieving this aim. In these spaces there were high levels of interaction between the children around the set task. An additional consequence of these arrangements was that the children communicated broader knowledge that incorporated funds of knowledge that lay beyond the formal, adult-led targets of their learning. As a result of engaging in mutual endeavours in school, the children developed deeper understandings of each other's knowledge and practices outside school. In doing so, the

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children consolidated aspects of their own identities and discovered where their experiences fitted within the community of practice that was the class.

5.4 Informal communication

On the *individual plane*, the children developed their own goals alongside those prescribed by the teacher in line with the EYFS and the national curriculum. During informal communication, the children's activities drew inspiration from multiple funds of knowledge: previous formal lessons, home and community practices, peers and popular cultures. The children role-played everyday situations and, in doing so, they developed a repertoire of responses they could employ in subsequent, similar, situations. The participants created their own shared play themes with child-initiated targets that continually evolved. As the play built momentum, the children's ideas bounced off each other; they transformed spaces and re-appropriated resources, culminating in the creation of a third space in which new forms of activity "remediate[d] social rules, the division of labour, and the way in which artefacts are created and used" (Cole, 1998, p.303).

On the *interpersonal plane*, communication took the form of chaotic, unpredictable interactions that incorporated various layers of multilingual and multimodal resources. Child-initiated interactions during informal activities were often peppered with languages other than English, and these translanguaging practices were generally accepted by the other children who continued the theme of the conversation, incorporating the additional vocabulary into their own repertoires. In addition to verbal interactions, the children often blended, or even relied upon, multimodal gestures to communicate their meaning. There were occasions were entire conversations were held between friends without a single word being spoken.

The purpose of the children's informal interactions reflected Rogoff's notion of 'guided participation' (Rogoff, 2003) in that the children rarely expressed the target of the activity in a formal explicit way. Indeed, their interactions were not organised in a way that focussed on a particular intention, but rather the aims of their mutual endeavour rapidly changed and the children responded to these shifts by adapting their communication to suit the evolving goals. Such third space practices are interactive in nature (Wilson, 2000), thus it follows

that the more resources available for communication in that moment, the more intense and transformative the third space became (Cole, 1998; Gutiérrez et al., 1999). During informal communication, the third space was not only a bridge between the home and school discourses of each individual child, it was also a network of bridges between each child's out-of-school knowledge and practices, fused with their experiences of school. Again, it evidenced how cognition is distributed over a group, rather than existing in isolation in the mind of each individual (Lave, 1988; Rogoff, 2003).

Through informal interactions, the children not only learned English formally (in accordance with the official 'script' of the setting), but they also learned 'alternative English' in the form of colloquial phrases and idioms through informal conversations with each other. In addition, the children picked up snippets of each other's languages, developing truncated multilingual repertoires that superseded the dominant assumptions of monolingualism. Furthermore, the children created their own semiotic resources and developed ways of interacting using multimodal gestures that had specific meanings in the peer culture of this particular class (Corsaro, 1988; Corsaro & Eder, 1990). Thus, the participants in the study demonstrated that the forms of communication which they had learned went beyond the standard expectation that they should communicate only in English.

On the *cultural-institutional* plane, informal communication occurred when, for example, the F2 children were in the playground, in the outdoor area and choosing in the indoor areas. In Y1, informal communication tended to take place either in the playground or in the liminal spaces between formal activities. The findings presented in chapter 4 evidence the social-spatial dialectic (Soja, 1989) in which space is "intimately tied to lived experience" (Warf & Aria, 2008, p.4). Each space has expectations in relation to behaviours understood to be appropriate and therefore the children modified their interactions to suit the 'acceptable' knowledge and practices of each context (Johansson, 2007). In the playground, the outside area and in the indoor choosing areas, the environment facilitated the children's informal conversations by allowing them to move freely between spaces, interact with whomsoever they chose and blend objects from different areas thereby giving them new meanings for their own purposes. There were, however, different levels of freedom in each of these spaces and the children moderated their behaviour in line with the understood expectations of appropriate behaviour is each context. For example, in the playground, the

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children were allowed to play wrestling games so long as they did not actually hurt each other. In comparison, there were more rules that governed behaviour in outdoor and indoor choosing spaces, for example, playing 'princesses' and 'dancing' were allowed in the F2 classroom when choosing in the indoor areas, however playing 'Power Rangers' was forbidden. These rules were not always clear and the children discovered the subtle distinctions between behaviours that were and were not acceptable in each location by testing the boundaries and waiting to see what the teacher's reaction would be. Breaking the rules then became a popular child-initiated activity in itself as the participants engaged in new and creative ways to engage in illicit activities, for example by flicking between Power Rangers and dancing. Henward (2015) observed a similar phenomenon with children leaning to 'get away with' playing Pokémon with one child stating "We can play anything we want to when they aren't looking." (p.216). The children in Henward's study found it was easier to play illicit games in the playground. Similarly, the ability to move freely and interact with peers during 'choosing time' in the F2 classroom without constraints catalysed the creation of a third space as there was an increased range of opportunities for the children to resist the homogenising discourses that governed the formal spaces.

In summary, at the right hand end of the continuum (Fig. 5.1), snippets of home languages were fused with multiple funds of knowledge, transformative communicative resources, creative re-appropriation of objects, and imaginative uses of spaces to forge new ways of acting, thinking and being.

5.5 Conclusion

The objective of this study is to explore how the intersections between different socio-cultural contexts contribute to children's multimodal communicative practices

As explained and demonstrated in the earlier chapters of thesis, the children in this study find themselves at the nexus between their own homes and communities, and those of their peers and the educational setting. In particular, the data presented in Chapter 4 demonstrate how the participants, characterised by social, cultural and linguistic heterogeneity, draw on multiple funds of knowledge in order to navigate the educational setting. Furthermore, this study has revealed how the complexity and breadth of this challenge increased as the children moved from F2 into Y1 when they had to take on an

increasingly homogenised role in line with expectations of formal schooling. In this respect, Ang (2010) observes that "Early Childhood institutions and the curriculum are microcosms of the broader society" (p.50), and this research has clearly demonstrated this to be the case in two areas.

First, the setting itself is, inevitably, a reflection of the community in which it is located. At the next level down, the class is a community of practice that can be likened to a mosaic - each fragment that makes up the whole mosaic is an individual child, with funds of knowledge developed from experiences in the home and community (Moll et al., 1992; Wenger et al., 2002; González et al.; 2005; Blommaert, 2010). In the case of this particular class, its children are also influenced by the 'super-diverse' nature of both the children's homes and communities which encompass a myriad of variables in terms of transnational links, languages spoken, religious practices, immigration routes and status (Vertovec, 2007; Sepulveda, Syrett & Lyon 2011; De Bock, 2015). Thus, this study has analysed the communicative practices of the children in one class to demonstrate that it is, indeed, a microcosm of broader society and that that the individuals within the class mirror the makeup of the wider, super-diverse community.

However, there is a second way important way in which Ang's (2010) statement is applicable, and this relates to the cultural-institutional tools used within the school as a whole, and the classrooms in particular. This study emphasises how the physical layouts of the spaces in the setting are designed with a particular, culturally situated, purpose in mind (Foucault, 1979; Soja, 1989; Jones et al., 2016). The study has also shown how the school reflected broader society through the curriculum which is a product of the prevailing assumptions regarding 'normative' development (Dahlberg et al., 1999; MacNaughton, 2005). This study has demonstrated how such assumptions reflect issues such as the behaviour and communication styles that are deemed appropriate in each space, including officially sanctioned language practices, which are all reflections of dominant discourses present in broader society (Blackledge, 2004; Scott & Venegas, 2017), but which are clearly challenged by the heterogeneous nature of the class.

In this study, children's communicative practices reflect the "a paradox of two competing movements: one of complexity and diversity increase and one of complexity and diversity

reduction" (Lenz Taguchi, 2010, p.14). On the one hand, the participants represent a super-diverse community of practice, while on the other hand, the study demonstrates educational pedagogy and curricula are being reduced to a linear procedure of formal teaching and learning in order to attain curricular goals and standards, particularly as the participants moved into Y1.

 The findings in this study revealed how the children often navigated this juxtaposition of complexity and reduction by creating a third space. Official script was often fused with child-initiated activities in a hybrid place, the third space, that afforded the children opportunities to write their own script creatively, maintaining their identities and resisting the homogenising forces that sought to direct the children's communicative practices (Gee, 1990; Lefebvre, 1991; Bhabha, 1994; Cole, 1998; Gutiérrez et al, 1999; Soja, 2009). However, this study has also demonstrated that, as schooling became more formal, opportunities for such informal interactions and third space creation were greatly reduced.

The findings also demonstrate that children in the study are not passive learners who merely absorb the content of the curriculum; rather they are active agents in their own learning and development who connect funds of knowledge to the new concepts they come across. The study reveals how, in the third space, new knowledge and ideas are created through collaborative play and interaction with peers. This study therefore argues that, in order for the transformative potential of the third space to be realised, children need to be given time and space to explore, question, discuss and, above all, communicate informally.

Chapter 6 : Conclusion

6.1 Introduction

In this final chapter, I will reflect on the process of my research and discuss the limitations of its methodology and findings. I will then present the implications of the research, followed by recommendations for further research.

6.2 Reflections

Throughout thesis, I went on a personal journey of discovery as I was previously a teacher in Year One at the setting where the research took place. To begin with, I found it hard to disassociate myself from my prior role as a teacher who instinctively wanted to push children towards their next learning target. Thus, I had to make a concerted effort to step back and let events unfold without my intervention. I discovered that, by consciously removing this filter from my vision, I was able to notice all the 'other' learning that took place on a daily basis - learning that was not necessarily in line with the curriculum but which helped the children in their individual and collective developmental journeys. As a result, I had to learn to process the significance of events with an open mind and deliberately shed my old views of how I thought 'good learning' was characterised. It was through actively noticing that events that did not always quite fit my preconception of learning that I, myself, came to realise the breadth of child development that exists beyond the scope of the prescribed learning goals I was used to. Thus, my own views on education and pedagogy have been transformed through the research process.

It is argued by some commentators and academics that interpretivist research in social sciences calls the rigour of such research into question (Cohen et al., 2011), and with this in mind I fully admit that my interests are inseparable from the focus of this research (Clough & Nutbrown, 2012). However, by acknowledging that my own views are entangled with the research topic, I have actively challenged my own preconceptions and through this process I believe that I have reduced the potential for a biased interpretation of the results (Greenbank, 2003).

6.3 Limitations

There are several limitations in relation to the use of ethnographic observations that I discovered as I conducted the research. The first was that I was the only researcher amongst a class of thirty child participants (as well as the teachers and teaching assistants who, whilst not direct participants, clearly impacted the actions of the children). Early on, I began to spot patterns in the school day and notice when the children were likely to begin communicating in ways that I believed to be relevant and important for the purposes of this study. That said, it is more than likely that while my attention was drawn to one area of the classroom, children in other areas were interacting in ways that could have been just as significant but I was unable to observe all areas simultaneously. As discussed in the methodology, the other adults in the class became informants which increased the number of eyes and ears I had in the classroom, however the totality clearly did not cover all the physical areas and thus, notwithstanding the significant volume of data that I collected, I fully acknowledge that a huge amount of communication remained unrecorded.

The second limitation is that, as I analysed the data, I realised I had obtained multiple observations of rich, multilingual and multimodal communicative practices from a relatively small number of the pupils. These children were more confident than their peers, and so it was easier to observe them. As I had begun to analyse the data during the data collection phase, I became aware of this challenge at an early stage and so recognised that I needed to change my strategy in order to ensure that I captured the views of all the children (Clough & Nutbrown, 2012). As a result, I made a conscious effort to try and observe the quieter children who were not quite so forthcoming, but this was not as easy as it might appear. This is because capturing input from some of the children was more difficult as they were generally quiet and their conversations were not audible to me unless I was sat right next to them. However, I was conscious that my presence in this way might have impacted their natural actions and responses. Thus, with these children, I had to pay more attention to their multimodal communicative practices (Flewitt, 2005); nevertheless, the reality is that the disproportionate use of verbal communication made it difficult to capture a balanced view of the whole class, and thus it is acknowledged that some children's voices were represented more than others in the subsequent analysis.

A third, related, limitation of the ethnographic observations was that it was extremely difficult to capture data in the playground. For an ethnographic observation to be successful, the researcher must be in the presence of the participants - but in the playground the participants were combined with five other classes, meaning that up to one hundred and eighty children were playing, shouting and charging from one area to another, maximising the short play time session. This meant that I could only observe snippets of play and most of the information I learned about children's practices in the playground were self-reported. Similarly, it was difficult to conduct observations in the dining hall as its maximum capacity was one hundred children. As a result, dinner time for each class was staggered throughout the lunch break to enable all children to eat at some point. This meant that the children I was observing would be allowed into the dining hall when there was space for them, and once they had collected their meals they were spread out amongst all the other children who were eating at the same time. Furthermore, the acoustics in the dining hall also meant that it was difficult to hear children on the other side of the table. Thus, although I ate lunch with the children every day, I was unable to hear much of their conversations beyond those of the children who were sat next to me.

A further methods-related limitation to my study is that I was unable to gather any data in relation to the children's home experiences. Although this was not a major issue as the current study was investigating their communicative practices when they came together as a community of practice in the school, I took the view that knowing more about their out-of-school experiences would strengthen the research.

As a result, during the data collection I considered using photo elicitation (Clark, 1999) by sending cameras home with the children and asking them to take photos of what is important to them. I piloted this method with four children, however all four had taken photos that appeared to be staged, as in 'this is me, reading a book; this is me, doing my homework; this is me, eating vegetables'. It seemed that, despite my best efforts in explaining to the children that they could take photos of what was important to *them*, they perceived it to be akin to a homework task and wanted to 'do well' in their photos. Furthermore, two of the participants took photos of people in their homes and the expressions on their faces showed clear discomfort at being photographed, and so I

therefore decided that it was not only fruitless, but also unethical to pursue the photo elicitation process.

A fifth limitation of the study was that I only focused on the children's communication and how it was influenced by the different contexts which children occupied. Although I have drawn connections between the government's education policy and the features of the school setting in F2 and Y1, a major element which was not examined in detail during my research is the enactment of such policy by the staff at the school. This is clearly worthy of further consideration for, as Aubrey and Durmaz (2012) explain, "The context of practice is where policy texts are interpreted by those charged with implementation" (p.60). These authors draw on the work of Bowe et al. (1992) who emphasise that a teacher's values, beliefs and understandings are influential in translating policy into practice. This sentiment is echoed by Wood (2019) who makes a point of highlighting that she does not "claim that practitioners pay unswerving and uncritical allegiance to policies, or that they are compliant to the coercion exercised within the ECE policyscape" (p.793). Furthermore, it is not simply a question of an individual teacher's perspectives and values that have the potential to influence the translation of education policy, rather the values of the particular school must also be considered. In this respect, it is entirely possible that there could be disparities between the views of the teacher and school, thereby creating layers of tension and incongruity in how the government's policies are translated into practice.

The final limitation is that the study was conducted with just one class in one particular school. This means, the findings are not generalizable as there are multiple factors that could have influenced this particular group of children. A similar study conducted with a different group, in a different school; or even if the same group of children had been taught by different teachers, would almost certainly have yielded, to a greater or lesser extent, different results – not least as policy enactment depends on individual teachers' perspectives (Braun et al., 2011). That said, this was a case study conducted from an interpretivist stance, which enabled me to embrace the "peculiarities and complexities" (Stake, 1995, p.xi) of this particular case. Thus, although an inherent feature of case study research is that is has limited generalizability (Cohen et al., 2011), Yin (2009) argues that whilst case studies do not pretend to have 'statistical generalization' (where findings can be applied from a sample to a population), they can contribute to the expansion of theory

generation through 'analytic generalisation'. It follows that although findings from such single cases create contextualised knowledge of a unique situation reflecting the social structures of the particular place and time, they can be transferred to additional cases that resemble key aspects of the first (Bazeley, 2013). In this way, the findings of similar case studies can be combined to show support for, or challenge, broader theories (Yin, 2009).

6.4 Contribution, implications and future research

6.4.1 Contribution to knowledge:

In terms of contribution to knowledge, it is important to note that this thesis fills a gap in the literature by virtue of both the setting (the transition from Early Years to Year One) and the participants (a class of children in a super-diverse setting). A vast body of existing research considers the experiences of one particular group in a bilingual environment, for example, Meeuwis and Blommaert (1998) look at the code-switching practices of Zairians in Belgium; Brooker (2002) explores 'Anglo' and Bangladeshi children's experiences of starting school; Moll and González (1994), Gutiérrez et al. (1999) and Moje et al. (2004) draw conclusions from studies of Latino children in the United States; Heller (1995) studies language choice in French-language minority education in Ontario (Canada); Chen (2007) looks at the experiences of Chinese emergent bilingual children in the English mainstream classroom. Similarly, the theoretical lens of 'code-switching' tends to emphasise *bi*lingualism, rather than *multi*lingualism, as is evident in the title of Martin-Jones' (2004) book "One speaker, Two Languages: Cross Disciplinary Perspectives on Code-Switching". While all these studies make important contributions to the field of multilingual and multicultural studies, the current thesis is distinct from these as it studies the academic development of children in a **super-diverse** setting.

It is not to say this is the first study that involves multicultural participants as, for example, Yahyah and Wood (2017) explore the experiences of 19 mothers in Canada who came from 11 different 'native countries'. García's (2009) exploration of Bilingual Education in the 21st century uses the term "bilingual education" to encompass "forms where two or more languages are used together in complex combinations" (p.43). Safford and Costley's (2008) research involved 17 and 18-year-old participants who voluntarily attended a Saturday Academic Language Development programme offered by London university. The difference between this thesis and all the studies previously mentioned is that, although the

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participants came from diverse, multicultural and multilingual backgrounds, they formed a community of practice with a clear boundary as they were joined together by being in the same class.

Furthermore, key aspects of the methodology have advanced the field in terms of increasing children's participation in research. The use of cartoons to elicit children's perspectives of the researcher's observations meant that data gathered was presented to children in an accessible format. This provided the children with an alternative means of understanding what the researcher was referring to, resulting in deeper discussions of the events that were depicted. This process of co-creation of the cartoons lead to increased participation and engagement as the children were able to input into how the presentation of the data and this helped ensure that it was a truer representation of their perspectives. In turn, this methodology helped provide further insights that might otherwise have been undiscovered.

In addition to this study being unique in terms of its setting, participants, and methodology, the conclusions from this study make five empirical contributions. The first major contribution is that communication, be it spoken and/or multimodal, is enriched by opportunities for exploration during child-led activities such as 'choosing time' and free play. The literature review (Section 2.4.1: Play) established the connection between play and communication. As Vygotsky (1978) observed, play between children necessitates a mutual understanding of the task and therefore some form of communication is essential. The episodes of play recorded during the ethnographic observations demonstrated that play is a "socially complex and communicative act" (Genishi & Dyson, 2009, p.61) as the children employed movement, manipulating objects, voices, facial expressions and language to construct an imaginary relationship between players. Thus, a clear contribution of this research is that the study has demonstrated that children's cultural and linguistic repertoires appeared to flourish when they were engaged in child-initiated and child-led play. Furthermore, these activities tended to occur in the more private spaces, outside of the gaze of the teacher.

In respect of the acquisition of English, play enabled the children to experiment with their use of the English language in a safe environment, repeating and/or trialling phrases they learned from each other, the wider community or even from popular culture. From the findings it was evident that, during imaginative play, the children were able to test out more

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elaborate vocabulary and sentence structures than they might have done in 'real world' situations (Siraj-Blatchford & Clarke, 2000; Wood & Attfield, 2005). These findings concur with recent research that highlighted the potential for play, and in particular role-play, to positively impact the learning of EAL (Grant & Mistry, 2010; Guilfoyle & Mistry, 2013).

In addition to speaking English, the children's communication often took the form of translanguaging during free play. The children were frequently observed blending English words with resources from their home languages and even the languages of their play-mates. This phenomenon was important because it supports the notion that when children play, they are deeply engrossed in the activity in which they are engaged at that moment (Wood & Attfield, 2005). Their interactions were thus focused on using the most appropriate word to communicate their desired meaning, with little regard for the socially and politically constructed 'boundaries' of languages (Makoni & Pennycook, 2006; Blackledge & Creese, 2010). Furthermore, on a number of occasions, there was clear evidence that demonstrated a dynamic use of linguistic resources which evolved to create new meanings in relation to the context and the speaker's intentions (Bakhtin, 1975). This is significant as, in a super-diverse community, the children are in the presence of extensive multilingual repertoires and cultural nuances. The transformative nature of translanguaging allowed the children to "integrate different dimensions of their personal history, experience and environment, their attitudes, beliefs and ideology" (Li Wei, 2011, p.1223). Not only did such translanguaging provide the children opportunities in which they could explore multiple facets of their own and their peer's lived experiences in a super-diverse environment, translanguaging also provided the means through which the children were able to disrupt the "ideological drive toward homogeneity" (Blackledge, 2008, p.36) by resisting the dominant rhetoric that English is superior to other language, in the English educational context.

As the children were able to move about freely during play times, their verbal communication was accompanied by multimodal communication. Vygotsky (1962) recognised that verbal communication was just one of many mediating tools through which we communicate. Movement between areas, motions of the whole body or parts of it, gestures, facial expressions and even posture added to the depth of the children's communication. The ability to move around the classroom enhanced the richness of

children's communication as it became multidimensional and thereby enabled peers to be mutually understood on a number of levels in addition to the purely verbal. This was particularly important for interlocutors who did not share many spoken resources, such as the children who had recently begun to learn English. Furthermore, the children had access to physical objects in each of the different choosing areas. They manipulated these resources, integrating them into their play and often transforming their purpose. In doing so, the children created yet another level through which they could achieve mutual understanding. These findings concur with the perspective of Kress and Street (2006) who believe visual, gestural, kinaesthetic and three-dimensional modes to be essential elements of communication that should not be overlooked.

In summary this thesis' first major empirical contribution is that it highlights how communication, in English, through translanguaging and using multimodal resources, is particularly rich and complex during activities such as free play and 'choosing time' when the children engage in activities over which they have control.

The second empirical contribution is that the findings support the body of knowledge that posits play as beneficial to children's exploration and development of individual, cultural identities. Brooker (2008) argues that "children may be viewed as acquiring a complex bundle of mixed and sometimes competing identities through their diverse early experiences" (2008, p.10). This was certainly the case for the children in this study who clearly demonstrated that they had learned (amongst multiple other sources) from experiences in their homes and communities where certain practices and values may differ from those present in the F2 and Y1 classroom environments. The work of Rogoff (1990, 1993, 1995, 1998, 2003, 2014, 2016) has extensively demonstrated there are multiple, often subtle, differences in expectations, traditions and practices in the home. The super-diverse context of this study has clear implications for children's identity development as young children's identities are continually "constructed, co-constructed and re-constructed" (Woodhead, 2008b, p.6) through interactions with peers, family members, teachers and others. The resultant plethora of cultural practices and values to which children in super-diverse communities are exposed, results in the construction of each child's identity being a complex process in which they need to make sense of the different ways of being and knowing that they come into contact with.

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The findings in this thesis demonstrate that play is a key process which enables children to make sense of these different identities. Through play, the children re-enact common practices from their homes and share these with children from other backgrounds. The children take on various roles and perform cultural routines, demonstrating that, in play, children "act as knowledge makers and knowledge users" (Wood, 2016, p.292). In this way, it is possible to see how children draw on multiple funds of cultural knowledge, weaving these into their play to create play themes and stories that integrate reality and imagination (Wood & Attfield, 2005). These funds of knowledge include skills and knowledge drawn from popular culture and online play worlds (Marsh, 2017). In play, children can test out different scenarios that are based on real-world events, exploring "what happens if" and experience different emotional responses to stimuli within the safe context of play (Wood & Attfield, 2005).

Furthermore, a key concept in enabling children to integrate prior and new knowledge is that of 'third space'. The findings demonstrate how 'third space' creation is inherently linked to play that bridges home and school spaces (Yahyah & Wood, 2017). The findings also show there are parallels between third space and translanguaging, as the content of their play and the tools used to communicate and create mutual understanding are drawn from a wide range of funds of knowledge: from their experiences of school, from their families and communities, from popular culture and from each other. In the third space children are able to blend this knowledge and these resources in a way that is transformative, producing new knowledge that is more than just the sum of its parts in terms of play themes (Waterhouse, McLaughlin & McLellan, 2009). Simultaneously, the language children use while engaging in play in the third space is also a "new whole" (García & Li Wei, 2014, p.21) that is, again, more than just a sum of its parts.

The children in this study demonstrated all these characteristics in their play. However, crucially, these rich opportunities for engagement with different cultural practices and knowledge tended to appear more when children were engaged in play that was situated towards the 'free' end of the spectrum. This means that when children had control over their play themes and goals, a wide range of funds of knowledge were embedded in their play. Conversely, when the children were learning through adult-directed play with limited scope for individual choice, there was little sign of heterogeneous knowledge and

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experience garnered from beyond the classroom walls. Thus, when children were allowed to play freely, or at least with an element of choice, they explored and fused multiple identities into their play themes. Conversely, when the children were given an adult-directed task that was tightly controlled, they adopted a standardised identity of an English-speaking learner, singularly focussed on achieving the teacher-set goal. As we know through globalisation and the emergence of transnational movement, a plethora of identity markers are available to children in super-diverse communities. The findings of this research demonstrate that children utilise free spaces and free time to explore these pluralistic identities through play, helping them to make sense of their own, their families', their communities' and their peers' cultural traditions, knowledge and practices.

The third empirical contribution stems from the two previous contributions and highlights how, in order for children to communicate with their peers, they must have an awareness of their own and their peers' linguistic and cultural repertoires. For communication to be successful there must be a shared understanding of the concepts in the form of 'mutual knowledge' (Smith, 1982) or 'common ground' (Clark, 1996) but, as Rampton (1995b) points out, recognising such common ground can be a difficult task. However, it became apparent early on the in the study that the children were skilled at exercising cultural sensitivity, which is a necessary pre-cursor for successful intercultural communication (Chen, 2007). The children needed to continually evaluate the response of their peers in order to gauge the latter's understanding of the topic and to provide further explanation as required in order for the message to be mutually understood. In addition, the children often showed signs that they were able to pre-empt whether or not the subject of their conversation would be understood. For instance, when Muslim children talked about going to mosque, they demonstrated an underlying assumption that the child with whom they were speaking would have some knowledge of the subject. On the other hand, when a Muslim child spoke to a non-Muslim member of staff about mosque, they would draw parallels to concepts that they believed the staff member would be familiar with, thereby showing an awareness of the difference in their cultural practices.

Similarly, it was clear that the children appreciated that they needed to be aware of the repertoires they used to communicate with others. As demonstrated, the children in the study spoke fourteen different languages between them, and some of the children in the

study shared languages other than English. Thus, at a fairly straightforward level, the children were able to identify who else in the class was a fellow speaker of their home language. For example, Arabic speaking children engaged in conversations that were fully in Arabic with a peer who they knew was also able to speak that language in the peripheries of the classroom.

A further aspect of this research relates to the more complex phenomenon of translanguaging where children blended resources from multiple languages with little regard for the formal boundaries of individual languages. While speaking entirely in one language, such as Romani or Arabic, did occur exclusively between two speakers of that language, translanguaging was not limited to groups of children who shared a home language. The interesting thing about translanguaging was that it focussed more on the active *use* of language in order to make meaning (Pennycook, 2010). The context, the use of physical materials and of multimodal gestures all helped to supplement the meaning of the linguistic resources resulting in mutual understanding, regardless of whether or not the children were previously familiar with the words being used (Bakhtin, 1975).

The final aspect of the third empirical contribution is the need for children to share multimodal communicative resources in order to successfully negotiate mutual understanding. While some multimodal gestures simply aided the mutual comprehension of verbal language, there were also occasions where children used gestures as signs and symbols that held meaning in themselves. As Kendon (1997) recognises there is a continuum of multimodal gestures that ranges from supplementing speech to being fully fledged linguistic systems (such as British Sign Language). Indeed, Taylor (2014) notes the possibility that meanings can be communicated through multimodal resources in the absence of speech. The findings from this research clearly demonstrated that some gestures were used independently of spoken language and conveyed meanings understood by the children in their own right. This is consistent with Kress (2012) who suggests that multimodal forms of communication should not be considered inferior to speech as they have an equal potential to contribute to meaning. Furthermore, the findings demonstrated the need for children both to share an understanding of multimodal resources and also to be sensitive to their peers' level of understanding. Thus, the children were able to sense when a gesture or

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symbol was not mutually understood and in these instances the children provided further explanation of the gesture in order to reach common ground between peers.

In summary, the third major empirical contribution of this thesis is that it highlights how successful communication requires the children to possess a sophisticated understanding of languages and multimodal resources, an awareness of their own repertoires as well as an estimate of those of the children with whom they are communicating, and the intercultural communication skills to convey meaning to someone of a different background particularly when a gap in understanding became manifest. This clearly demonstrates both the size and scope of the challenge to be overcome, and also an impressive range of intellectual skills by the 5 year olds who were able to achieve positive results. In this way, the children developed cumulative language skills, expanding their home language/s while extending their knowledge of English and broadening their multimodal repertoire.

The fourth and major empirical contribution brings together the first three contributions and establishes the importance of, and factors that contribute to, the creation of third space. Children make sense of the different contexts which they traverse by fusing concepts, values, practices and repertoires from their home and school experiences, thereby creating new ways of being in the third space. The third space is experienced by each individual differently as they draw on their own funds of knowledge from their home, family and community, and integrate these with knowledge and experiences they acquire at school. Further layers of complexity are added to this model when children play with each other and collaboratively construct new meanings in the third space where snippets of their different home discourses and their experiences of school are blended within this 'in-between' place.

The findings demonstrate that, in line with this thesis' second major contribution, the children create new forms of cultural identity in the third space (Yahyah & Wood, 2017) by constructing and reconstructing identities that draw on home and school experiences (Rogoff, 1990; Chesworth, 2016). Building upon the third major contribution, the children studied in this research created new meanings and new ways of communicating in English and in their home languages through translanguaging and multimodally. Thus, the children did not simply learn English through a unidirectional language development process, but

rather through a communication process that is creative, transformative, and more than just a sum of its parts.

Finally, extending the first empirical contribution, possibilities for third space creation were contingent upon the context: the physical space around them; whether their activity was adult or child-led; the ability to move around the classroom and select resources to support their play; and finally, the possibility of communicating with each other, through speech or multimodally. In the spaces, such as the carpet, where communication was policed and the topic of the session was task-focussed, there was no possibility for third space creation. In the spaces that were slightly freer, such as small group work, the children occasionally spoke about their home experiences and how these related to the task at hand. Other children would contribute to these conversations and there were some occasions where these interactions traversed slightly into the third space, however the children were brought back to focus on the task if they became too imaginative. During the periods when the children had the opportunity to use the space freely and set the parameters of their own activities, there was an abundance of third space creation with different children bringing their own funds of knowledge to the fore, learning from each other's funds of knowledge and combining these values and experiences in new, transformative ways.

Crucially, the data shows that the transition from F2 to Y1 signified a noticeable drop in the quantity and length of opportunities for third space creation. As the majority of the children's time in Y1 was spent sitting at their desks completing highly rigid activities, there was limited time for the children to build momentum in their play (Broadhead, 2004). This affected the quality and profundity of third space creation as it was difficult for children to engage deeply in play in the third space when they were in Y1. If children are to make sense of the multiple, competing identities that they are exposed to, and if children are to develop their home language as well as intercultural communication with their peers, then it is argued that more free time and free space is needed in order to enable children to act creatively in the third space.

The fifth and final empirical contribution is, therefore, that children as young as four years old use the third space to maintain their identities and resist homogenising forces that seek to restrict their communicative practices. This evidences the multiple, sometimes conflicting, ideologies relating to the legitimacy of home languages in the school (Robinson

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& Diaz, 2006). Consequently, there are multiple 'market places' (Bourdieu, 1977; 1990; 1992) operating simultaneously in which different variations of linguistic and cultural capital are valued. The children in this study sought opportunities away from the gaze of the teacher to communicate with each other using illegitimate language practices (Woolard, 1985). While this phenomenon has been noted among teenagers and adults (Gee, 1990; Lefebvre, 1991; Bhabha, 1994; Cole, 1998; Gutiérrez et al, 1999; Soja, 2009), the findings in this study are unique as they document the clandestine linguistic activities of young children in an Early Years setting.

These empirical contributions build on a well-worn argument between, on the one hand, proponents of more formal pedagogies as children progress through the Early Years Foundation Stage into Year One and, on the other, the Early Childhood research community that tends to advocate play as the most important form of learning. For example, when Ofsted published 'Bold Beginnings' in 2017, TACTYC responded with 'Bald Beginnings' (2017) that criticised the reports' inclination towards direct teaching. Similarly, where Ofsted (2007) recommended sufficient time be devoted to the direct teaching of mathematics, TACTYC (2017) argued that children need "to have extended periods of genuinely free (and high quality) play...to explore mathematical understandings" (p.2). This tension between formal teaching and free play is not new, however, the findings of this thesis give us a deeper understanding of what children are actually doing in those intersections between formal and informal practice. The data gathered in this thesis demonstrate children weave in and out of the third space to explain and clarify the meaning of a term or a gesture. The research undertaken and summarised in this thesis provides clear evidence that children are transferring 'real world' knowledge to the imaginary situation, while simultaneously extending each other's knowledge, skills and understandings (Wood & Attfield, 2012). Furthermore, the findings reveal that the third space is a place where children not only bring knowledge and understanding, but they also *create* new knowledge and new understandings. The practice of creating in the third space is fuelled by children's agency to drive their own development in the third space. Interactions in the third space are hugely complex on social, intellectual and linguistic levels, yet for the most part they go unnoticed.

Wood (2013) points out that the phasing out of play as children enter compulsory schooling in Year One is based on Vygotsky's theories about transitioning from play to learning, from

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"following the child's own agenda to following the school agenda" (p.53). However, Vygotsky's ideas have been taken out of context in that such transitions between pre-school and compulsory school would have taken place at the ages of six and seven in the context to which he was referring, as distinct from four and five year olds who undertake the transition to formal schooling in England today (Wood, 2013). Furthermore, Vygotsky stated that during pre-school, which, for him meant up until the age of six or seven:

> "Action in the imagination sphere, in an imaginary situation, the creation of voluntary intentions and the formation of real life plans and volitional motives - all appear in play and make it the highest level of pre-school development." (Vygotsky, 1967, p.16)

In addition, Vygotsky believed that children's play undergoes a progression in terms of its richness and complexity as they mature (Worthington, 2010). The policy assumption that children require less play as they grow older, translates into a reduction in opportunities for play in Year One, however, this thesis supports the alternative view that instead of needing less play, older children actually need more complex forms of play that progress in social, intellectual and creative challenge (Wood, 2013).

To conclude, the empirical contributions of this thesis reveal the immensely complex social, intellectual, multimodal and linguistic features of interactions during play in the third space. These empirical contributions extend the commonplace argument between those who oppose and those who advocate more time and space for play in Reception and Year One by looking closely at what actually occurs in during such play. Opportunities for play enable children to interact in the third space which supports the complexity, challenge and creativity necessary for children's development. As such, the third space could, and arguably should, be incorporated by teachers and practitioners as a pedagogical tool to enhance children's learning and development: A third space pedagogy. The implications of this suggestion will be explored in the following section, 6.4.2, Implications.

This thesis also makes a number of theoretical contributions, as it has extended understanding of third space theory to emphasise that it is not just a bidirectional bridge that an individual creates between their own out-of and in-school experiences. Recalling Rogoff's (2003) three planes of analysis, up until now third space theory has tended to focus

on the individual and the cultural-institutional planes, with little attention having been paid to the interpersonal aspect of the third space - except for Wilson (2000) who noted that "the majority of its [the third space's] practices... are of an interactive nature" (p.61). This thesis has demonstrated that the third space is a collaborative, multidirectional space that exists between a group of individuals when they interact. Each person contributes ideas, experiences and values to the third space that are then shared by all, underlining the inherently social nature of cognition "distributed-stretched over and not divided among - mind, body, activity and culturally organised settings (which includes other actors), across persons, activity and setting" (Lave, 1988, p.1).

A further contribution of this study is also related to third space theory. The findings underscore how the possibility for third space creation is inherently tied to the immediate context - the physical space, the activity children are engaged in and, importantly, the degree of freedom that is afforded by the parameters of the activity. Thus, when the children were sat on the carpet and learning in silence there was no evidence of third space creation. That is not to say the children were not finding continuity by making connections to prior knowledge and understanding in their minds, but by contrast when the children did have the freedom to initiate activities, to integrate resources and traverse areas, the transformational qualities of the third space were palpable.

6.4.2 Implications

The thesis' findings have implications for academic, practitioners and policy makers working in the Early Years field.

The findings of this study support the conclusions of other researchers who assert that play is a highly social act that requires interaction between players and, therefore supports the development of children's communication (Broadhead, 2004; Genishi & Dyson, 2009; Wood, 2009). However, this study has extended these ideas by focussing on different ways through which children communicate: in English, through translanguaging and multimodally, and how each of these is enriched through play. In each of these areas it was demonstrated that play assists children in developing their communication. Therefore, a clear implication of

these findings is that, in order for children to develop their communication skills, they should be encouraged to play more in Early Years settings.

Furthermore, this study has demonstrated that, through play, children in super-diverse settings can make sense of the different cultural identities that they are exposed to, thereby helping them to develop their own sense of self. The notion of the 'third space' is crucial in supporting the children's ability to maintain their individual identities and reconcile disparities between their home and school environments. Moreover, the children in this research created third space not just between their own home and school experiences, but also between the lived experiences of their peers as the third space stretched over groups of children, embodying cognition "beyond the skull" (Rogoff, 2003, p.271). Importantly, the data shows that the creation of third space was not possible when the children's movement and dialogue was restricted and task-focused, such as when sat on the carpet. Therefore, the implication is that children need to be given time and space to explore different ideas, values, cultural practices and ways of being through play.

This thesis has also gone one step beyond the Early Years Foundation Stage (pre-school) to look at the transition to Year One (compulsory school) which is a pivotal moment in children's school careers that has attracted the attention of researchers for over twenty years, at whatever age that transition takes place (Kagan, 1999; Dockett & Perry, 2001; Margetts, 2002, Fabian, 2007, Einarsdóttir, 2007; Fisher, 2009, 2010; Nicholson, 2019). Upon entering Year One, opportunities for play dwindle and are replaced by a more formal and structured approach to learning. Indeed, it has been suggested that the play-based pedagogy of the Early Years is being eroded by a 'school readiness' agenda (Kay, 2018). However, the findings of this research encourage teachers, schools and policy makers to consider the continuing benefits of play for children in Year One. Extending a play-based pedagogy until children reach the age of six is in line with the recommendations of the Cambridge Primary Review (2010) and is also consistent with the model adopted by Nordic countries. Indeed, Roberts-Homes (2012) found that some schools have already successfully implement a play-based pedagogy in Y1 with positive results. The findings from this thesis increase the base of evidence to support the continuation of the use of play as a means of learning especially in light of the apparent increase in formalisation of education models/processes that is extending downward from the more senior years. This approach is

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commensurate with TACTYC's recommendation that "learning in Y1 should extend from the EYFS and sustain its breadth and depth" (TACTYC, 2017 p.3). The data presented in this thesis extend existing research to demonstrate the benefits of play, specifically for children in super-diverse environments in terms of their communication, their identity development and making sense of the environment around them. As communities across England, including Sheffield, become increasingly diverse (Sheffield City Council, 2015; Office for National Statistics, 2018; Migration Yorkshire, 2019) it is increasingly important to support the next generations of children by providing more inclusive practice and challenging the benefits perceived to be of value in the rhetoric of standardisation.

In Section 6.4.1, Contribution to Knowledge, a third space pedagogy was proposed. Such an approach would have multiple implications for practice. Firstly, practitioners and teachers would need to develop a more sophisticated understanding and appreciation for the third space, and then actually incorporate the third space into their pedagogical approaches. For this to happen, teachers should acknowledge the complexity of children's interactions during play and gain a deeper pedagogical understanding of these. Furthermore, teachers need to have more refined understanding of how play progresses, i.e. that the play of 5, 6 and 7 year olds is more complex in comparison to that of 4 year olds. This continuity and progression in play should reflect children's developing interests and provide them opportunities for exercising agency, choice and autonomy over their activities (Wood, 2013).

This thesis is not a study of the curriculum, nor is it a study of teachers' practice, however, the findings in this thesis clearly indicate a pedagogical opportunity that has hitherto not been utilised. It is argued that children should be encouraged to play more in Early Years settings, and even in Year One, because the findings demonstrate how the third space that is created during play is a powerful tool for facilitating children's learning and development. The third space enables children to fuse knowledge from previous experiences and create new knowledge by drawing on different sources, such as their homes, communities, popular culture and their experiences of the setting. The interactive nature of the third space created in play means that children are also extending each other's knowledge and understanding through the creation of a third space that extends over multiple players. In addition, the findings demonstrate that children's communicative skills, in English, in their

home languages, in each other's home languages and through multimodal resources, develop in the third space. If practitioners understood how to integrate the third space into pedagogical knowledge and teachers' provision, then all these areas of social, cognitive and linguistic development could be incorporated into credit-based teaching and assessment.

A third space pedagogy would be even more pertinent and valuable in super-diverse communities where the task of trying to incorporate the extreme breadth and depth of children's prior knowledge which they have accumulated from a myriad of experiences across the globe into one uniform pedagogical approach that is consistent in equity for all is virtually impossible. A third space pedagogy would require teachers to step back and let children take the lead in their own learning, allowing them to have choice and control over the goals and outcomes of their play. Ultimately, a third space pedagogy would require a shift in perception away from the view that play needs to be planned in order for it to be purposeful. Instead, teachers must recognise and accept that child-initiated and child-led play is the site of deep, complex development. By paying close attention to children's play, teachers would be better placed to recognise, appreciate and build on the knowledge that children create in the third space.

These implications are pertinent on multiple levels. They have potential to impact the daily decisions of Early Years teachers who plan the activities the children will engage with. In addition, other adults in the classroom, such as teaching assistants, will be faced with choices relating to be optimum way(s) of achieving a particular learning target. The data from this study presents evidence that supports play as a significant mode of supporting children's communication and identity development, and therefore Early Years practitioners can take this into account when making decisions about how to facilitate learning and the development of communication.

The findings also have potential implications for the senior leadership team - the heads of Foundation Stage, heads of Key Stage One and head teachers. The ethos of the school and the ways in which children learn within a particular setting will be guided by their leadership and professional knowledge. Although the findings of this thesis could inform professional decisions that are informed by evidence derived from rigorous research, the power of policy discourses might continue to take precedence. Similarly, at a national level, policy makers' decisions need to be based on current research evidence to inform recommendation or

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guidance on pedagogical approaches. A key implication of this thesis for policy makers is, therefore, that its findings challenge the still-prominent arguments, propagated by publications such as "Teaching and Play in the Early Years - A Balancing Act?" (Ofsted, 2015) and Bold Beginnings (Ofsted, 2017). Key policy discourses – that play should be planned and purposeful, and that the transition from play to formal learning should be accomplished during F2 - have been challenged by the evidence in this thesis. Rather, the conclusions drawn from the data in this thesis advocate play that is spontaneous, freely-chosen, child-initiated and child-led. Furthermore, play benefits children in Year One as well as in the Early Years, and they need time and opportunities to continue to build complexity in their play routines and practices. That said, it is acknowledged that influencing national policy is a tall order, particularly in light of Ofsted's tendency to produce their own research and draw conclusions selectively to support their own agenda (Wood, 2019). Therefore, a more realistic aim would be to influence the policies of local organisations, such as the Local Authority and Migration Yorkshire through ground-up policy work. However, it is unlikely that much change will occur on the basis of one study with one particular class, therefore this point shall be revisited in the next Section, 6.4.3, Recommendations for Future Research.

The theoretical contributions of this study relate, in particular, to the third space and thus have important implications for academics and researchers who use the third space as an analytical framework. The first theoretical implication is that researchers must pay attention to the interpersonal relations that occur in the third space. As stated in the contributions (Section 6.1.3.1), until now third space researchers have tended to focus on the individual, cultural and institutional aspects of the third space. However, the findings of this study emphasise the need to widen the focus to include the interpersonal dimension of the third space. In addition, the findings of this research demonstrate that the possibilities for third space creation are inherently linked to both the physical space and the nature of the activities in which the children are involved. Therefore, academics seeking to research through the third-space lens must ensure that participants have sufficient opportunities to explore and push the boundaries of their activities without the rigid restrictions of a completely adult-directed task.

6.4.3 Recommendations for future research

This thesis is focussed on the communication of children is a super-diverse, Early Years setting. Thus, although the relatively narrow scope of the thesis supported the researcher's ability to investigate the issues in both depth and detail, there remain a number of dimensions surrounding and overlapping the thesis' topic that would need to be explored in detail in order to capture other contextual variables.

First, the study sample of thirty children was relatively small. Thus, the study's methodology could usefully be replicated with further groups of children in similarly super-diverse settings in order to support the development of a larger body of evidence to hone the findings of this thesis. The possibilities here are endless as similar studies could (for example) be conducted in Sheffield, Yorkshire, England and the UK as a whole to uncover insights into whether specific schools, regions or even countries within the UK have similarities. Beyond this, it would be valuable to conduct similar studies internationally, particularly in countries where policies, such as the starting age of formal schooling, differ from those in England that have influenced the pedagogy and implementation of the EYFS and National Curriculum in the Early Years and Year One respectively.

Furthermore, this study focused on the children and did not take into account the views of the practitioners, which would provide rich insights into how they translate written policy into practice. Therefore, a future avenue of enquiry would be to garner the perspectives of teachers, teaching assistants and other adults that support young children in super-diverse settings. It would be similarly valuable to explore some of the issues that became apparent in this thesis, such as the tension between free play and the increasingly formal pedagogy of the Early Years, as well as the implications for children who have come from diverse backgrounds and/or who are learning to speak English. A further dimension of this line of inquiry would be to investigate the schools' approaches to policy enactment and to locate areas of overlap and divergence in respect of the school's ethos and the perspectives of teachers and learning support staff. Such a study would usefully explore the extent to which adults have agency in the classroom, particularly amidst the current climate of accountability promulgated by Ofsted inspections.

Another aspect of the thesis that would be valuable to explore relates to the complexities of transitioning from F2 to Y1 for children and their families who are not accustomed to the

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British education system. Such a study could involve children, their families and members of staff at the school and has the potential to uncover rich insights into how the perspectives of the different stakeholders coincide and diverge. This would, in turn, shine a further light onto the complexities of the transition to Year One in a super-diverse environment where the myriad of factors at play could potentially lead to a fragmentation of values and expectations.

Involving families would also overcome the limitation that was acknowledged in section 6.1.2 (Limitations) that the study solely focused on the children's communicative practices in school. Thus, while exploring children's communicative practices at home sits outside the scope of the current study, undertaking further investigations into the homes and communities outside the school gates would extend the current research by revealing the similarities and differences between communicative practices in different settings. This could potentially lead to deeper insights regarding the multiple, complex identities and repertoires to which the children are exposed, and thus how they draw on these funds of knowledge at school.

Taking this thesis as a point of departure, research could extend to different schools and be broadened to include the different perspectives of other key stakeholders in children's education. The findings of a larger study would be valuable to local policy makers and would give them a strong evidence-based foundation on which to base decisions regarding the education of young children, particularly in super-diverse communities. The schools involved in the study would benefit from seeing the results, enabling their practice to be guided by current research. The findings could be presented to other schools in the area and to academy chains, helping them to make informed choices about their policies. The findings could also be presented to local organisations such as Migration Yorkshire who work with national and local governments to guide them on migration issues. A larger study would yield findings based on a broad cohort that can assist organisations at different levels to put policies in place that are based on a strong evidence base.

A further area of research that featured to a limited extent in this thesis but is believed to warrant more thorough investigation is that of the intercultural communicative competence of four and five year olds. The study demonstrated that young children are capable of nuanced understandings of their peers' linguistic and conceptual repertoires. Thus, the

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children gauged when someone might not understand a concept, and they offered additional explanation to supplement the point they were aiming to get across. However, the field of intercultural communication offers valuable tools and methodologies for understanding this phenomenon in greater depth, and it would therefore be fruitful to employ these in the investigation of young children's intercultural communicative skills in super diverse environments. This line of enquiry is particularly important as intercultural communication is vital in combating racism and other prejudices (Velasco, 2015). By observing young children's strategies for communicating with people from different linguistic and cultural backgrounds, there is the potential for the use of these approaches to increase cultural awareness and open avenues of communication between individuals in an increasingly globalised society.

In addition, to these recommendations for further research that would extend the current study's findings, there are methodological recommendations that address the limitations of the study. As discussed earlier in this chapter one of the methodological limitations in the current research was my inability to capture observations from multiple areas of the classroom simultaneously. A related limitation was that the children's movement across the playground made it difficult to conduct observations unless I ran around with them, but this would almost certainly have attracted attention to myself and made naturalistic observations difficult to achieve. A potential solution to both of these challenges is the use of video cameras (and associated microphones) to capture children's interactions. Video cameras have been used successfully by Chesworth (2016) to record children playing, after which the children were asked to comment on the recordings. This method is similar to the cartoons used in this study, but has the additional benefit of being able to capture multiple interactions at once, or alternatively a wide overview of a space. While there are complex ethical issues involved in the recording of young children these are not insurmountable, and with the necessary precautions in place, using a video camera could result in a fruitful study with rich data.

Another methodological limitation was that some children's voices were represented disproportionately more than others in the data as those children tended to be louder and more confident. A more systematic approach to observing the children in a subsequent study could usefully be adopted to ensure that an equal amount of attention is paid to each

of the participants. Such an approach has the potential to yield rich data as the researcher would be able to pay attention to the multimodal forms of communication from the quieter children for a specified period of time. Doing so could potentially reveal insights about events that the present study overlooked as they may have appeared inconsequential at first glance.

6.5 Summary

This chapter has drawn on the work developed in the preceding five chapters to present reflections on the research process and limitations of the current study. Next, this chapter has explained how this thesis makes theoretical, methodological and empirical contributions that advance the existing body of knowledge regarding the communicative practices of young children in super-diverse, Early Years settings. Following this, the implications of these contributions to theory, policy and practice have been identified. Finally, this chapter sets out recommendations for future research that would help address the limitations and extend the findings of this study.

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Appendices

Appendix 1- Ethical approval

The University Of Sheffield.

Christina Fashanu
Registration number: 150239361
School of Education
Programme: PhD in Education

Dear Christina

PROJECT TITLE: An investigation into multimodal communication practices and identity construction among EAL children in a super-diverse environment
APPLICATION: Reference Number 007715

On behalf of the University ethics reviewers who reviewed your project, I am pleased to inform you that on 22/03/2016 the above-named project was **approved** on ethics grounds, on the basis that you will adhere to the following documentation that you submitted for ethics review:

- University research ethics application form 007715 (form submission date: 24/02/2016); (expected project end date:
- 16/12/2016).
- Participant information sheet 1015571 version 1 (16/02/2016).
- Participant information sheet 1015570 version 1 (16/02/2016).
- Participant information sheet 1015569 version 2 (24/02/2016).
- Participant consent form 1015578 version 1 (16/02/2016).
- Participant consent form 1015577 version 1 (16/02/2016).
- Participant consent form 1015576 version 1 (16/02/2016).
- Participant consent form 1015573 version 1 (16/02/2016).
-

The following optional amendments were suggested:

The application can be approved and it is recommended that the following amendments are made: 1) Simplify the title of the adults' information sheet 2) Replace phrase 'EAL children' with 'Children who speak English as an Additional Language' 3) Change 'I give permission for other people at the university to see the results of the project' to 'I give permission for supervisors and examiners of this research study to see the results of the project'

If during the course of the project you need to deviate significantly from the above-approved documentation please inform me since written approval will be required.

Your responsibilities in delivering this research project are set out at the end of this letter.

Yours sincerely

David Hyatt
Ethics Administrator
School of Education
Please note the following responsibilities of the researcher in delivering the research project:
The project must abide by the University's Research Ethics Policy:
https://www.sheffield.ac.uk/rs/ethicsandintegrity/ethicspolicy/approval-procedure
The project must abide by the University's Good Research & Innovation Practices Policy:
https://www.sheffield.ac.uk/polopoly_fs/1.671066!/file/GRIPPolicy.pdf
The researcher must inform their supervisor (in the case of a student) or Ethics Administrator (in the case of a member of staff) of any significant changes to the project or the approved documentation.
The researcher must comply with the requirements of the law and relevant guidelines relating to security and confidentiality of personal data.
The researcher is responsible for effectively managing the data collected both during and after the end of the project in line with best practice, and any relevant legislative, regulatory or contractual requirements.

Appendix 2- Information Sheets and consent forms

Investigating how children with EAL communicate in a super-diverse class: Information sheet (parent/carer)

Your child is being invited to join in with a project looking at how children who speak different languages are able to communicate and get on at school. I will be working with children in F2LO and continuing to work with them in Y1 until Christmas.

Your child does not have to take part, but if they do want to, I will be observing them in the classroom, looking at their art work, and asking questions about how it feels to speak more than one language. I am doing this so I can understand more about how children communicate in a different language.

I will keep the names and identity of your child confidential at all times and you can withdraw from the project at any time. I will also be asking your child if they want to join in the project and I will not work with them if they do not want me to.

Your child will have the benefit of another adult working with them, however I understand some children do not like being observed or answering questions and I will not make them do anything they do not want to.

The project is for my PhD which I am doing at Sheffield University, and it is funded by the Economic and Social Research Council. This whole project has been ethically approved by Sheffield University Department of Education's ethics review procedure. I will talk about the project at presentations and there is a possibility some of the work will be published, so please tell me if you do not want this to happen.

During the whole project I will keep you informed about any changes, and please contact me at any time if you would like to tell me any changes too. I will be in F2LO tomorrow (Tuesday 8th March) morning if you have any questions. You can also get in touch with me by email: chfashanu1@sheffield.ac.uk , through the school office or by coming to see me in F2LO on Monday mornings. If you want to contact my supervisor, Dr. Mark Payne, you can email mark.payne@sheffield.ac.uk with any questions or comments.

Yours Sincerely,

Mrs Fashanu (Miss Tatham)

▪▪▪

I have read and understood the above information and I give permission for my

child …………………………………………………… to be part of the research project conducted by

Mrs Christina Fashanu (Miss Tatham).

Signed…………………………………………..   Date …………………………………………….

How do children who speaking different languages communicate?
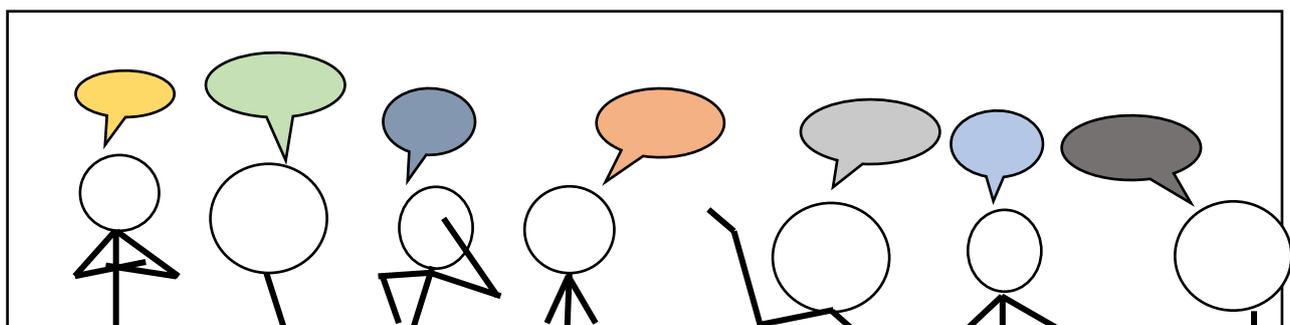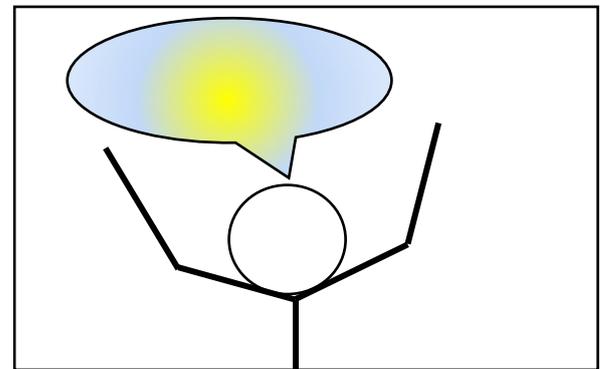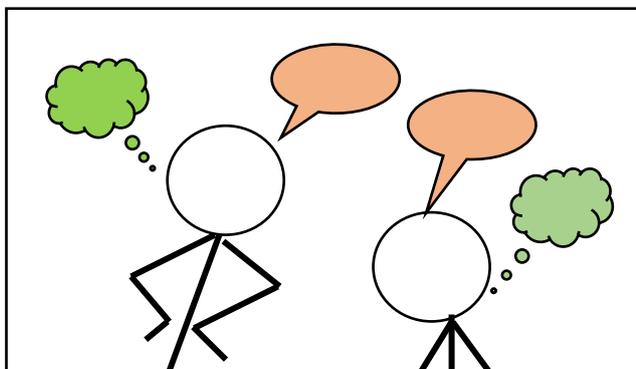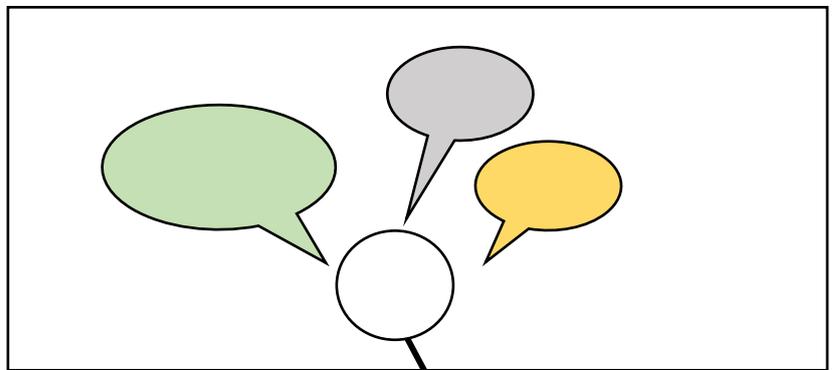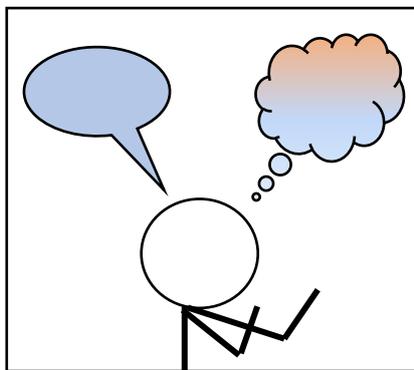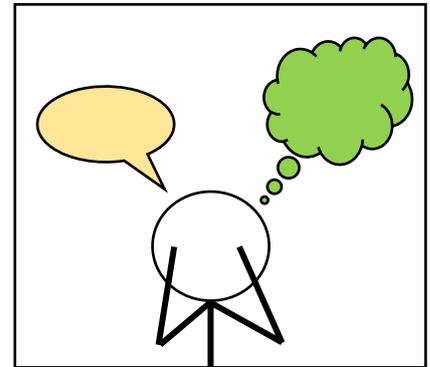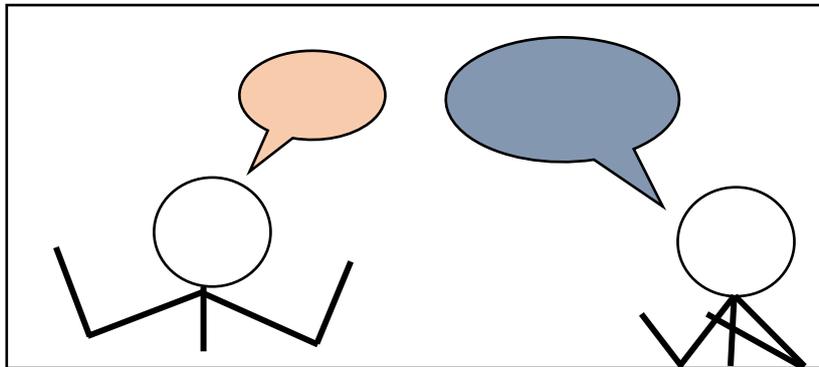
An investigation into multimodal communication practices and identity construction among EAL children in a super-diverse environment: Information sheet (teacher)

I would like to spend time in F2LO conducting a research project looking at how children who speak different languages are able to communicate and get on at school. I will be working with children in F2LO and continuing to work with them in Y1 until Christmas. The children have been chosen because they speak more languages than just English.

I will be observing children in the classroom, looking at their art work, and asking questions about how the children communicate in more than one language. I would like to interview you as part of the project, so I can understand more about how children communicate in a different language.

 I will keep your name and identity confidential at all times and you can withdraw from the project at any time.

I will be around to assist the children in their activities, and I hope this will be beneficial to all involved. I am aware that you will be very busy in your role, and that I might be taking up your time asking questions, so please inform me if you are unable to assist me with the project.

The project is for my PhD which I am doing at Sheffield University, and it is funded by the Economic and Social Research Council. This whole project has been ethically approved by Sheffield University Department of Education's ethics review procedure. I will talk about the project at presentations and there is a possibility some of the work will be published, again all involved will remain anonymous, but please tell me if you do not want this to happen.

During the whole project I will keep you informed about any changes, and please contact me at any time if you would like to tell me any changes too. You can get in touch with me by email: chfashanu1@sheffield.ac.uk , through the school office or by coming to see me in F2LO on Monday mornings. If you prefer, you may contact my supervisor, Dr. Mark Payne: mark.payne@sheffield.ac.uk

Yours Sincerely,

Mrs Fashanu (Miss Tatham)

An investigation into multimodal communication practices and identity construction among Children who speak EAL in a super-diverse environment (adult consent form)

Name of Researcher: Mrs Christina Fashanu (Miss Tatham)

1. I have read and understand the information sheet dated
   (date to be confirmed) explaining the above research project
   and I have had the opportunity to ask questions about the
   project.

2. I understand that my is voluntary
   and that I am free to withdraw them at any time without
   giving any reason and without there being any negative consequences.
   Also, my child and I do not have to answer questions if we do not want to.

   3. I give permission for supervisors and examiners to
   see the results of the project. I understand that the my
   name will stay anonymous at all times.

4. I agree for the findings from this project to be used in

   future research projects.

1. I agree to take part in the above research project.

_____   _____   _____
Name of Participant's
Responsible Adult   Date   Signature

_____   _____   _____
Name of Participant   Date   Signature

_____   _____   _____
 Researcher Date Signature

An investigation into multimodal communication practices and identity construction among EAL children in a super-diverse environment (children)

Name of Researcher: Mrs Christina Fashanu (Miss Tatham)

1. I understand the project

2. I am happy to be part of the project

_____   _____

Name of Participant   Date

_____   _____
_____
 Researcher   Date   Signature

Appendix 3- Observations

Date	Observation
4ᵗʰ April 2016	Issa and Ali hugging on carpet, Issa holds Ali's head and faces it towards me stating "he's my friend"
4ᵗʰ April 2016	LO introduces the role play area saying it is a park and asks who has been to a park and what they did there. Bob answers "I've been on that..." draws a circle in front of him in the area with his finger... LO: "you've been on a *roundabout*?" Bob: "yes"
4ᵗʰ April 2016	LO initiates thumbs up for understanding, all respond with thumbs up
4ᵗʰ April 2016	Maleable area, making mini beasts out of playdough. LO: "what can we do with the gems?" Ivy: "we can decorate it"
4ᵗʰ April 2016	Maths area, LO showing them how to add using 'worms' and asks what they they should do when they have completed one sum LO.: what next? Issa: silence but wants to reply LO: have I finished? Issa: No LO: So what should you do next? Issa: One more
4ᵗʰ April 2016	Sand area: showing them how to guess how many cups of sand will fit in a bucket, LO gets children to talk to the person next to them Ayan and Ali say their guesses but really emphasise using fingers to demonstrate the numbers
4ᵗʰ April 2016	LO introduces the fantastic 4 rules and asks Amiya, Ivy, Lilly and Ryan to sat the rules LO points to the CIP pictures as visuals which children instantly repsond to
4ᵗʰ April 2016	Group learning Isa helps Issa to write 11 Isa: it's a one and and one Issa: writes 2

	Isa: No, like this (shows own board)
	Issa: copies the number 11
4ᵗʰ April 2016	Dom draws numbers on the big white board with lines all connecting them
	Dom: this is a 3 and a 7 and a zig zag and a loop the loop
4ᵗʰ April 2016	Ali and Trini walking around the room deciding which activity to choose. Neither uses words to discuss, instead they use a range of non-verbal communication- holding hands as they walk and taking each other to different areas of the classroom, eye contact smiles, look at the construction and Ali shrugs shoulders, Trini shrugs his shoulders, they move on to the writing area
4ᵗʰ April 2016	Issa has made 5 flowers out of playdo for LO and then teaches me how to make a flower out of playdo:
	Issa: You do (rolls a long snake) and you (curls it into a spiral) then you (rolls another thick snake) and you put (puts the spiral onto the thick snake)
4ᵗʰ April 2016	YYYYYYh in the sand pit, when she's filled a bucket with sand says "tadah!"
4ᵗʰ April 2016	Literacy, on the carpet LO reading a book and talking about it on the big screen, shows worms in mud
	LO: the worms live in the mud because they like to eat mud, yum yum
	Ali: they're not halal!
	YYYYYYh: yeah they are!
4ᵗʰ April 2016	Caterpillar has just spent a month in Pakistan. I asked if he went on an aeroplane
	Caterpillar: Yes, I went on a plane to England!
	Me: We are in England now, did you go to Pakistan?
	Caterpillar: It is called Pakistan and it's England
	Me: What did you do there?
	Caterpillar: I went on a bouncy castle
4ᵗʰ April 2016	Aman Ali shows me 3 with fingers rather than saying the word
4ᵗʰ April 2016	Issa comes up to me at the literacy table and wants to learn the names of the mini beasts using the picture vocab card.
	Me: what does a butterfly do?
	Issa: silence but wants to say
	Me: Does it slither or fly?
	Issa: fly
4ᵗʰ April 2016	Tidying up before lunch
	Caterpillar: Bude Bude! (smiling)

	Me: what's that?
	Caterpillar: looks confused and points at me, repeating Bude!
	Me: is that a word in your language?
	Caterpillar: Nods
	Aman Ali: My language is Spanish!
	Me: is it? what can you say in Spanish?
	Aman Ali: (sings) Yaya Yaya Torre Torre Yaya Torre Yaya Torre
	Me: Hablas Espanol?
	Aman Ali: (looks confused)
	Me: I asked if you speak Spanish
	Aman Ali: Yes I do! and continues to sing
4th April 2016	All corner me calling me Miss Hitchins and Miss Lloyd
5th April 2016	Maths music Mofaq dancing to 5 song like a boy band with arms and all
5th April 2016	Caterpillar singing Jingle Bells
	Me: Why are you singing that?
	Caterpillar: because I want to
	Me: is it Christmas?
	Caterpillar: No
5th April 2016	On the carpet LO gives them all bags of 'worms' (wool chopped up)
	Darth Vader doing the spider man web shooting from the wrist
	Ebo tries to copy, understands it is Spiderman
5th April 2016	Building area, building houses for mini beasts (I get mini beasts from small world to show them what a mini beast is because Ebo and Darth Vader were away yesterday so missed the intro to the topic
	Darth Vader only knows the name of a spider and continues shooting spiderman webs
	Darth Vader: Uh Oh everytime blocks fall, Ebo copies
	Trini talking half to me, half to himself about his house: bigger bigger BIGGER while using arms to show bigger
5th April 2016	Jason: singing banana bus song
	Me: what is that song?
	Jason: banana bus
	Me: is that from the TV?

	Jason: it's from the tablet
5th April 2016	Darth Vader tries to feed me an apple: Aah aaah you ahhh (opens mouth wide to mimic me eating an apple)
5th April 2016	Darth Vader writing a 'letter' and wants help writing his name on an envelope, I do wit his help sounding it out. Darth Vader: you... (pumps arms like Sheldon's flash) fat (points at me writing) Me: Am I fast at writing? Darth Vader: Yes, Fast! (runs on the spot, and points at me writing)
5th April 2016	Ivy approaches Ryan on the snack and chat and talks to him wiggling her index finger back and forward. She wanders towards me and I ask her what that means, she showed me a toy mous e in her hand
5th April 2016	LO asks Trini what spiders do Trini: Spiders (crawls with fingers on the carpet) LO: Do spiders fly or do they crawl? Trini: crawl
5th April 2016	Asks Issa what flies do Issa: silence but looks like he wants to answer
5th April 2016	Anah and Aman Ali know the word and seem like they are trying to help him find it Anah: flaps her arms Aman Ali: draws his finger in the air and follows with his eyes LO: does it crawl or does it fly? Issa: fly
5th April 2016	Jason: draws a teenage mutant hero turtle on the board Zaid: copies Jason and draws a turtle too Both telling me about the different turtles they have drawn. Zaid's is Donatello and kills bad guys, Jason's is Michael Angelo and says is the 'party dude' Tomng builds stairs and starts hammering each one in place
5th April 2016	Lining up Darth Vader dances in his way (similar to siblings) so hands on hips and jumps sideways, claps
6th April 2016	NC asking YYYYYY which words have 'oa' YYYYYY: O and a A, ie (finds it difficult to understand what a 'word' is) NC can a boat float? 1 boy from F2HH: I can't remember All answer questions with thumbs up and down

6th April 2016	Darth Vader singing 'Johnny Johnny Yes papa' then covers mouth when singing the rest
	Darth Vader says 'thank you very much' in an overly confident silly voice
6th April 2016	Maths- Riyaan, Aman Ali and Ayan are at a table
	Aman Ali: Mrs Fashanu, Asad is lying to me! She says she is going to Somalia
	Riyaan: Mum says we are going to Somalia
	Me: When?
	Riyaan: Don't know
	Me: Do you have family there?
	Riyaan: Only We only have one family there and when they come they bring lots of sweets
	... stops talking to do a bit of maths...
	Riyaan: I wish my toy rabbit could come but it is in the bin
	Me: Come where?
	Riyaan: To Somalia, but my big sister broked it and now it's in the bin
	Me to Aman Ali: Why do you think she's lying?
	Aman Ali: I don't know... starts to sing a song in English
	Tomng: I've got a sticker... shows me his sticker on his jumper
6th April 2016	Aman Ali and Ryan playing in the construction area
	Aman Ali: Have you seen Thomas the train
	Ryan: Yes! And... (goes into detail telling the plot line of one episode)
	Aman Ali: Have you seen Thomas the train? I have!
6th April 2016	Darth Vader imaginative playing snakes with Ayan, Tomng and Bob, making snakes out of long chains of the maths linking plastic things. Pretending the chains are snakes using snake like movements and saying 'sssss'
6th April 2016	Darth Vader tidies up and finds a block in the wrong place
	Darth Vader: what the hell?
6th April 2016	Aman Ali leads me to the constrution area to show me that everyone has taken their shoes off
	Aman Ali: see my socks!
6th April 2016	Caterpillar: (chanting) boo hoo where are you!?
6th April 2016	Darth Vader supposed to be drawing a booklet of mini beasts. Shows me his booklet and explains to me it is a worm by mimicking the worm's movements with his arm.

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	Me: It's a worm!
	Darth Vader: snake ssssssss
	Me: This is a worm, not a snake
	Darth Vader: a worm, yum yum (rubs his tummy)
6th April 2016	Riyaan: Sometimes my sister calls me an idiot but my mummy says that is haram
6th April 2016	Magic trick: Ayan is pushing cards up through the middle of the table so it appears to be magic. After all the cards have been pushed up through the table children start throwing more cards on the floor
	Me: Ok guys, stop it
	Aman Ali: My name's not stop it, my name is Aman Ali
6th April 2016	Lining up for lunch:
	Mofaq: This is the 'F word' and shows me his fingers in twists
6th April 2016	Ayan, Mofaq and Aman Ali playing 'hi 5' but missig each other
12th April 2016	Today starts off with the register but there is a supply teacher and a poet visiting the school so an hour-long assembly followed by time on the trim trail to release energy.
12th April 2016	Carpet:
	Ali and Ebo playing 'which hand is it?' with a little gem stone
	Tomng and Issa join in
12th April 2016	Darth Vader and Trini pretending to hit their foreheads
12th April 2016	Minion is doing spiderman fingers at me
	Darth Vader tries to teach me how to do spiderman fingers
	Jason has a spiderman plaster he turns round and shows us
12th April 2016	Ivy is making a mask on her face with her fingers then pretends to look through a telescope
12th April 2016	When lining up Naan points out 'there's rats up there!' (I think he means the plugs on the wall for the projector as their cables are hidden behind plastic covering after a few inches, so look like tails!)
12th April 2016	All children fingers on lips for walking quietly
	Ivy pulling faces, pinching nose and wafting hand in front of face as if miming something smells bad
12th April 2016	After returning from assembly all doing activities. Darth Vader makes a web with woll on a paper plate and wants me to take a picture so mimes 'snap snap' with fingers
13th April 2016	Darth Vader has scratches on his face.

	Me: what happened here? (pointing at his scratches)
	Darth Vader: Mitolet (points towards the door which his dad has just left from, but also which is next to the toilets)
	Me: Do you need the toilet?
	Darth Vader: No, Mitolet! (points at his scratches and points at the door)
13th April 2016	Phonics, Mrs Lloyd shows a card with a duck
	Mrs Lloyd: What's this?
	Darth Vader: does a 'quack quack' hand gesture
13th April 2016	Back in F2LO on the carpet, Minion is doing spiderman hand gesture
	Caterpillar is pointing out my 'beauty spots'
13th April 2016	Darth Vader and Shezeen singing 'happy happy clap your hands' because Mrs Lloyd gave them stamps in phonics
	Shezeen and Ivy are doing some finger shapes and copying each other
	Tomng and Ali doing thumbs up
13th April 2016	Later during choosing, Bob, and Dom are playing with the sorting circles like ninjas
13th April 2016	Ivy, Ellie and Lilly are playing dress up as princessses
	Ellie: (casting spell) 'Be sincere!'
	Caterpillar is playing with a chain pretending he as a dog then helps the girls make crowns out of chains
	Ivy tries to pick up some green fabric but it is stuck so he wipes her hands together like 'that's the end of that!'
13th April 2016	Aman Ali and Issa get hit by falling bricks and Tomng puts his arms around them both in a comforting gesture
13th April 2016	Dom is dancing on his own in the middle of the room
13th April 2016	Kaylo Ren, Roger and Bob are playing power rangers (they have already been told not to by LO)
	I turn around and Abdubakr starts to dance to disguise what they were playing
19th April 2016	Ayan and Aman Ali in the construction area making snails. Ayan begins talking in Urdu randomy, then Aman Ali reponds in Pashto! They carry on as if in conversation with eachother.
	Me: 'are you speaking the same language?'
	Ayan: I'm speaking Urdu
	Aman Ali: I'm speaking Pashto... can you speak Pashto?
	Asad is there too and begins to exaplain how she speaks Somali at home, but Ana doesn't, only English

19ᵗʰ April 2016	I ask Mofaq are you going to make a snail? He nods his head... then shakes his head
19ᵗʰ April 2016	Caterpillar: (whispers) if something is broken you can tell me ... shows me he has a glue stick in his pocket
19ᵗʰ April 2016	Naan and Aman Ali want to teach me their language... they begin to teach me how to say 'what's your name?' in Urdu and Pashto
19ᵗʰ April 2016	Darth Vader making a tall tower structure, tries putting one more but it's too hard so says "finished!"
19ᵗʰ April 2016	Mofaq is banging a basket. Naan says: Mofaq's knocking it, it will broke
19ᵗʰ April 2016	Ali: 'hands up' - let me see your hands up!
19ᵗʰ April 2016	Phonics- The word 'go' comes up, Abdulah shows it with a hand gesture
19ᵗʰ April 2016	Minion doesn't know Mrs Khan's name so calls her 'mummy'
19ᵗʰ April 2016	Darth Vader pointing at my sticker, saying 'airtel' then pointing at the office, then says 'let's see!'
20ᵗʰ April 2016	Phonics, learning the sound UR, Ryan puts in in the word church
20ᵗʰ April 2016	Darth Vader is doing a pig nose impression to me
20ᵗʰ April 2016	Trini is shiwing Ali the cars on his socks, chatting with Ebo
20ᵗʰ April 2016	On the way to KS2 Ali tells me to 'put your hands up!'
20ᵗʰ April 2016	They have a poetry session in the hall with a special guest children's author. One of the songs is about the author's head teacher MR. Moore- the chorus is Mr. Moore, Mr. Moore, creeping down the corridor
20ᵗʰ April 2016	At lunch the children are washing their hands. They are fighting over the hand dryer and Ivy says: 2 people! and shows 2 fingers
20ᵗʰ April 2016	Caterpillar in the queue: eenie, meenie, minie mo Ali and Caterpillar are waving at me
20ᵗʰ April 2016	After lunch outdoors Tomng is serving pretend food to the others: It's my birthday! Cinderella: Happy birthday, mmmm delicious, corn and rice Tomng is making a cake. Anah joins in: We need to put it in the oven to cook it Cinderella is cleaning (pretending) Anah (To Cinderella): Can I be your sister?
20ᵗʰ April 2016	Indoors, Ali is explaining a loooong story to me. SOmething about the police...no no no...my house, then he went off saying sister, brother, Alah (points to the ceiling) Ebo and Ali are talking to me and hold hands. Ali uses hand gestures and

	words in his own language when he doesn't know the word for something in Englsh
	Talking about eating pom pom for dinner
	me: what's pompom?
	Ali: bubbles!
	Pretending to go to be asleep on the shelf, Naan. gives Ali a 'Dudu'
	me: what's that?
	Naan.: Milk
20th April 2016	Ali plays power rangers outsidee and inside trains and police. He wants to play hide and seek with me. Me (laughing) you'd be better off asking a friend Ali: you are my friend!
20th April 2016	End of the day singing on the carpet.
20th April 2016	Someone suggests Spiderman! We have a go at singing but after one chorus LO stops it because no one knows the words! Wheels on the bus, Ali: I LOVE this song! Aman Ali: Mr. Moore, Mr. Moore, creepign down the corridor
25th April 2016	Issa and Ivy are playing in the small world with the mini beasts and saying different mini beast names together
25th April 2016	Darth Vader doing maths with L.O., turns around and says to me 'what the hell!? Mrs Fashanuuuu!'
25th April 2016	Afaq making something in the construction area, I ask what and he says he is making a mo-na, I ask what that is and he eventually says it is a truck
25th April 2016	Roger wears a leather pouch necklace, I ask him about it, Aman Ali: ' he's wearing a necklace!' Roger:'it's not a necklace, it's an 'aziz'
25th April 2016	Mofaq showing me the car he made and saying it has a 'chase' me: why? Mofaq: to make it go fast, it also had turbo power Me: who told you about that? Mofaq: My dad, drives a car, he drives a white one
25th April 2016	Ali: you have for dinner chicken, potatoes and pom pom Trini and Ebo. join in, then chicken, potato, pom pom and 'piget' (bigat) Me: what's that?

	Ebo.: it's a pig Me: what, a pig? (putting a fist up to my nose like a pig) yeah, a pig! All three do gestures for pig and making hoggy noises
25ᵗʰ April 2016	Lining up for dinner Naan calling me Gunda! me: what's that? Ayan: it means 'naughty!' Cinderella and ???: No it means dirty! Ayan: Ku-ti means naughty girl!
25ᵗʰ April 2016	Shezeen kissed Ali on the cheek!
25ᵗʰ April 2016	Ali telling me 'Tomng do llllll (tongue out) to me'
25ᵗʰ April 2016	Ali: 'you daaaarling!' with a joking gesture (think I'm a little teapot)
25ᵗʰ April 2016	Ivy, YYYYYY and Asad walking outside saying to each other I have a 'let it go' cd
25ᵗʰ April 2016	Lilly writing on the white board about something from a tv show and spiderman
25ᵗʰ April 2016	Phonics game outside- catch a ball and use a tricky word in a sentence Aman Ali: sentence about a ninja
25ᵗʰ April 2016	Minion: thumbs up to the other class as they walk through
25ᵗʰ April 2016	Darth Vader makes triangles into faces and one on top of the other saying: super duper! then calls it a diamond
25ᵗʰ April 2016	I had a really long conversation with Afaq and I am not sure if he was speaking English with a thick accent or maybe his own language
27ᵗʰ April 2016	Shezeen and Elsa are asking me to draw pictures of Elsa for them, they are talking about princess and how they have watched them on TV
27ᵗʰ April 2016	Darth Vader, Roger and Kaylo Ren are playing cars together
27ᵗʰ April 2016	Issa's pen doesn't work, he says: "this one is a very naughty boy!"
27ᵗʰ April 2016	Dom is making a family book. Calls Alban 'Abaan', is that his pronunciation or is it seriously pronounced like that?
27ᵗʰ April 2016	Ivy playing with blue shiny strips: Once upon a time 'PARTY!'
27ᵗʰ April 2016	Ali shows me a car he's made: Brrrrm, then he starts makign spider man hand gesture and Ebo copies
27ᵗʰ April 2016	Tidy up time and Ali begins to tidy then wants to tidy me away! Mimes and says 'you ... bin'
27ᵗʰ April 2016	In maths Ayaan M, Trini and Darth Vader are working with Me. Tibor. Ayaan hits Trini in th face. Trini describes what just happened to Mr. Tibor using

	gestures manly and a few words
27th April 2016	YYYYYY and Minion are discussing princesses while looking at a sheet of princess pictures
27th April 2016	Ali: hands up! pointing his fingers at me like a gun
27th April 2016	Tomng looks at the pictures on my information sheet and points at the blue speech bubble: I speak that! and that! finds all the blue speech bubbles
27th April 2016	Ivy is playing with blue and orange cloth floating them around and narrates a story to herself in English while she plays
27th April 2016	Ryan and Shezeen are playing with the sunshine and pretending to be Miss O'Malley
27th April 2016	Ivy, Cinderella and Elsa are playing princesses by dressing up. Cinderella and Elsa are telling me which one is Elsa (I'm Elsa because.... no (or was it and!?) I'm Elsa because of.....
27th April 2016	Ali (to me): put your hands up, you naughty girl!
3rd May 2016	I come in and sit down, Ali and Ebo wave at me, put their thumbs up at me and pull silly faces at me. Darth Vader joins in. Dom has his finger on his lips.
3rd May 2016	Naan sees my watch: What's the time Mr. Wolf? Me: Half past nine Caterpillar: Half past time is time for maths!
3rd May 2016	LO is demonstrating learning for the week. She has the beebot out and is asking children to guess how many moves till the buns in her maze. Caterpillar is guessing the number of moves using his fingers to show me the numbers Naan and Rayan are giving thumbs up to each other and other friends on the carpet LO says that the beebot can take some food Aman Ali: makes muching noises and pretends to eat food Ali walks past me pulling silly faces Roger gives a thumbs up to a friend
3rd May 2016	During choosing time Darth Vader and Ebo are playing together, Darth Vader needs the toilet and gives a very firm gesture (thumb and index finger are up, palm is facing towards outwards) as he enters the toilet signalling Ebo to wait for him
3rd May 2016	Mini beast investigation station: Mofaq asks me to take the lid off a jar, I take it off Aman Ali: No, he wants the lid off! Me: I have taken it off

	Aman Ali: No, that's on!
	Me: I explain and show what 'on' and 'off' mean
	Aman Ali: Ooooh (has obviously had those 2 ideas mixed up)
3rd May 2016	Mofaq is doing this thing with his fingers where he wraps on finger over the other, so little finger is on top (he's done this before and told me it's the 'f' word!), I ask about it and he says his mum showed him how to do it
3rd May 2016	Naan: Sees my watch and starts to draw Mickey Mouse on my hand, Minnie Mouse on the other hand, then on my palms he tells me he is drawing Goofy and Donald
	Aman Ali and Tomng are drawing too much just patterns
3rd May 2016	Tidy up time
	Aman Ali is singing me a song, I don't know if he has made it up or if it is in his own language but it has lots of hacking and rrrrolling and sounds that are not English. Mofaq joins in with the song and even though the words are slightly changed he has all the right pronounciations
	Ali: Musaallah and puts his hands up to his templs with his fingers pointing up and out
4th May 2016	Phonics, all learning the word 'for', take pictures with it using their hands and sound affect 'click'
4th May 2016	After phonics LO tells the children to take a minute to stretch their legs, Aman Ali, Bob and Mofaq are making a triangle with their legs.
4th May 2016	Ellie, Riyaan, Elsa and Ana are playing Angelina balerina in the construction area doing pirouhettes while walking on the bricks in the construction area
	Darth Vader, Naan and Bob are ina circle using the beebot. They eac take it in turn to stand up and do a dance.
4th May 2016	Lunchtime:
	Eating inthe dinner hall, Shezeen collects cutlery and puts it in the middle of her tray. She then eats her roast dinner with her fingers. Everyone starts talking about how they chopped their food themselves (which gets them a sticker) Shezeen is also saying: I chopped my food myself!.. but she 'chopped' with her fingers, unaware of cutlery being the tool for 'chopping'
4th May 2016	Caterpillar shows me his colouring in 'tadah!'
4th May 2016	Ali, Darth Vader, Ebo and Issa are play fighting with strict rules, no touching
	All turns sour, Ali and Issa are accusing each other of saying fuck off!
	Ali: Issa said fuck off!
	Issa: No, Ali said F off!
4th May 2016	Amira tells me excitedly that Ebo can ride a bike with no stabilisers
4th May 2016	Afternoon:

	In the reading corner Issa talks in Arabic to Ali.
	Me: WHat language was that?
	Issa: Arabic
	Me (to Ali): Do you understand?
	Ali: No
	Then goes to whisper in Arabic in Issa's ear. They continue to speak in Arabic to each other for a while.
	When Ali talks in Arabic he really over emphasizes using his hand. He also does this in English a little bit but in Arabic he absolutely massively does the hand gesture (hand in front of his mouth, palm up, elbow bend, and hand moves up and down, away and towards him)
4th May 2016	Ali is talking about his orange squidy ball he has brought in.
	Issa: I have two at my house
	Ali: No he (hits forhead till he remembers the word)... jokes
	Issa: Wallah!
4th May 2016	LO gets out a long roll of paper, everyone is writing and drawing on it and then I hear
	Jason: Look Miss O'Malley, I have done Chinese writing!
	I ask LO where he learnt that, LO says from Chinese New Year they learnt a bit about it then
11th May 2016	Phonics, Naan gets something right and says yessss!
11th May 2016	Pakistan: Murtaza from the other F2 class tells me his dad has gone to Pakistan.
	Jason: YYYYYY has gone to Pakistan
	Naan: YYYYYY has gone for a long time and she'll miss all her learning
11th May 2016	Shezeen: (whispers to me) I'm going to the shop to get some toffee... but I don't like it
	Me: so what else will you get?
	Shezeen: lollipop
11th May 2016	Ali and Ebo kissing each other on the cheek
	Issa often kisses Ali on the cheek
	A while ago YYYYYY was kissing Ali on the cheek
11th May 2016	Minion and Anah are gettin stickers.
	Minion jumps up, jugs Anah and gives her thumbs up
11th May 2016	Naan: chupujah

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	Me: what does that mean? Naan: be quiet
11ᵗʰ May 2016	Ali goes on the grey cloud for pulling Ryan hair. He explains to me he told Ryan 4 times to leave his house he built then pulled his hair
11ᵗʰ May 2016	Caterpillar tells me he went to a wedding, I ask about it, then he goes on tangents about how he went to Pakistan. I asked what he wore to the wedding and he begins telling me about his night suits, he has 3, one is Spiderman, he describes it as a suit that is all in one (a onesy!) and asks if all my night suits are broken (like a top and trousers). I ask if there was any music at the wedding? He says 'yes, we sang Johnny Johnny Yes papa'
11ᵗʰ May 2016	Jason is saying the rhyme 'eenie, meenie minie mo'
11ᵗʰ May 2016	Naan asks me where the writing he did on my hands is? The mickey mous club house
11ᵗʰ May 2016	Tomng, Naan, Darth Vader and Ali looking at me instead of listening to LO. I needed to remove myself by sitting on a chair to avoid them getting in trouble
11ᵗʰ May 2016	Zaid, Jason, Rayan and Cinderella aer playing magical fighting with a wand, the pointing hand stick and Rayan has made a hammer
11ᵗʰ May 2016	Mofaq: I am giving buddy a piggy back
11ᵗʰ May 2016	Asad, Ivy, Ana and Ellie are making jewelry out of chains from the maths area
11ᵗʰ May 2016	Tidy up tine, Mofaq: rrrrubish! (giggling) Charrem! me: what's that? Mofaq: when you go on the charrem! I later asked Miss Kalthum, she thinks he was saying train Aman Ali: marrache churrafa Aman Ali and Mofaq are nodding in agreement and encouraging each other with their rrrr word play
11ᵗʰ May 2016	Tidying up, Darth Vader and Ali are dancing to the music. Darth Vader does 'gangnam style' and Ali copies, they both are doing different moves so both know the song.
11ᵗʰ May 2016	Lunch: Jason and Darth Vader are saying: Mrs Fashanu!! Jason: Mofaq said Christians eat dog poo! and I am a Christian Darth Vader was upset by the comment too, showing he knows he is a Christian Me: I am a Christian, do I eat dog poo? Mofaq: no
11ᵗʰ May 2016	LO tells me Aman Ali was asking her is she is Christian or Muslim, then asks: do you like Christians or Muslims?

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11th May 2016	Minion: tells LO after lunch she was pretending to be superman
11th May 2016	Issa and Ali pretending to be asleep and kissing each other on the cheek. They are codeswitching confidently between Arabic and English, they speak English when other children come near
11th May 2016	In the tent Darth Vader is singing Trini sees my hand up (I am protecting my face from his swinging legs!) and he gives me a hi five Mofaq and Ebo are giving each other kisses on the cheek, then Mofaq holds Ebo's face a pecks him on the mouth!
11th May 2016	Elsa and Asad are sitting next to each other. Elsa says 'pretend this..' and Asad repeats what she says over and over
11th May 2016	Ivy playing peekaboo with me around the shelf
16th May 2016	Tomng's last day in school, he is going to a catholic school.
16th May 2016	Ali and Ebo are on the carpet with theri armaround each other
16th May 2016	Ana:(told to make a circle) sings makr a circle
16th May 2016	Darth Vader: eenie meenie minie mo
16th May 2016	Minion singing, sounds like a marching chant
16th May 2016	Workshop, all are busy making things. I ask what they are making.
16th May 2016	Aman Ali: I am making a didi
16th May 2016	Jason: I am making Dead Pool Me: Who's that? Jason: a super hero and he makes funny jokes
16th May 2016	Jason and Roger discuss John Senior and how he is the best wrestler
16th May 2016	Caterpillar: I saw a sick car Jason: I saw a Lambourgini
16th May 2016	In the garden Tomng: I found treasure Riyaan: say wallah! Tomng; Wallah... I said wallah Riyaan: no, say wallah! Me: what does that mean? Riyaan: it means truth, like when my sister always lies and I tell her 'say wallah' like tell the truth Mofaq: Wallah I play! You have to tell the truth my dad always tells me

16th May 2016	Naan speaks Urdu in front of me and then wants to teach me words and even writes on my paper to help me spell them. Pudee, putiogeye. He says the word then turns to me and says 'write it down!!
20th May 2016	Naan made a worm (theme is mini beasts) and then is telling me which minibeast he made. He is doing squelch-raspberry blow- squelch-raspberry blow sound effects. Asks me to guess what animal he is making the sound like. Naan: It is a worm Ocadin Me: doing what? Naan: eating!
20th May 2016	Caterpillar singing a song Issa Issa no no no Issa... I have found it is a cartoon in Hindi and Urdu teaching morals
20th May 2016	Elsa tells me she is going to go and do 'summat' in th workshop area
20th May 2016	Elsa is telling me about a Thaye (baby) she knows and how it is the cutest baby ever
20th May 2016	Elsa and Zaid try playing Apple Pie with me... later on I hear Minion in the wig wam outside saying Appl Pie
20th May 2016	Darth Vader and Jason are playing in cars they have made. All the boys join on the back of the car bringing milk crates to sit on.
23rd May 2016	Aman Ali and Naan are playing thumbs up/down on the carpet. Darth Vader shruggs with arms out to the sides then laughs over the top laughing at me while he tries to press his thumb nail into my foot. I draw him
23rd May 2016	Riyaan standing near the photos on the wall. Riyaan: (to me) are you Muslim? Me: no Riyaan: I am. So is... (points at pictures and lists names, including Tomng) me: what does that mean? Royaan: eating halal food, singing Somali songs and lots of Muslim things Me: (pointing at Tomng) was he Muslim? Riyaan: oh no, he wasn't Muslim, he wore a green band
23rd May 2016	Someone does a thumb in the middle to Aman Ali Aman Ali: What does that mean? Caterpillar: Little bit friend, little bit not
23rd May 2016	Aman Ali and Mofaq are talking about someone's husband Aman Ali: What's his name? Mofaq: Abdul Aman Ali: Is he Muslim?

	Mofaq: yes then they somehow go off on to Allah hu akbar... then both start asking me about my husband
23rd May 2016	Darth Vader, Mofaq, Bob and Jason are playing cops and robbers, Darth Vader uses a lot of mimes and gestures as well as words to enhance the play
23rd May 2016	Minion, Ana and Cinderella are playing dress up as princesses on the step
23rd May 2016	Cinderella had buddy on the weekend, they ate Frozen cake and watched Frozen
23rd May 2016	Tidy up time, Naan says to Elsa 'Shabash!', I ask what that means and Elsa says: that means when someone does something you say shabash, like well done
24th May 2016	Naan is talking to me in Urdu. Me: what does that mean? Caterpillar: starts to translate.. Caterpillar and Naan argue over how to translate certian words Naan and Caterpillar continue to talk Urdu to each other/ Naan pointing at me talking Urdu. I ask what he is sayign and Caterpillar begins to translate then Naan and Caterpillar begin to discuss what the best translation of what he has said is. Naan really appears to know when I will write down what he says (yesterday "write it down!" and tries to write Kanjee down for me)
24th May 2016	Issa's birthday. Issa: I am b.... (not sure and never found out)
24th May 2016	Darth Vader: What the heck!
24th May 2016	Mofaq in maths, suddenly shouts: Allah! and starts to dance Jason laughs Me: what does that mean? Jason: It means he is dancing Mofaq: No, it is when you are praying! and starts to 'pray' saying Allah hu Akbar etc and doing the body movements
24th May 2016	All high fiving me
24th May 2016	Bob goes on the rainbow for being 'Amazing!' Darth Vader: Amazing?! (almost like what's that mean?)
24th May 2016	Afternoon outside, Caterpillar and Elsa are making me tea. Caterpillar: Elsa is washing the bundang Me: the what?

	Caterpillar: the bundang
	Elsa: the bundang
	...then they realise I don't understand and begin to explain:
	Elsa: it's what my grandma says because she speaks another language
	Caterpillar: my dad speaks English in Pakistan
	Me: Can you explain that more?
	Caterpillar: He went to Pakistan which is a looong time and Dad speaks another language, his home (own?) language
24th May 2016	Naan is trying to teach me Urdu by saying the word and using a hand gesture waving, then he everntually says 'bye' (like teaching in target language!!)
24th May 2016	Issa is colouring an aeroplane
	Issa: I like areoplanes
	Me: What you been on an aeroplane?
	Issa: Yes, I have 3 times, from Sūrīyah to Iraq to here
	People are asking what Sūrīyah is and Issa gets a little frustrated that people don't know where Sūrīyah is!
24th May 2016	Lilly is being a bit bossy to Naan
	Naan: Chupujah!
	Lilly: I don't understand your language, you sound funny
	Ivy: what's chupujah?
	Ellie: it sounds funny!
	Naan is trying to explain it is Urdu but when he says the word Urdu he has a very strong accent and he is looking a little upset so turns to me: you tell them!
	Me: it's Urdu, it's his language
	Zaid: Bonjour... that's french ... bonsoir is too
	Me: where did you learn that?
24th May 2016	Ali writes from right to left
6th June 2016	As soon as Aman Ali and Mofaq see me they say 'Mubarak! the moon is in the sky!Right now!'
6th June 2016	Hand gesturing thumbs up to each other then Mofaq thumbs now when the stars get told they are going to go in the construction area
6th June 2016	Maths- LO casts a 'super' spell and so after they do the sum LO uses her wand to cast spell on the children and they all stick their fist up super-man style!
6th June 2016	Ali in maths, the sum's answer is 1 and Ali sings 1 little monkey jumping ont he

	bed
6ᵗʰ June 2016	Ali telling Roger he kissed Trini on the lips
6ᵗʰ June 2016	Aman Ali asks Aladdin if he is Muslim
6ᵗʰ June 2016	Lining up for lunch I was asking Issa if he speaks the same language as Aladdin. Issa: Yes Ali: you're lying! Ali totally sure they do not speak the same Arabic, while Issa is sure they can Aladdin: I can speak Christian and I can also speak Arabic
6ᵗʰ June 2016	Naan write 'kanjee' on my notes
6ᵗʰ June 2016	Darth Vader claps, it is a different way of clapping
6ᵗʰ June 2016	Ali arrested me then does a very graphic, elaborate, detailed role play wanting me to kneel down face away and shoot me in the back of the head- even described blind folding and gaggin. I asked where he saw this? he said on TV
6ᵗʰ June 2016	Minion holds my hands and pretends to ballroom dance while singing
6ᵗʰ June 2016	Aman Ali and Mofaqh are talking 'gibberish ' at each other but it sounds remarkably like a language with the strong accent and rrrrr ing.
7ᵗʰ June 2016 (some in 24ᵗʰ May)	Naan: it's stuck! nje (while tilting head from side to side)
7ᵗʰ June 2016	Issa talking to Aladdin in English: What happened there? (points to Aladdin's front teeth)
7ᵗʰ June 2016	Aladdin tells me he is from Jordan, he took a plane, he had an English teacher in Jordan who taught him to write
7ᵗʰ June 2016	Ali: Rain rain go away
7ᵗʰ June 2016	girls playing a fantasy game
7ᵗʰ June 2016	lunch time, Aladdin: (whispering) everyone things I don't speak English Naan: people think I'm English but I am not me: what are you? Naan: I'm Urdu
7ᵗʰ June 2016	Playground: there is a bee on the floor and Naan's younger brother is getting close to it. Naan tells him to be careful in Urdu, then asks me: Do you know what I was speaking? me: no Naan: It was Urdu me: does he understand?

	Ayang G: Yes! He's my brother!
8th June 2016	Darth Vader: What the hell?
8th June 2016	Caterpillar: Hey ho, let's go
8th June 2016	I had to teach the children how to use the hundred square and put my 'teacher hat' on, difficult because the children are used to playing around me then I had to take on a different role ad children visibly confused when I got 'tough'
8th June 2016	choosing time: children very involved in a fantasy play around princesses. The themes for the week are magic and it's the queen's birthday street party on Thursday. Cinderella says something about Frankenstein. Ivy is a witch and is singing the wedding march. LR: are we pretending to be the queen?
8th June 2016	Bob: amazing dancing
8th June 2016	Sebastain, Bob and Trini are giving each other thumbs up on the carpet
8th June 2016	Aman Ali: Is fish for Muslims?
8th June 2016	Naan follows me into the cupboard talking to me in Urdu
8th June 2016	boys are playing police and prisoners
8th June 2016	girls are playing role play dressing up in the materials
22nd June 2016	Mofaq, Darth Vader and Zaid M are clapping but all three in very different styles
22nd June 2016	Caterpillar is explaining how is not sure about something and his hand is doing a 'opening the door knob' back and forth gesture
22nd June 2016	Aladdin: where were you last week? Me: I went to the beach Aladdin: I went to the beach in Jordan with my grandma
22nd June 2016	Aladdin shows me a piece of paper with writing in Arabic and translates it for me- the first part I don't get, the second part says mum and dad
22nd June 2016	LO: what's a mermaid good at? Darth Vader: mimes swimming
22nd June 2016	Darth Vader: (talking to friends at choosing time outside) let's go here, let's do this
22nd June 2016	Naan: talking Urdu and Kaylo Ren is laughing Aman Ali is either talking Pashto or mimicking Urdu
22nd June 2016	Naan and Ryan are building 'Angry Birds' out of crates
22nd June 2016	Naan sees a spider and pretends to kill it.

	Me: don't kill it
	Naan: Why not?
	Me: because it is an animal
	Naan: so?
	Ali: (very serious and enthusiastic) explains how if you kill an animal Allah, He (points up) will put you in fire and cook you
	Naan: (looks very serious) oh... tells a story about how his brother tried to catch a daddy long legs but killed it by accident (looks worried)
	Me: if it was an accident it is ok...
	Naan: sighs relief
27th June 2016	LO: Why do I need to add 2? Jason: Because Pirates like treasure
27th June 2016	Aladdin: tells me how to say Sun in Arabic, I know because I speak Arabic, so that's easy for me!
27th June 2016	Lilly and Ellie: have a very complex conversation about how Lilly's sister is older than Alban which they know because it is Aleasha's birthday today. Also Lilly says "if you don't give me the pink I won't invite you to my party"
27th June 2016	Naan is linking his thumb and forefingers together then unclicking them- tells me it is a key chain
27th June 2016	LO: asking about pirate things LO: what do pirates say when they see land? Jason: ahoy maties LO: and what do they find? Anah: x marks the spot!
27th June 2016	lunch time: Darth Vader very fluent in football talk, my turn etc, with Aman Ali
27th June 2016	Minion: I have breakfast with mum and my sister LO: why din't you have breakfast with dad? Minion: dad's fasting
27th June 2016	Ali, Naan and Ebo playing in a pirate ship cardboard box pretending it is on fire (getting some orange material) so have to sail away fast Ali: fire! Naan: more fire! (passes them more material) Ali: thank you! and starts to 'sail' fast Naan pouring more and more material on them shouting : Shadii, Shadii!

	Me: what' shadii?
	Naan: party
	but this time he geuinely wasn't saying Shadii for my benefit, it was more natural talk
27th June 2016	LO: what is the task in the workshop?
	... a ship... a boat
	Aman Ali: Ooh la la
	LO turns around t make an example
	children (Naan, Aman Ali, Anah, Ryan etc) all start to chant Ooh la la, ooh la la, ooh la la la la la la
27th June 2016	Lilly: I'm going to Africa
	Me: which part?
	Lilly: I'm not sure, its the part where my grandfather is... we are going for a long time, then we are going to stay in a hotel, then I will come back to school.
27th June 2016	Ivy is making a chinese lantern, she says she learnt when it was chinese new year
	me: do you soeak Chinese?
	Ivy: yes, and I speak English
	Naan: are you Chinese?
	Ivy: Yes
	LS comes down to meet the children and Naan says : Ivy is Chinese
27th June 2016	Asad is tellling me about her Eid out fit and her sisters'
28th June 2016	Zaid M: I have shoes that light up, I will wear them for Eid because now it is Rammadan
	Asad: I am going shopping for my Eid shoes
	All excited about what they are going to wear
28th June 2016	I am helping Caterpillar to write parrot and I roll my rrrrr
	Caterpillar: Don't speak in a different word! I can speak in a different word... Handi, which means food. Eid is Bule lailar (Big girls and boys) and I can do it all by myself... and then sings a song in Urdu
28th June 2016	Minion is on the rainbow. LO calls her Minion and Minion shours "No!" then draws an arc over her head with her finger. She wants to be called Rainbow girl
28th June 2016	Darth Vader and Ali are on the rainbow for tidying. LO asks why and Kaem explains in a really long winded way, then Darth Vader interrupts by saying

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	"whaaaaaat?
??? June after the Mr Moore poetry reading, I wrote June	I overhear a Y1 boy saying to another 'if you don't speak Urdu you aren't Muslim'
??? June	Ivy and Ana talking about wrestlers from TV e.g. John Cena because Roger has wrestling toys in his pocket
??? June	Issa: Goodness me!
??? June	Bob and Sebasitan have made lego cars in the construction area. The are playing with each other and Darth Vader is using lots of BICS language, 'my turn, me first, stop'. Both are dancing and clapping and responding to each other's cues. Bob is sensitive to Darth Vader's level of English and does things like repeating 'you try again', tries to help by talking more clearly, uses hand gestures
??? June	Zaid M: Number 3 does with his pinky, ring and middle finger. He doesn't know what tin foil is
??? June	Ebo, Ali and Trini are playing pretending to be chickens at me
??? June	Elsa wants me to go to the role play with her and says 'let me show you sumat!'
??? June	Bob: What the heck!?
??? June	Ayang G makes a snake out of the meccano and Ebo says 'make it reet long!'
??? June	All still chanting Mr Moore, Mr Moore, creeping down the corridor
4ᵗʰ July 2016	Aman Ali, Mofaq and Roger are talking about football cards and Cristiano Ronaldo
	Y6 girl in the room (missed a trip so sent to help out in F2), Ali takes her aroudn the classroom by the hand saying 'that is one challenge' and repeating the same as he gets to every corner of the room
4ᵗʰ July 2016	Lilly playing with a magic wand 'I have a magnetic star on my wand' (v.technical language)
4ᵗʰ July 2016	Asad still talking about her sister's shoes for Eid
4ᵗʰ July 2016	LO asking children what their favourinte foods are. All responses are English foods from the school dinner menu
12ᵗʰ July 2016	Issa asking what rules mean
12ᵗʰ July 2016	Jasons'udder' the thing for making milk
12ᵗʰ July 2016	LF Readingin a book with Naan and XXXXX. The book is written in English and translated into Urdu as well Naan realises it is Urdu "that's Urdu" and then says " that's Urdu" in Urdu

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	XXXXX says "I'm Urdu" and points at the Urdu writing
12ᵗʰ July 2016	Eid was on the 6th July Caterpillar: I had Eid when I was in Miss O'Mally's class
Transition Week	All children are very quiet, a lot less interactions to observe- shell shocked? or i it becaue nearly all the time is spent focussed on an activity or on th carpet?
Transition Week	Children have a 10 minute choosing time to get to know the classroom. Zaid M and Naan in the making area and Zaid M tells Naan:I made a box trox. Naan: A what? Zaid M: repeats several times: A box trox.. t-r-o-x as if sounding it out will help Naan to understand.
6ᵗʰ September 2016	On the carpet, Darth Vader is explaining to Igor about the classroom, talking in Roma
6ᵗʰ September 2016	Literacy- lots of technical language (CALP)
6ᵗʰ September 2016	Zaid M reads 'treasure'. LS: How did you know that? Zaid M: I tricked you! LS: What, because you pretended you didn't know but you actually did? ...Zaid M... looks confused, I think he meant I surprised you
6ᵗʰ September 2016	Cockles Caterpillar: You put them on your eyes when you go swimming so you don't get water in your eyes
6ᵗʰ September 2016	LS: What does Amy like most about the water? Naan: the waves (and makes a wave movement with his hand) LS: where was the treasure? Zaid M: in the shell and uses hands to show shell open and closing
6ᵗʰ September 2016	Darth Vader answers a question 'rain' and uses hands (fingers really) to accompany his word
21ˢᵗ September 2016	Rocky first morning, Rocky is paired with Bob
21ˢᵗ September 2016	Caterpillar and Ellie are at the writing table and sounding out sentences Lilly and Ryan are there too, Lilly 'this is how you write wolf, shall I show you?'
21ˢᵗ September 2016	On the carpet: LS shows thumbs up and Rocky is giving thumbs up to LS
21ˢᵗ September 2016	Grapes at the table, Minion is giving thumbs up to everyone Igor and Minion have a discussion about whose sheet it is, Minion shows thumbs up to Igor and Igor gives a closed fist back to Minion

	Rocky begins 'writing' from the right hand sided of the page
	Trini and Igor are putting thier pencils behind their ears and Minion, laughing, takes Igor's. Igor: Hey that's mine! Give it back!
	Ebo is tickling his head with a pencil, Igor: Stop! and then explains to Darth Vader in Roma what Ebo was doing to his head
	Minion thumbs up and 'friend' to all the grapes
	Igor giving thumbs up and says to Cinderella 'is very good!' like you are a good friend
21st September 2016	Afaq calling the wolf a fox
21st September 2016	Bob telling me about a 'battle' at his house
21st September 2016	Learning about vegetables, Minion starts doing the 'one potato' song with her hand gestures
21st September 2016	LS tells Rocky to sit down. Uses hand gestures, he repeats hand gesture (still not sitting) with 1 hand. JG says and does it again. Rocky repeats again, with 2 hands. LS has to stand up and show him how to 'sit down' by sitting next to him
21st September 2016	Book: moving house. Issa ' I am going to move house'
	Asad ' A long time ago I moved house and Anah's dad helped
	XXXXX also says she moved house
21st September 2016	Lining up to go outside, Igor is miming to the children behind him to be quiet
21st September 2016	Caterpillar makes 'rothi' out of playdo
21st September 2016	Darth Vader looks at me and signs to me that Ebo has done a thumbs down to him. I look at Ebo, and he has a very sheepish expression on his face
21st September 2016	LS to Igor: your turn to read with Sue (and mimes a book)
	Igor:mimes the book gesture back
5th October 2016	They are doing a numeracy book where 1 is a snail, 2 is a person etc
5th October 2016	LS: What is one?
	Ivy: a snake
	LS: A snail?
	Ivy: No, a snake because a snake has one leg
5th October 2016	Igor is facing the worng way
5th October 2016	LF: Rocky, sit down (with hand signal for sit down)

	Rocky sits down (learnt hand gesture!!)
5th October 2016	Counting with animals in mixed ability groups
	Rocky is looking at all the pictures of dogs, :Is a dog, is a dog
	Picking up all the pictures of dogs
	Echoes everything I say, including when I say Miss Szutka...
5th October 2016	Darth Vader picking up numbers and showing them to Jason who says the numbers and Darth Vader repeats them
5th October 2016	Zaid M and Igor working together and give each other a double high five
	Ryan and Ebo are high fiving
5th October 2016	Igor got punched in the mouth at break and is showing his lip to Rocky on the carpet
5th October 2016	Mofaq puts hand up at the beginning of reading and says: 'yesterday I went to Mosque!' looking really pleased with himself. CONTEXT: today is the first day of Muhran (new year) but I find that out later from a friend
	Lots of other children chime in 'I go Mosque! Do you go Mosque?' to each other
	LS asks children to put their hands up
	Elsa: I know what the special Guidas... they have Islamic thing and you have to read it. I could even read it right now without looking
	LS: Can you? Go on then, stand up!
	Elsa: suddenly recites a whole load of Arabic and a lot of the other children were nodding their heads and some were mouthing the words wanting to join in and show what they know. Elsa is looking directly at Aman Ali who mouthing along with her and almost giving her guidance in case she forgets.
	LS: What was that then?
	Elsa: It's like a book and you have to understand it to the teachers
	LF: Like reading the Quran?
	Elsa: Yes.. I know another one
	LS: Does anyone else know?
	Aman Ali: I am not in the Aleppa (eleven?) page anymore, I am on the hard page (and shows a number with his fingers
	Roger and Aman Ali come to the front, Aman Ali is speaking out loud and Roger is whispering in his ear to help him and tell him what the next line it
	Minion has a turn, she recites a short few words but with those few words a lot of children's heads turn and they either repeat it or nod their heads vigorously in agreement
	Minion: I want to sing it!

	LS: Is it a song?
	All: No!!
	Aman Ali: Making it into a song is Guna!
5ᵗʰ October 2016	LF is taking a group of children to the back of the room.
	LS asks Rocky to stand up
	Rocky does nothing
	LS: 'stand up' using the hand gesture like 3 times
	Rocky stands up and goes down to LF- which he actually was not supposed to do. You can see the cogs turning in his head and he is thinking 'what on earth am I supposed to do now'
5ᵗʰ October 2016	Book about dinosaurs, LF teaching what a 'heading is' when Dom says 'that's a triceratops and that a 'perezor' (Parasaurolophus)
	Dom can recognise and name a lot of dinosaurs.
	Dom then explains... in Power Rangers Dino Supercharge... starts telling me about fossils and Zors and how they need the silver ranger and they didn't know the location of the other teresaurs etc. Uses body gesture to show 'get stronger' and 'mega sword (cross arms in front) and swing the axe...
6ᵗʰ October 2016	Three little pigs retellign the story
6ᵗʰ October 2016	Igor, Darth Vader and Rocky are retelling the story really well - repitition and role play are fantastic!
6ᵗʰ October 2016	Rocky working with a volunteer playign with bricks building houses and saying some words from the three little pigs. Once he has done that he wants to move on to playing with wheels from another box. He says 'pollies' over and over again, (police? dollies?) Then he goes to get the other box that is filled with little dolls. He is playing intesely with the dolls talking out loud in Oromo and repeating certain words many times. Appeared to become a bit frustrated when we didn't understand. We try to get him to build a house, he was very strong and said 'No!' using his hand pointing up to the ceiling for emphasis. Then he said 'naughty' to no one in particular. When he is allowed to play cars he is visibly happier again
6ᵗʰ October 2016	Caterpillar to me 'do you go Mosque?'... shakes head "I mean... are you Muslim?"
	Me: No, I am Christian
	Caterpillar: I am Muslim
	Cinderella: I'm Muslim
	Caterpillar: I go Mosque, do you go Mosque?
	Cinderella: I go Mosque
	Caterpillar starts reciting in Arabic

	Cinderella: I don't know that one, I know... starts reciting in Arabic
	Me: is that from the Quaida?
	Caterpillar: Quai-da (correcting my pronunciation) yes
6th October 2016	Phonics, sound: 'ent'
	Mofaq:enter
	Ayaan Gull: 'enter' makes things work. On my tablet enter doesn't work and my dad can't fix it
	Phonics cookie monster
	Mofaq sucking his hand then I see Kaylo Ren and Naan are too. I ask Mofaq what he's done to his hand and he says the cookie monster bit him(!)
6th October 2016	'Dent' I explain what a dent is, for example when a car has an accident
	Mofaq: We went tothe beach and my dad drove the car into the sea and it went down and up
	Naan: my dad drov the car in the sea
	Mofaq: luckily we had swimming costumes
??? October 2016	Learning about the 3 little pigs. The grapes have been taken to LT (Miss Tankard's) room and are using masks to retell the story of the three little pigs
??? October 2016	LT: The Big Band Wolf
	Ali: The big bad boy
	Igor puts on a pig mask and says "pig"
	Ali: "huff puff"
	LT asks Rocky to "come here"
	Rocky is completely lots and does not know what 'come here means'
	LT: all ready? (with thumbs up)
	Rocky stands in the middle of the room with his thumbs up, looking lost
	LT uses her hands to guide Rocky to her side to 'help' her read the story. As soon as LT starts reading Rocky goes to the corner of the room to play with a toy
??? October 2016	Minion: Recites the part of the wolf perfectly
	Igor: Puts his mask on his face and says "pig"
	Trini, who struggled earlier to say the sentence "I'm a little pig" suddenly remembers the whole "not by the hair pf my chinny chin chin I will not let you in!
	Rocky meanwhile plays with a toy again
	LT: what happens to the brick house? Ali finds the brick house picture for her

	(misunderstands the question)
??? October 2016	LT to Igor put your coat on. Ali "on" and pretends to turn a light switch on like the phonics gesture for "o"
??? October 2016	At the end of the session it is story time. LT has a book with owl's eyes showing. What animal is this? Darth Vader: eyes LT: Owl, all say owl Ali: hoo hooo hoo hooo Ebo thumps his chest like Tarzan
??? November 2016	At tables writing about Eid Aman Ali: teaching Ellie how to pray, asks Roger if he's Muslim
??? November 2016	Rocky when lining up sees the communication in print mat and says the words he knows: prayer, Muslim, carrot. All the other words he doesn't know in English he says in Oromo, like the name of clothes
??? November 2016	Rocky is pointing at the children in photos and saying their names Elsa wearing eye liner, I ask her about it and she says her grandmother put it on because her eye was poorly Elsa went to the library and saw Aman Ali and to the park
??? November 2016	LF reading a story: they can hear bees buzzing Darth Vader: what's that? LF: Buzzzz Darth Vader: I know that zzzzz, I see that zzzzz (and flaps his arms like wings)
??? November 2016	LF: where do Logan and Anne go for a picnic? (picture of a field) Asad: the desert Rocky: park
??? November 2016	LF: what did they find in the meadow? All find the word 'meadow' really hard Zaid M: they founs daisies in the park
??? November 2016	Rocky told to sit down with the hand gesture- Rocky sits down (!!!) Naan has gone to Pakistan
8th November 2016	On the carpet with Mr Kamkani Issa is back from (???) I think he was ill, he is playing a game with me where he hides his face Caterpillar asks me when my baby is coming then whispers 'shall I tell you

	what my cousin's name is?
	I say 'tell me later'. Later Caterpillar remembers and comes to tell me their names.
	Me: are they babies?
	Caterpillar: one is and one is 4 (importance of family)
8th November 2016	LS: The lesson they are doing is another session on something they did last week. Last week they did this but they struggled with the recording side of it. They were able to talk to me and tell me about it which is when you know they've got it
8th November 2016	W.K. is teaching the next task and Rocky is shouting out 'yes' and copying WK's words, e.g. loads, in there, white board pen
8th November 2016	Go to the tables and working in partners they have to find 2 shorter sticks that equal the length of a longer stick
8th November 2016	Elsa and Roger work really well together saying 'now you can choose a colour
8th November 2016	Aman Ali and Minion: it's your turn to write
8th November 2016	YYYYYY and Bob: Miss Fray we're working together
8th November 2016	Ryan is with Issa and Ivy is with Rocky
	Anah and Kaylo Ren are struggling to write the letters, Ryan helps: curly 'g', then draws it in the air. Ivy leands over and draws it for them, Anah rubs out Ivy's and writes it in herself
8th November 2016	Darth Vader is walking around doing funny gestures
8th November 2016	YYYYYY and Aman Ali are reading together. Aman Ali starts speaking Pashtu. YYYYYY: What does that mean? Aman Ali continues to speak in Pashtu
8th November 2016	Bonfire night accrostic poem
	Mofaq and Roger are working together. Mofaq tells Roger that Mahmood was allowed to use a sparkler and his dad let him
	Mofaq: how do you write 'wor' (fireworks)
	Roger: ir
8th November 2016	Caterpillar and Bob discussing which is right, sharing cards saying 'me, me'
	Bob: It's like a battle
8th November 2016	Phonics
	About the get the cookie monster
	Elsa Mahmood (Y1 GC) says I saw the cookie monster on sesame street
	Cinderella: me too and I saw the cookie monster and it ate all the cookies

8th November 2016	JG: If you have the word 'shred'. Bob has it, Cinderella knows it, Cinderella helps Bob to sound it out
8th November 2016	YYYYYY: I don't want to go home JG: it's not home time yet YYYYYY: when I go home I play on my ipad
8th November 2016	LF is using the playdo to strenthen fingers before handwriting. Darth Vader reminds LF about the thumb Later Darth Vader: I did ...(shows his thumb) to you- happy that he reminded LF
22nd November 2016	Topic:Celebrations Mofaq: You can celebrate anything, Diwali, Eid or Christmas
22nd November 2016	LS: what do you do at Eid? Elsa and Roger: you get presents, you pray XXXXX: everybody get new clothes, go to some people's house far away Cinderella: I went ready, I put my necklace on, I went to a house far away
22nd November 2016	LS: Does anybody go to the Mosque? lots of hands up, including Darth Vader Qaida, Qu'ran and Sparas LS: What do you do at mosque? Bob: you say Somali words Caterpillar: you read Gelmar or Bara ad Qu'ran Aman Ali 'helps' with pronounciation: Kelmar LS: Is that in a book? Caterpillar: You could even get the amar ktab Roger: and you can eat ice cream Aman Ali: you only eat Urdu food, you can eat pepsi Aman Ali: Di you know what Reza means? Me: Is it a name? Aman Ali: it means fasting
22nd November 2016	Jason ad Ryan are crowding me, Ryan is asking me if he can take the camera home

	Roger: (about Ryan) he doesn't celebrate Eid, he celebrates Christmas me: why? Ryan: Because I'm Christian
22nd November 2016	Elsa: Christans, Muslims, Hindus and Pakistanis Me: Aren't Pakistanis Muslim? Elsa" my grandma is Pakistani and she's Muslim, my sister is Pakistani, well kind of Pakistani, and she's Muslim, I'm kind of Pakistani and I'm Muslim me: Why 'kind of' Pakistani? Elsa: because I go to Pakistan and when someone dies you bury them and cover them in mud Aman Ali: You know what 'oobar' means? It means when someone dies and you bury them
29th November 2016	LS tells the children we are going to Mosqu on Thursday, all very excited chatting Aladdin: When you do like 'that' (bends down like praying) each salat, each of them has different like 2 or like 3 YYYYYY: you have to do this: (bends her knees) then you have to read the Qu'ran. You have to say.... recites something in Arabic LS: What's that in English? YYYYYY: not sure
29th November 2016	Elsa and Roger come tot he front and talk about what they do at Mosque, Elsa tells us about her favourite Mosque teacher
29th November 2016	XXXXX: when you go to the Mosque you have to be quiet (puts finger over her lips) because I have a DVD
29th November 2016	Rocky sees the camera I have and pretends to take pictures, talking to himself in Oromo about how to use a camera
29th November 2016	Asad: You've got to behave when you go to Mosque because it's Allah's house, and if you don't you'll go to hell
30th November 2016	Everyone excited about the mosque trip
30th November 2016	Naan has just come back from Pakistan, looks utterly bewildered
30th November 2016	Praying in Arabic: Sale Caterpillar?: Sally the seal Elsa: when we go in we need to do wooshoo, that means you wash your face Naan remembers going to this mosque

	Asad used to live here and used to come to this mosque
	Guide asks children how do people greet each other at the Mosque?
	Trini: Asalam Aleikum
	Guide: and what does that mean?
	Elsa: it means when you see someone and they come and sit down
30th November 2016	In the library
	Naan spots the Qu'ran
	Issa: we have the Qu'ran in my house
	Ellie: nobody could read those words
	Naan: I could read those words
	Mosque has 45 different natEllielities all learning arabic
30th November 2016	In the large prayer room
	Caterpillar and Mofaq playing with Aman Ali who goes straight down to the rayer position to pray
30th November 2016	Guide talks about 4 books (?)
	the pillars- Haj- Mecca in Saudi Arabia
30th November 2016	Ellie: 200 million people could fit in here!
	Naan is 'translating' for me, Okam is Bayay (Okam = arabic, bayay = Urdu?)
	Guide: It's run by angels, many repeat 'angels'
	Guide asks what the picture is of
	Elsa: Qabar
	Guide: asks which way we need to face when we pray?
	Zaid M: you need to face the car park
	Guide: how many times a day do we pray?
	Aladdin: 5
	Guide: what is the most important day?
	30th November 2016Aladdin: Friday
	Issa: I pray at home
	Everything-Is-Awesome: I've been here before, is 'Melahur'- realise he means Meadowhall, the chandeliers look like those in Meadowhall
	Aladdin goes to the front and says a prayer
30th November 2016	Naan sees a lock on a charity box and starts playing with it speaking in Urdu to himself

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30th November 2016	Walking back
	XXXXX points to the clouds: I see a blue bit so it won't rain
	Naan: (looking very confused) it's like winter, my hand is freezed
30th November 2016	After we come back I sit down with Igor, Darth Vader and Mr Tibor to talk about what just happened .
	I ask them if they understands what Mosque is, Darth Vader says: yes, you have to do like this: and goes down into prayer position and says: I know about that
	Igor: My mosque, put on clothes like this
	Igor says he went there with his dad
	Darth Vader: my mum took me to mosque and my friend
	Darth Vader: put your shoes off and put it back
	I ask if they know what a Muslim is
	They think I am talking about muscles and starts showing me their arms muscles
	I ask if they know about Christians
	Darth Vader: My dad... gets down on his knees in a Christian prayer position. 'Devloro' which Tibor tells me means God in Roma
30th November 2016	Looking at photos of the trip
	What do you do when you read the Qu'ran?
	Roger: you read it in Pakistani
	Aladdin: Each of the boxes, one of the Muslims stands in the box to pray
	Elsa: I know English and Arabic Ramaz- it's the word for when you pray
	Kaylo Ren: The right hand is the first hand
	LS: Why do we take our shoes off?
	Caterpillar: Because they would make Allah's house dirty
30th November 2016	Kaylo Ren- has new hearing aids that eable him to hear LS when she wears the microphone but he doesn't hear anyone else - how do I feel about this!?
30th November 2016	Darth Vader sings and dances to Justin Bieber Baby Baby Baby Oooh!
	Zaid M: I believe I can fly... woops (jokingly spreads his wings then falls down to the floor
	Practising Christmas songs, Igor sits next to Naan and helps him to sing them
30th November 2016	Mr Kamkani is interviewing his little group and asks them what their favourite taste is
	Darth Vader: Ice cream yellow

	Ellie: Do you mean vanilla?
	Darth Vader: Banala, yum yum (acts out)
	WK asks what magic powers they would like to have.
	Ellie: gymnastics power from Barbie spy squad
	XXXXX - Ice powers, I like to sing let it go
30th November 2016	On the carpet Cinderella is doing some sort of Eenie Meenie Minie Mo game (black shoe, black shoe, change your black shoe)
	Mofaq tells her: you're not the teacher, Miss Szutka's the teacher
30th November 2016	Art club
	Will there be enough clay for the diva lamps?
	Ivy crosses her fingers
	Ivy draws a 'beautiful' Christmas tree
	I ask if she has Christmas and she says yes
	Jason: I'm a Christian, my mum put a Christmas tree in my house
8th December 2016	Darth Vader pointing to the cloakroom and says something about his PE kit, Rocky says 'No!' (does he understand Darth Vader when we don't?)
8th December 2016	Rocky is then talking to LS about PE kit
	He says '54...55... hat... bobble' and pulls out his t-shirt round his waist to demonstrate what he is trying to say. Maybe he lost his bobble hat? Maybe he lost his t-shirt? Maybe54, 55 is the size of the t-shirt?
8th December 2016	Children (Igor, Aman Ali, Mofaq, Abulahi, Ryan) are choosing in the building area.
	Ryan gets out a book and says: we can build a big digger!
	Ryan wants everyone to get is a line but the children are not listening to him and ocntinue to choose
	Aman Ali: boss, why do we need to make a line?
	Ciril wears a straw hat and sings 'jungle jungle'
	Trini: who wants to make a trowell? picking up the sign with a digger on it
	Zaid M walks past and asks me: Do you know who Triple H is? He's a wrestling
	Rocky grabs a brick off Aman Ali who pretends to cry like a baby and says: me no your friend! and does thumbs down
	Ryan is still trying to organise all the children to work together to build a digger 'big, strong and mighty!'
	Aman Ali gets a sheet: ok, who's name is here?
	Mofaq: me

	Aman Ali: Ryan? Ryan: Ja-m-e-s Mofaq: Shall I do the z? There's a z at the end of Jamez Aman Ali: Rocky? Rocky, you're here Rocky: yes Aman Ali: Darth Vader, you're here
8th December 2016	Aman Ali and Naan talking about the plane crash that happened this morning in Pakistan. They are talking about Karachi and Islamabad Mofaq joins in the conversation doing his pretend talking in Somali bit
8th December 2016	New To English with NK Everything-Is-Awesome, Issa, Igor, Darth Vader and Rocky
8th December 2016	Igor: the boy is kicking the football Darth Vader: the girl is swimming Everything-Is-Awesome is stuck NK: is it a boy or a girl? Everything-Is-Awesome: boy... but can't finish the sentence NK: anyone else? Darth Vader: the boy is knock picture of a bicycle Rocky: cycling (and rotates his hands like the pedals on a bike) Me: did Rocky just say cycle? Rocky: yes! Rocky cycle Rocky tries calling out everyone else's turn- hoover, toilet Igor: frigo (for fridge) Darth Vader knows greenhouse and garden
8th December 2016	picture of a door- Rocky: Do push NK: what is it? Rocky: door picture of a mirror: Darth Vader: you see something your face picture of a melon: Issa: water melon NK what colour is it? Issa: green

	NK: inside?
	Issa: red
	Rocky: inside (and draws a big circle in the air
	picture of grapes: Issa: eneb (in Arabic)
	NK: is that Arabic? in my language Ambur
	Darth Vader: In my language Ambur!
	NK: who has the banana?
	Igor: not me
	Rocky: no me banana
	Darth Vader: yum
8ᵗʰ December 2016	Back in the classsroom guided reading and reading books on the carpet
	Everything-Is-Awesome and Rocky and are sharing a book about astronauts. Rocky is pointing at things and saying random words of vocab
8ᵗʰ December 2016	Igor is looking at a big book about penguins. There is a picture of a penguin swimming.
	Igor (to me): Swimming like Igor in Y4? Rocky: pretends to swim
	Igor: You know, Rocky no swim, he talk
	(As if to say Rocky doesn't know how to swim, he's just saying he goes swimming)
8ᵗʰ December 2016	Lilly has been to see Santa 1 time, Cinderella says she has been 5 times
8ᵗʰ December 2016	Art club
	Elsa puts her diva lamp to her ear: I can hear the sea side!
	Jason, Ivy and Salha all copy
	Jason: I can hear the ocean rising in my ear
	Ivy: Hellooo? (pretends it is a phone
	Elsa: Mrs Fashanu, can I tell you something? my family live far far away and one time when I was in nursery we went all the way to Pakistan to see them
13ᵗʰ December 2016	Rocky crying and keeps saying "Iona, Iona!"
	Teachers keep asking Iona what's happened and Iona has no idea
	Sabria comes to translate and she says his throat is hurting
	We ask what about Iona?
	Sabria tells us the Iona is the word for throat
13ᵗʰ December 2016	LF tells me the Y2 teachers got Rocky in trouble because he is running around the playground calling someone a baby. LF argues that he is just mimicking

	what he has hear someone else said and he doesn't mean it maliciously because he is at a level of understanding what a baby is or why it is upsetting to call someone a baby
14th December 2016	Making snowman cards
14th December 2016	Ryan is telling Darth Vader in a teacher -tone how to write in a card
14th December 2016	Mofaq uses a piece of card and holds it to his nose: I'm pinocchio! Rocky laughs Ryan copies and dances Ryan puts too pieces together to make a longer nose Roger copies Mofaq makes a cross with the paper over his face: I'm an exoflex. It's bit and it can pick things up and it has a hol here (points to his arm) Ryan: I'm pinocchio with long ears (holds a piece of card up to each ear)
14th December 2016	Darth Vader ad Rocky come and draw snowmen on my notes
14th December 2016	YYYYYY" Look, I'm Mr Maker Minion is on the carpet with LS and the other children doing snowman maths on the board, calls up to Aman Ali at the table and copies the snowman's dance Ellie: I'm going to do Olaf YYYYYY: Me too, Olaf has sticks for hair
14th December 2016	Today is Christmas jumper day. Interesting who is wearing jumpers: Jason Everything-Is-Awesome Dom Ellie Ivy Afaq: I ask if he does anything for Christmas and he says: I'm a Muslim, I don't celebrate Christmas
14th December 2016	Break time: Omel??? and Rocky running around the play ground singing Jingle Bells
14th December 2016	Cinderella sitting next to Rocky: Mrs Fashanu, Rocky is copying me, I say Merry Christmas and he says Merry Christmas
14th December	Naan's card has kisses (xxx) in it. Caterpillar sees and draws kisses in his

2016	
10ᵗʰ January 2017	Issa: my mum got baby too, my mum fatter
17ᵗʰ January 2017	Mofaq, Aman Ali abd Jason talking about how cold it is and they are saying "brrrrr" but really exaggerating the "rrrrr"
24ᵗʰ January 2017	Naan drawing "Mickey Mouse Club House" pictures
1ˢᵗ February 2017	NTE- Everything-Is-Awesome, Igor, Rocky, Darth Vader

Good afternoon to NK then to each other, each says date in full then the days of the week

Sing the alphabet all together then each sings on their own, Rocky goes first then when everyone has done Rocky asks 'can I sing ABC?'

cvc pictures

for each picture they act it out

pig- Rocky sings ee i ee i o

parts of the body, point to your

goes through the picture cards 'who has' answer 'I have'

count to 100- as they count they do hand rolling gestures |
| 8ᵗʰ February 2017 | I am wearing a cardigan with red, blue and white buttons. Rocky and Sebastain come over to me and name all the colours of my buttons

Darth Vader is doing push ups

Naan sees my cartoon of Darth Vader doing push ups and asks 'was he doing exercises?' |
21ˢᵗ February 2017	Cinderella telling me about her cousins and how they are such cute babies. Her cousin let her feed the baby with a bottle.
28ᵗʰ February 2017	In the dinner hall, Cinderella has collected cutlery but she doesn't use them, instead, is eating curry and rice with her hand like pro
1ˢᵗ March 2017	In PE children are dancing and lots of them dance in ways that are e.g. Pakistani
14ᵗʰ March 2017	Farewell presentation to children

Appendix 4- Language Portraits

Home Languages
- ☑ English
- ☑ Albanian
- ☐
- ☐

My Dad speakes Albanian

School Languages
- ☑ English
- ☐ Albanian
- ☐
- ☐

Home Languages
- ☑ English
- ☐ Ur
- ☐
- ☐

My Dad speaks Urdu, + my mum but I never learnt it.

School Languages
- ☑ English
- ☐
- ☐
- ☐

Home Languages

■ Pashtu   ☐ Urdu

■ English   ☐

School Languages

■ Pashtu   ☐

■ English   ☐

Home Languages

■ English   ☐

■ Albanian ☐

School Languages

■ English   ☐

☐   ☐

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Home Languages

Urdu
English

School Languages

English

I speak urdu
with my mum T
dad, English
with my brothers.

Home Languages

Somali
English

School Languages

Somali
English

Home Languages

☐ Arabic   ☐

☐ English   ☐

School Languages

☐ Arabic ~~English~~   ☐

☐ English   ☐

Home Languages

☐ Somali   ☐

☐ English   ☐

"I speak English with my sisters + somali with my mumt my dad." he's in Norway

School Languages

☐ English   ☐
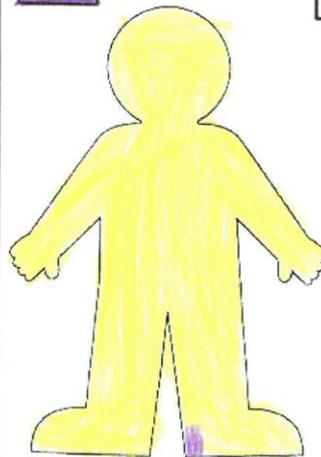
☐ Somali   ☐

"I speak s to samiyah beca she understand she's somali."

352

Home Languages

- [orange] Muslim
- [yellow] English

"I speak Muslim with my mummy + daddy + brothers + sisters + all of my family, even my granny"

School Languages

- [light orange] Muslim
- [yellow] English

Home Languages

- [teal] Arabic
- [orange] English

If some words are English then I just say.

School Languages

- [teal] Arabic
- [orange] English
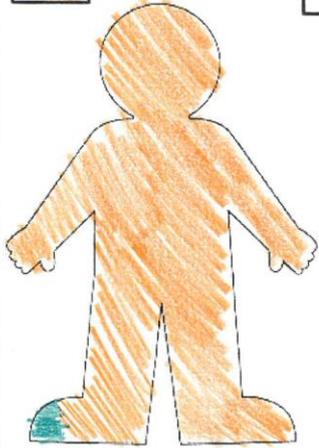
Home Languages

English
Chinese
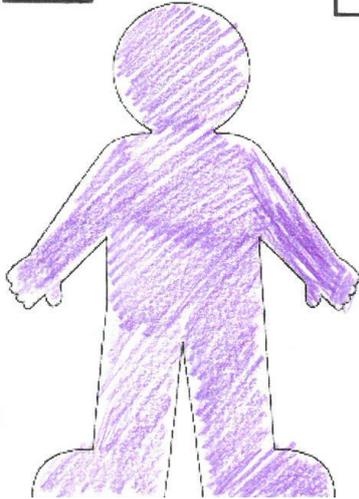
School Languages
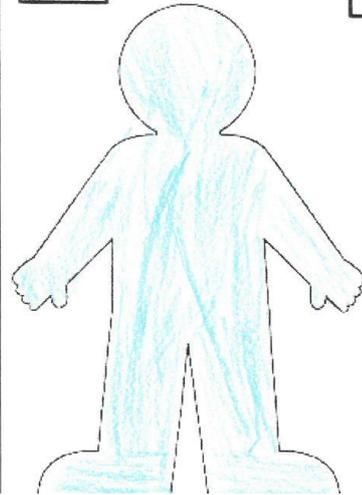
English

Home Languages

English
Roma

School Languages

English
Roma

354

Home Languages

□ Oromo □

□ English □

School Languages

□ Oromo □

□ English □

Home Languages

□ Somali □

□ English □

School Languages

□ Somali □

□ English □

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Home Languages

- Roma (yellow)
- Slovak (teal)
- English (blue)

School Languages

- Roma (yellow)
- English (blue)

Home Languages

- Arabic (green)
- English (yellow)

I speak english with my brother + my sister + my friend Farhad who lives next to my house.

School Languages

- Arabic (yellow)
- English (yellow)

Sometimes I speak with Zaid M + Zaid A + I usd to speak with Hazem

Home Languages

☒ Urdu ☐
☐ ☐

School Languages

☒ English ☐
☐ ☐

Home Languages

☒ English ☐
☒ Arabic ☐

School Languages

☒ English ☐
☒ Arabic ☐

Home Languages

☐ English
☐ Somali
☐
☐

School Languages

☐
☐
☐
☐
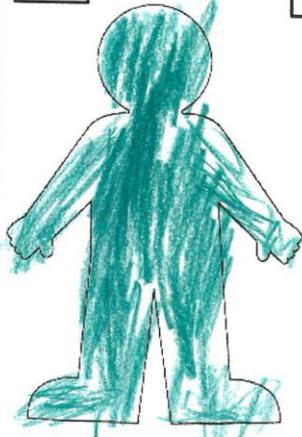
Home Languages

☐ French
☐ English
☐
☐

My mom speaks French to me, she knows all the French.

School Languages

☐ English
☐
☐

I just alway speak englis because

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Home Languages

English

School Languages

English

Home Languages

English.

School Languages

English.

359

Home Languages

☑ English ☐

☐ ☐

School Languages

☑ English ☐

☐ ☐

Home Languages

☑ Somali ☐

☑ English ☐

School Languages

☑ ☐ Somali

☐ ☑ English

360

Home Languages

- ☐ (red) Pakistani ☐
- ☐ (blue) English ☐

School Languages

- ☐ Pakistani ☐
- ☐ (blue) English ☐

Home Languages

- ☐ (light blue) English ☐
- ☐ (green) Urdu ☐

"I speak a little bit of Urdu – my sisters teach me"

School Languages

- ☐ (blue) English ☐
- ☐ ☐

Home Languages

English

School Languages

English

Home Languages

Somali
English

School Languages

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