Finding a voice: developing pedagogy for the ESOL classroom.

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Abstract

Migrant language learners are routinely negatively positioned in official discourses of language and citizenship in the UK which fail to reflect the diverse and complex reality of life in the twenty-first century. This narrow outlook has a dynamic relationship with policies relating to both migration and education, the effect of which can be felt in the ESOL classroom through demands such as the promotion of a predetermined set of British Values and the teaching of a curriculum where language is decontextualised and broken down into separate components.

Some in the ESOL research and teaching community have responded to the above by developing participatory pedagogies based upon the work of Paulo Freire. These have proven effective in opposing official interpretations of notions such as integration and monolingualism (see Bryers, Winstanley and Cooke 2014b, Cooke, Bryers and Winstanley, 2018). The ESOL classroom has therefore become an important site to counter negative portrayals and undertake vital work with learners, assisting them in dealing with the challenges they face and beginning to realise their aspirations whilst advancing their English language skills in a meaningful way.

This research looks to develop the above work using the writing of Mikhael Bakhtin and those influenced by him (see for example Skidmore and Murakami, 2016a and Wegerif, 2020) to explore the possibility of supporting learners in the development of voice through dialogic interaction in the classroom. A Bakhtinian notion of dialogue values the uniqueness of individual perspectives, questioning the prospect of arriving at a consensus, promoting instead the potential for dialogue to lead to an illuminative understanding.

A small-scale study situated in an adult education provider in London was undertaken to investigate the possibility of a dialogic approach. The research was guided by key principles of Exploratory Practice, where a concern with quality of life is central (Hanks, 2017). Teaching interventions were planned and enacted with three groups of ESOL learners, these were observed, and recordings made of a number of classroom discussions. Focus groups carried out with teachers at the site provided further contextual detail regarding essential aspects of participatory and dialogic teaching.

The analysis of classroom talk using a simplified version of Conversation Analysis and a more open dialogic method illustrates how ESOL leaners can work together to generate deeper understandings of complex issues whilst also participating in acts of self-formation as they openly speak out about their experiences and at times challenge each other's interpretations of events.

Overall, this research illustrates the potential for a dialogic approach, based upon the work of Bakhtin and Freire, to allow for the cultivation of collective and or individual understandings as well as important work on the self. The result of which provides opportunities for learners to consider alternative ways of being other than those currently presented to them at an official level.

Key words:
dialogue, Bakhtin, heteroglossia, polyphony, superdiversity, pedagogy, discourse

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1. The context: a brief history of ESOL

1. 1 Introduction

The motivation for undertaking this research has stemmed from my experience as an ESOL (English for Speakers of Other Languages) tutor. I began working in the sector in 2005 only four years after the launch of the Skills for Life initiative when ESOL classes were free for learners who could access public funds. Over the last seventeen years ESOL has undergone significant changes, funding has been severely cut and fees introduced (see Parliament. House of Commons, 2018). Discourses around migration have become increasingly hostile and government policies continually call for migrants to do more to integrate into society. As a tutor I have had to negotiate growing policy and institutional demands with the needs of learners whose lives have been directly impacted by the government's austerity agenda and complex immigration system. Furthermore, along with others in my profession (discussed below), I have found that the functional and decontextualized approach to language learning promoted by the Skills for Life initiative does not sufficiently prepare learners for life in highly diverse urban areas in the UK. I believe that for ESOL learners to successfully settle in the UK and achieve their aspirations they need to develop a voice, learn to speak out and demonstrate some form of agency. It is for this reason I have been drawn to the work of Paulo Freire followed by that concerning other dialogic pedagogies and research relating to translanguaging. These approaches recognise the array of learner experiences which can be critically reflected upon to generate knowledge and develop a voice (see Freire, 1996, Garcia and Wei, 2014, Alexander, 2017). However, as I shall discuss below there is at present limited research into pedagogical approaches to ESOL despite the growing need for the development of educational theories grounded in practice.

To highlight the relevance of my research I propose to begin by providing an introduction to ESOL in England. Perhaps the most significant policy event to directly affect ESOL in recent times is the Skills for Life initiative (Ward, 2007, p.6). I have decided to begin with a description of ESOL policy and practice prior to this to enable a fuller understanding of its significance, recognising as Ball (1993) states that policy does not enter into a vacuum but a socially situated and historically generated context.

I then continue to discuss the Skills for Life initiative, many elements of which are visible today. After this I consider further changes to ESOL policy and practice using the lenses of agency and citizenship. Hamilton and Hillier (2009, p.12) describe the 'big drivers' of ESOL policy as being, 'public attitudes towards immigration and government expediency in managing these'. Although it should be noted that, as Simpson and Whiteside (2015, pp. 1-2) highlight, policy is best understood as a process enacted by people at every stage of its development and implementation. ESOL teachers and learners are agentive beings who, where possible, have found ways to innovate and contest policies and powerful discourses they have disagreed with (Hamilton and Hiller, 2009, p.10). I will therefore also consider research which includes the voices of academics, teachers and learners to obtain a deeper insight into life in the ESOL classroom. Having provided this broad context, I will finally conclude with a description of my own practice as an ESOL teacher in an adult education institution in London to relate specific information concerning my research setting.

1.2 Definitions

Before outlining and reflecting upon ESOL policy and practise in the UK I provide definitions for a number of key terms which I use throughout this thesis. These are discourse, classroom discourse and talk, dialogue, voice and understanding. I am aware that these terms are open to different meanings and by stating how I employ them I will hopefully aid the clarity of my arguments and avoid confusion.

1.2 .1 Discourse

Cooke and Simpson (2011, p.116) take a Foucauldian view of discourse defining it as 'ways of talking and writing that promote particular views of the world'. It is this approach I shall be taking when I refer to the term discourse or discourses. These particular views are often held by an 'elite' such as governments and can be found at every level of society as those with power seek to project their views onto 'subordinates' (Cooke and Simpson, 2011, pp.116 – 117). Consequently, discourses are hierarchical in nature and play a significant role in structuring society (Weedon, 1997). As powerful discourses are repeated they are 'recontextualized' which can include increasing the authority with which they are expounded, as for example it becomes part of the legislature (Blackledge, 2006). Such discourses often become a matter of 'common sense', requiring little or no evidence to support their claims and

as a result need to be analysed in order to question widely held beliefs, illustrate how they have been constructed and whose interests they serve (Cooke and Simpson, 2011, p.117).

While the power of some discourses can appear immense it is important to remember that they can also be resisted. This is demonstrated in counter-discourses put forward by ESOL professionals relating to the prevailing opinion that many migrants are reluctant to learn English, further elaborated upon in this chapter. They also have limitations as it is impossible for one group to be in power all the time everywhere (Blommaert, 2013, p.112), especially I would argue with the development and availability of mass forms of communication. The complexities of life in superdiverse areas diffuses power as individuals may possess 'diasporic affiliations' maintained by the accessibility of digital media (Blommaert and Rampton, 2011, p.14), competing discourses can therefore exist in the same spaces. Post-structuralists such as Weedon (1997) also highlight the possibility for groups or individuals to challenge their positioning in these dominant discourses through developing some form of agency, possible due to the fluidity of modern identities. I argue that this agency includes the development of a 'voice' which I discuss below.

1.2.2 Classroom discourse, talk and dialogue.

Central to this thesis is a study of classroom talk and when considering this I use the terms classroom discourse, talk and dialogue. Classroom discourse and talk are used interchangeably and are defined in their broadest sense. Joncus (2013, p.1) states that classroom discourse refers to 'all those forms of talk that one may find within a classroom or other educational settings.' Tsui (2008, p.262) takes it to mean 'linguistic as well as the non-linguistic elements' such as the use of gestures and silence. It is with these definitions in mind that I utilise the terms classroom discourse and talk.

Dialogue however, I understand to be a specific type of interaction between two or more individuals. For Freire (1996) dialogue is transformative, an 'act of creation' in which each participant has the right to speak, naming the world around them and engaging critically with others as they problematise their experiences. Similarly, Bakhtin (1986) views dialogue as being meaningful engagement between two or more consciousnesses, where new meanings are arrived at and further questions are

posed. From this viewpoint individuals are constantly in the process of becoming as they engage with different perspectives of the world which in turn develop their own outlooks. Consequently, dialogue is not simply a conversation but purposeful talk with the potential to increase the understanding of those involved. For Freire (1996) understanding is achieved through a dialectic process where meanings become shared, whereas Bakhtin (1986, 1993) denounces dialectics, promoting instead unique and individual understandings of the world. I discuss Bakhtin's notion of dialogue further below and in Chapter 2.

1.2.3 Voice

As is clear from the title of my work I am interested in the concept of voice in relation to teaching and learning. To explain what I mean by the term voice I draw again on the work of Bakhtin and his writing on dialogue. In his work *Discourse in the Novel*, Bakhtin (1981, p.293) states that,

> 'The word in language is half someone else's. It becomes "one's own" only when the speaker populates it with his own intention, his own accent, when he appropriates the word, adapting it to his own semantic and expressive intention'.

Here I believe we can see two important aspects of Bakhtin's notion of dialogue, essential to developing an understanding of voice. Firstly, that language is not neutral but conveys meaning beyond a grammatical understanding and secondly that the language we use has been shaped by others. Furthermore, according to Bakhtin (1981), we are constantly engaged in dialogue with the world, responding to what has gone before, whilst also anticipating a response. In this context Bakhtin (1981, p.348) declares,

> 'One's own discourse and one's own voice, although born of another or dynamically stimulated by another, will sooner or later begin to liberate themselves from the authority of the other's discourse'.

I therefore have come to use the term voice to mean the intentional use of language to express a specific perspective of the world, recognising and informed by what has been said before and with the intention of invoking a future response. Developing a voice for many however, is not without a struggle with others who see the world differently and wish to assert their authority.

1.2.4 Understanding

As well as a focus on voice my research is also concerned with developing understanding on various levels. This includes supporting ESOL learners and teachers in arriving at an increased understanding of the world around them to better inform teaching and learning. Furthermore, I intend to develop an understanding of how a pedagogy based on dialogue could be applied in the ESOL classroom. Over the course of my research, I have come to refer to understanding in a dialogic sense, as with the concept of voice. My starting point was Gadamer's approach to understanding, which Hammersley (2011, p.138) claims is based on the idea of dialogue between historians and the past, a result of which leads to a fusion of horizons between the past and the researcher. I would argue however, that a Bakhtinian dialogic perspective brings into question the possibility of such fusion and turn to Wegerif et al.'s (2020, p.10) idea of dialogue leading instead to the illumination of other perspectives. This is then how I have come to define understanding as the illumination of other perspectives, and it is how I generally use the term in my thesis.

1.3 Before Skills for Life, 1950s – 1990s

During the 1950s and 1960s migration to the UK increased as the government sought to resolve the labour shortage in Britain. The 1960 Immigration Act provided local authorities with funding for migrant language learning. Consequently, decisions were devolved to a local level which Hamilton and Hillier (2009, p.11) argue meant migrant language teaching and learning developed as a sporadic yet innovative and needs led practice. There were benefits to this approach, yet it was not without its limitations, as outlined by Simpson and Cooke (2018, p.2), concerning the oversimplification and unrealistic representation of often highly complex language exchanges in the materials produced. This is not surprising considering many of the tutors were volunteers with little or no professional training and limited access to resources to develop their practice (Hamilton and Hillier, 2009, p.6).

Concurrently a discourse of multiculturalism was present in wider public policy and educational debates, although not universally accepted. For example, the influential Bullock report (1975, pp. 293-294) recommended maintaining the language practices of bilingual school children, viewing their bilingualism as a valuable resource. The

work of the National Centre for Industrial Language Training promoted the notion that settled and migrant communities must share responsibility for successful communication. For example, Gumperz and Roberts (1978, p.2) in their course guide on inter-ethnic communication state that it should include everyone in the workplace, not just migrant workers.

Many researchers after considering the devolved and innovative practices which took place in the 1960s and 1970s remark upon the change in tone regarding policies during the 1980's. Rampton, Harris and Leung (2002, pp.5-6) reflect upon how from the mid-1980s onwards the marketization of education began combined with an air of cultural authoritarianism. Evidence of this can be found in the Swann report (1985) where previous governments are condemned for promoting a pluralist stance towards language and culture. In the section regarding multilingualism the report states:

> 'The English language is a central unifying factor in 'being British' and is the key to participation on equal terms as a full member of society' (Swann, p.385).

Schools were no longer to promote bilingual practices, but that of a unified monolingual nation (Swann, p.406). This was also the era of globalisation with cheaper flights and technological advances making it easier for migrants to maintain links with their home countries thus developing 'multiple affiliations' (Rampton, Harris and Leung, 2001, p.3). However, this was not the vision of citizenship the UK government wanted to uphold, despite the onset of globalisation. Simpson and Whiteside (2015, p.2) argue that the promotion of a standard version of English was an attempt to bring about national stability, requiring migrants to assimilate into life in the UK.

It is difficult to comment directly on ESOL policy during this period as Hamilton and Hillier (2009, p.8) note there was little direct policy concerning ESOL at a national level. Consequently, the policies I have discussed are drawn from compulsory education, which serve to illustrate official attitudes towards language and migration in England during this period. The overlooking of ESOL gave practitioners the freedom to innovate and develop their practice, further enhanced by the establishment of the National Association of Teachers of English and Community Languages to Adults (NATECLA) and the Literacy and Language Unit (discussed below). Even when ESOL was included in the Adult Literacy and Basic Skills Unit in 1984 this had little impact

on ESOL practice (Hamilton and Hiller, 2009, p.5). Significant change did not occur until the introduction of the Skills for Life initiative which I shall now discuss.

1.4 Skills for Life

From 1997 education was at the forefront of much public policy as the Labour government believed it was central to the UK's ability to compete in a globalised 'knowledge economy' (Ball, 2008, pp.19-24). It was within this context that the Moser Report was published quoting statistics which estimated that almost half a million people had 'little command of English language' (Moser Group, 1999, p.17). The report claimed this, along with low levels of literacy and numeracy, contributed to a range of social and personal problems, costing the UK economy billions of pounds a year (Moser Group, 1999, pp. 20 -24), a theme I return to during my discussion of the citizenship agenda. Economic arguments were therefore the primary reason for expanding adult basic skills provision in the UK, this became even more apparent when in 2011 only those claiming 'active benefits' were entitled to free ESOL provision (see BIS, 2011, for further information). The report recommended that a national strategy including curricula, teaching standards and qualifications should be developed and implemented (Moser Group, 1999, p.31). Consequently, in 2001 the Skills for Life initiative was launched; this included an Adult ESOL Core Curriculum (AECC) with a set of teaching materials.

The Skills for Life initiative brought about a significant and unprecedented increase of funding for ESOL along with the development of professional qualifications for ESOL teachers (Moser Group, 1999). However, ESOL was no longer primarily led by the needs of the learners but by a national set of standards and bureaucratic demands. The ESOL curriculum broke down language into individual components with descriptors and ideas on how they could be contextualised (Ward, 2007, p.66). In the accompanying materials there was once again little recognition of the complex nature of language and the structural inequalities learners would have to negotiate in order to achieve their aspirations (Cooke and Simpson, 2008, p.55).

The focus on outcomes rather than on the process of teaching and learning allowed teachers freedom to decide on their approach, but conversely failed to provide informed support and guidance. According to Alexander (2004) there is much work to

be done regarding pedagogical development in the UK, where discussions are usually focused on curriculum development, as is the case with Skills for Life.

Cooke and Simpson (2008, p.40-41) claim that many ESOL teachers joined the profession out of a sense of social justice, seeking to relate classroom activities to the outside world. However, with the official focus clearly on delivering a curriculum along with the lack of research on ESOL pedagogies, highlighted by Barton and Pitt (2003, p.27), there was little opportunity for those joining the profession at this time to arrive at informed pedagogical choices. Cooke and Simpson (2008, pp.44-5) called for ESOL tutors to develop a principled pragmatism built upon extensive methodological knowledge and a theoretical pedagogy drawn from practice. In order to accomplish this teachers clearly needed time and access to further academic training, neither of which they note were readily available (Cooke and Simpson, 2008, pp. 38-46). Teachers' time was, and continues to be, taken up with completing bureaucratic tasks, to provide evidence of achievement with Cooke (2006, p.70) amongst others commenting on the increasing textualisation of ESOL teachers' work. In a neo-liberal education system a teacher's performance is continually monitored against a set of targets (Ball, 2008). This I would argue has detracted from teachers engaging in meaningful pedagogical debates as they become focused on meeting institutional and government demands.

As well as economic arguments for educational funding and a target-driven culture there existed a strong emphasis on individualisation in New Labour policy. This can be evidenced through the use of Individual Learning Plans (ILPs) and their impact on ESOL practice during this period, an impact which continues today. Hamilton (2009) demonstrates how this focus on the individual only existed at a surface level as it became another way to measure performance. Baynham et al. (2007, p.66) report that many learners did not find them relevant, with those at the earlier stages of learning unable to engage with the process. For ILPs to be measurable they have to be written in a specific way using SMART targets (Specific, Measurable, Achievable, Relevant and Time-bound), 'putting words' into the mouths of learners (Hamilton, p.236). According to Fielding (2004a) learner voices have been co-opted by those in authority in order to measure performance. The parameters for discussion, here ILPs, have been decided before learners entered the classroom. The focus on individualisation

even at surface level also detracts from what Baynham et al. (2007) describe as the collaborative nature of language learning. This is further echoed by Fielding (2004b) who claims that aspirations first need to be critically reflected upon through dialogue with others. Discourses around teaching and learning had been predetermined to meet a neo-liberal agenda of performance management and an economic justification for education. As Hamilton (2009) writes ILPs can be seen as the textual embodiment of this process, aligning the identities of teachers and learners to those of official thinking.

I do not wish to undermine the positive developments made during this period. There were clearly problematic issues and tensions, as I have outlined above, but the increase in funding meant more learners were able to attend classes and ESOL teachers had access to initial teacher training, taking the first step in developing a 'professional vision' described by Baynham et. al. (2007). As Baynham (2006) states the pressure of the 'real-world' often came crashing into the ESOL classroom and frequently learners took up the necessary agency to claim space to talk. Teachers became mediators between official policy discourses and the needs of their learners (Hamilton, 2009), although I would add within the constraints outlined above. However, various NRDC studies highlight the diverse practices which arose with support from academics to better meet the needs of learners (see for example, Roberts et al. 2004). I shall return to the theme of agency below, but before I do I wish to discuss one further official discourse which those working in ESOL had to negotiate and continue to do so, that of the citizenship agenda.

1.5 The citizenship agenda

As I have stated above the Swann report (1985) made an explicit link between national identity and language. This link can be traced back to the nineteenth century when many nation states sought to strengthen their identity through the establishment of a national language (see Anderson, 2016). Similarly, the UK has a long history of immigration, which continues today. Those in migration studies such as Vortovec (2007) have commented on the increasing variance in migration patterns, motivations for migration and the backgrounds of migrants themselves, leading him to coin the term 'super-diversity'. Linguists have begun to explore the impact of super-diversity on communicative practices in neighbourhoods, arguing as I have previously stated that

technological advances have enabled migrants to maintain multiple identities and language practices (see for example Simpson, 2016). Furthermore, the European Commission (2012) estimates that 39% of the UK population speak two or more languages. This is in stark contrast to the government's ideological representation of the UK, and England especially, as a monolingual society where Britishness and speaking English are tightly bound. In this section I will discuss the role of English language learning in debates on citizenship with specific reference to policy initiatives.

In 2002 language requirements for citizenship were enforced in the Nationality, Immigration and Asylum Bill. Khan (2014, p.6), amongst others, argues that this was motivated by the unrest in the northern England in the summer of 2001. Blackledge (2006) demonstrates how with increasing authority the unrest was linked to the lack of English spoken by women from Bangladeshi and Pakistani communities with little evidence or explanation, a group who have been repeatedly associated with societal problems (see for example David Cameron's comments included below). A lack of English became unquestionably viewed as a social problem posing a barrier to social cohesion and even a threat to national security when Tony Blair linked the 07/07 bombings to the failure of migrants to learn English (Khan, 2014, p.8). These links Blackledge (2009) contends have now become an accepted part of the national discourse on immigration and language frequently seen as 'common sense'. A progressively authoritarian stance adopted by the government is further evidenced by the continual revision of legislation, for language requirements are now enforced not only for citizenship, but also for residency and even the right to enter the UK (Home Office, 2016). In 2005 ESOL tutors were required to teach citizenship, initially there was limited guidance provided allowing tutors freedom on how they interpreted it (Simpson and Cooke, 2018, p.3). However, this has become somewhat more prescriptive with educational institutions required to teach British Values from 2015 onwards, an official top-down version of 'Britishness' to be transmitted to all in education (see Ofsted, 2015).

In January 2016 David Cameron announced £20 million for an English tuition fund targeted at Muslim women stating that,

> ‘With English language and women’s empowerment as our next frontier, I believe we can bring Britain together and build the stronger society that is within reach’.

He then continued to claim that migrants themselves must take on the responsibility of learning English. What he failed to mention was the severe cuts to ESOL funding since 2009 (Parliament. House of Commons, 2018, p.3) and the substantial waiting lists for ESOL classes (NATECLA, 2014). Zetter et al. (2006) highlight the absence of discussions on economic and material resources in the government’s policy debates, with Blackledge (2009, p.14) arguing that the power of English language learning to resolve complex and deep-rooted problems is overstated. Furthermore, social cohesion and integration are often used interchangeably in government debates (see for example Ministry for Housing, Communities and Local Government, 2018). In relation to this Zetter et al. (2006) contend that the government are in fact pursuing an assimilationist agenda, stating there is little mention of dialogue and equitable relationships between migrant and host communities. The top-down version regarding cohesion and integration is at odds with the work of Gumperz and Roberts (1978) regarding successful cross-cultural communication discussed above. The uncompromising stance taken by the government contradicts its supposed vision of a cohesive and equal society (Blackledge, 2006). Those researching language learning and citizenship view the language requirements for citizenship as a gate-keeping device (see for example Cooke, 2009). The responsibility for cohesion is now firmly placed on migrants with increasing barriers constructed making it difficult to access resources needed to settle in the UK.

To conclude this section, I propose to undertake a brief review of a relatively recent green paper on integration, highlighting the presence of themes regarding citizenship and language which I have discussed above. Throughout the paper once again the power of learning English in overcoming a vast array of social issues is proclaimed:

> ‘The development of a new strategy would reflect the importance of English language to achieving a number of social and economic outcomes, including integration and citizenship, employment, realising potential in work and helping people to understand how best to access services.’ (Ministry for Housing, Communities and Local Government, 2018, p.42.)

Furthermore, learning English is presented as a matter of personal choice, with little reference to the possible economic and other barriers which may exist, although the need to increase provision for lower levels is outlined at the end of the section on 'Boosting English Language Skills'. England is once more presented as a monolingual country with the inference that the ability to participate in community life is exclusive to English language speakers (Ministry for Housing, Communities and Local Government, 2018, p.36), failing to recognise contributions made by those who speak other languages. Finally, the report refers to research regarding attitudes to integration, learning English and the impact it has on attitudes to mixing, the responsibility yet again is placed on migrant communities (Ministry for Housing, Communities and Local Government, 2018, p.43). There is little mention of the benefits of a multilingual society in a globalised world.

1.6 Agency in the ESOL classroom

It has become clear through the discussions above that there has been a significant increase in policy directed at the ESOL classroom over the last twenty years. Policy discussions do not solely relate to language learning but now include that of national security and notions of Britishness, amongst other themes. However, ESOL teachers and learners have found ways of working within policy initiatives and where possible directing them to better meet their needs. In the 1970s and 1980s, when there was little co-ordination of ESOL at a national, level Hamilton and Hillier (2009) note that two organisations emerged to represent the voices of those in the profession and develop resources to support their practice. These were the National Association of Teachers for English and Community Languages to Adults (NATECLA) and the Language and Literacy Unit. NATECLA is still in existence today and has had significant impact on ESOL practice and policy running frequent training courses and producing a peer reviewed journal four times a year. During the establishment of the Skills for Life initiative it successfully lobbied for a separate ESOL curriculum (Hamilton and Hiller, 2009, p.7). More recently it has undertaken research to counter anti-migrant discourses, highlighting for example the over subscription of ESOL classes (NATECLA, 2014).

Another organisation I believe is worth consideration is English for Action (EFA) which was established in London in 2009. EFA (2016) describe their mission as 'to build

ESOL learning communities with the capacity to effect positive change beyond the classroom.' This charitable organisation promotes participatory teaching practices, especially those based on the work of Paulo Freire, discussed in more detail in my literature review. They too offer relevant training to ESOL teachers and have contributed to what Cooke and Simpson (2018, p.4) describe as a serious interest in the work of Freire in ESOL. The focus on targets with limited guidance on how they are to be achieved, as highlighted above, have enabled teachers to explore alternative approaches to ESOL teaching, supporting learners to claim space to think critically about their situations and speak out.

Cooke and Simpson (2018) note that some ESOL tutors when engaging with the citizenship agenda have taken an 'activist-led' approach to undertake critical discussions with learners on life in the UK. Teachers and learners have the capacity to act together to contest and offer alternatives to top-down ideas of integration. This was demonstrated in the work of Bryers, Cooke and Winstanley (2014) who explored the theme of integration using participatory methods with ESOL learners, discussed in detail in 2.5. As a result, learners' voices on matters of integration and citizenship has begun to claim space, supported by engaged teachers and the organisations mentioned above.

Teachers and learners are not only contesting powerful discourses around migration and citizenship, but have now started to question the representation of England as a monolingual society and standardized versions of English. In their recent paper Cooke, Bryers and Winstanley (2018) considered how a theory of translanguaging can inform a participatory ESOL pedagogy. Translanguaging challenges ideological notions of different languages as discrete resources, proposing instead that multilingual speakers possess an integrated repertoire consisting of all of their linguistic resources (Garcia and Wei, 2014). In their study they explore the theme of multilingualism with two groups of ESOL learners, positioning learners as researchers into their own linguistic practices. They also continue to explore with learners long held common sense beliefs such as using English only in the ESOL classroom and how this may restrict communication and learning in participatory classrooms. The theory of translanguaging is important to my research and I will therefore continue to discuss it in detail in my literature review (see 2.6). I have referred to it in my introduction to

highlight the growth of agency within the ESOL community to contest well-established norms.

ESOL teachers, learners and researchers have demonstrated their ability to work together and organise themselves into a coherent body. They have constructed a vision of the role of ESOL teaching and learning to develop critical knowledge relevant to successfully negotiating life chances in a range of highly diverse and at times hostile communities. There is still however, I would argue, a lack of pedagogical vision to meet the demands of a superdiverse context. At present there are only the beginnings of pedagogical development regarding translanguaging for adult migrant learners. The work of Freire (1996), while informative and relevant in some respects was not developed for the superdiverse and multilingual communities found in the UK today. As Alexander (2008) stresses context is key to pedagogical development, a context beyond the classroom. I hope to contribute to this pedagogical advancement through my research on establishing a relevant ESOL pedagogy based on a dialogical approach and a sensitivity to learners' multilingual identities.

1.7 The research setting

I do not specify the exact location for my research for ethical reasons, but it is situated in a London borough which could be described as a super-diverse area (see 2.3 for a description of this term). The latest available Census data shows that 43% of borough residents were born outside the UK. It is home to a significant Bangladeshi community along with 20 other migrant groups with populations of more than 1,000 residents (Census data quoted in source withheld, no date). As a result of this diversity over 90 different languages are spoken in the borough with 35% of adults using a main language other than English (source withheld, 2017, p.1). These statistics do not however, illustrate the full diversity of this area as will be highlighted in 2.3 through a discussion of super-diversity and the limitations of understanding diversity through a lens of nationality and language. One further set of statistics I would like to highlight is that 9% of the population said they could not speak English well, which the council has linked to higher levels of unemployment or employment in low skilled jobs (source withheld, 2017, p.1). I have discussed the problems of over claiming the power of English to solve an array of social problems, there is however, a clear need for ESOL in this area of London.

I currently teach ESOL classes in an adult education learning provider within this borough. The provision I work in is situated within a department labelled as 'Preparation for Life and Work' where employability remains a significant focus. ESOL courses receive funding from the Greater London Authority (GLA) and therefore have to comply with their funding guidelines. For courses which receive funding from the Adult Skills Budget all learners must successfully complete Skills for Life qualification, assessed against the AECC. Courses which receive funding from the Adult and Community Learning Budget are assessed by the completion of ILPs, these courses usually last for 10 weeks where learners are expected to successfully complete 4-5 goals. Teaching in this setting has meant that the classrooms I work in have been directly affected by the policy discourses outlined above.

In conclusion institutional requirements and those of learners do not always align and for many teachers, including myself, a compromise has to be made. In the classroom valuable time is put aside to complete achievement documents as well as satisfaction surveys, whose language is not adapted for speakers of other languages. As stated above the needs of the learners often come crashing into the classroom, this may include completing tasks for the Job Centre or discussing problems with housing situations. Learners also have long term dreams such as finding a ‘good job’ or gaining independence, so they no longer have to rely on interpreters. Over the last few years, I have developed an interest in participatory approaches, encouraging learners to bring in their experiences from outside the classroom for critical examination. The ESOL classroom in this area is a vital resource for many of the borough's residents. Furthermore, as it is situated in a superdiverse area I believe it is a highly relevant context for exploring dialogic pedagogies.

1.8 The issue

In the discussions above I hope to have described some of the complexities and problems which exist in the field of ESOL teaching and learning. Many of these issues, such as the ideological link between language and national identity, have a long history and are still being contested today. ESOL teachers still lack the necessary pedagogical theory to support informed practice due to the demands on their time and the targets they must meet. As policy demands become increasingly restrictive, especially regarding citizenship, tutors in highly diverse urban spaces need to be able

to draw upon a theory of teaching grounded in practice to better meet the needs of their learners. The area in which I work is a superdiverse space where ESOL learners have to embark on complex negations in English and other languages to gain access to resources and perform their identities. I believe that by beginning to develop a pedagogy in this setting, drawing on theories of dialogic pedagogies and translanguaging, I will be able to contribute to pedagogical theory. I also hope to add to policy debates concerning multilingualism in the UK and the benefits of promoting multilingual practices in educational settings.

2.ESOL, pedagogy and dialogue

2.1 Introduction

In my introductory chapter I provided a brief history of ESOL in the UK from the 1970s up until the present day. I considered early approaches focused on *survival English* and charted the expansion and professionalisation of ESOL teaching. The increase in official funding came with a clearer and stronger government-led vision concerning who and what ESOL was for, enforced through outcomes-based funding and a centralised inspection regime which holds punitive powers across education (see Perrymen, et al. 2018). At its most extreme the government has presented the teaching and learning of English as a matter of national security, illustrated by Khan (2014), and the key to integration and social cohesion (see Ministry for Housing, Communities and Local Government, 2018). As I have already discussed official conceptualisations of integration and cohesion are predominately one-sided, with migrants expected to undertake most of the work to bring this about. Furthermore, popular misconceptions regarding migrants' apparent reluctance to learn English have become part of mainstream discourses on migration, with politicians themselves purporting such views despite evidence to the contrary. This monologic representation of life in the UK has been met with resistance by some within the ESOL community, including learners, teachers and researchers. Even within officially funded spaces the fact that ESOL teachers are given relatively free rein as to how they meet government requirements (Simpson and Cooke, 2018), has allowed counter-narratives and alternative views of who and what ESOL is for to develop.

It is in this chapter therefore, that I explore a literature which includes different ways of looking at migration, adult language learning and the purpose of education. I begin by considering the theoretical conceptualisation of diversity brought about through migration, technological advances and the coming together of different cultures. I then review a range of literature based upon research in the ESOL classroom, some of which begins to provide an alternative answer to who and what ESOL is for and how this may be achieved. After this I broaden my focus to discuss research and literature into pedagogy in general to consider if wider studies in the field of education can be used to enhance approaches to ESOL teaching and learning. I then conclude by

providing a brief summary of what has been discussed and its implications for research into ESOL pedagogy before stating my research questions.

2.2 Search Strategies

This literature review is built on my ongoing interest in the ecology of the ESOL classroom and exploring possibilities for better connecting learning to the wider world which began during my Master's dissertation in 2009. Since then, I have engaged in further research projects relating to participatory practices and the role of context and identity when communicating both inside and outside of the classroom. Over this period of time I have been guided towards relevant literature by academic supervisors and through attending conferences and workshops. I have also engaged in dialogue with colleagues and those working in migration studies, this has led me to broaden my search with specific recommendations and the use of Google Scholar. Furthermore, I have utilised bibliographies to follow up ideas and theories which have resonated with my own studies and research.

2.3 Understanding the context

As I hope to have illustrated in my introductory chapter ideas regarding belonging and place from both a policy perspective and a local everyday level are essential to developing an understanding of the context in which ESOL teaching and learning takes place. By providing a brief overview of the development of ESOL policy the shift in focus from economic concerns to that of citizenship and integration can be seen.

The current government led view of British citizenship is made clear in the requirement for those wanting to become citizens to obtain an English language certificate and pass a test where candidates answer 'questions about British traditions and customs' (gov.uk). This is combined with the specification of 'British Values', which the government mandates must be taught and promoted in educational settings (OFSTED, 2015). This vision of British citizenship can perhaps be better understood through a reading of Anderson's (2016) work on the origins of nationalism. Here it is argued that many European nation states were formed and developed as 'imagined communities' during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries by those in power be they monarchs, governments or bureaucrats. A key stage in this process was the adoption of a national language, presented as belonging to a specific group of people

united as equals in their everyday use of it (Anderson, 2016, p.84). A further stage was the forging of a national history dependent upon acts of remembrance and forgetting, illustrated by Anderson (2016, p.201) giving the example of William the Conqueror being taught in British schools as the 'Founding Father' of the nation, failing to mention that he did not speak English. After a rejection of multiculturalism it could then be argued that the British government have returned to imaging Britain and especially England as monolingual, with distinct and clear shared values and a well-defined and unifying national history. Anderson's (2016) writing on the origins of nationalism highlight the importance of interrogating this version of Britishness as it does not reflect reality, serving the purposes of a select group while excluding others. Having explored an official representation of life in the UK both here and in the previous chapter I now move onto to consider alternative ways of thinking about life in diverse urban areas.

Those who research and study migrant language use and learning utilise a number of theoretical concepts to provide a framework for understanding everyday life and communicative acts in diverse urban areas. The two I have found to be most frequently referred to are Vertovec's (2007) concept of super-diversity and Pratt's (1991) idea of the contact zone. Super-diversity is grounded in an intense study of data highlighting the exceptional range of factors affecting migrants' lives, including variants such as types of visas, languages spoken and migration routes. The result of which emphasises the inadequacy of focusing mainly on categories of nationality and ethnicity when attempting to comprehend migrants' experience (Vertovec, 2007). Pratt (1991) alternatively looks back at seventeenth century Andean culture during the Spanish conquest to consider what happens when cultures meet. As a result, she coins the term 'the contact zone', described as,

> 'social spaces where cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other, often in contexts of highly asymmetrical relations of power, such as colonialism, slavery, or their aftermaths as they are lived out in many parts of the world today.' (Pratt, 1991, p.34).

Superdiversity presented as a phenomenon of the twenty-first century has drawn criticism with some arguing that as differing ranges of diversity can be found everywhere, including in the past, it is an unnecessary new concept (see Simpson,

2016, p.5)[1]. On the other hand, Pratt's (1991) notion of the contact zone uses historical accounts and texts to inform her work, providing examples of acts of cultural resistance. I believe both to be of value when trying to understand the contexts in which many ESOL learners live. Superdiversity encourages us to examine areas of diversity in greater detail and the contact zone to explore new cultural and social practices which may emerge as different cultures 'meet, clash and grapple with each other' (Pratt, 1991, p.34).

The increased potential for the formation of multiple affiliations and the effect this may have on communicative acts brought more sharply into focus by ideas of superdiversity have been explored in the field of sociolinguistics. Blommaert and Rampton (2011, pp. 4-5) argue that as a result of superdiversity notions of complete speech communities have become obsolete as to communicate in such diverse spaces requires the development of a linguistic repertoire rather than gaining proficiency in a single named language. Researching this complexity, they state, requires 'fine-grained' ethnographic approaches, especially the undertaking of a linguistic ethnography (Blommaert and Rampton, 2011, p.10). Simpson's (2016) study into language practices in an inner-city neighbourhood in Leeds provides an example of such an approach where research methods include observations and interviews as well as the photographing of shop signs, recording the different languages and language practices being used. This detailed approach brought into view the unpredictable alignments formed in the area including for example a Slovak Roma woman and her Afghan husband, who is a refugee, working with Pakistani entrepreneurs to run a pet shop (Simpson, 2016, pp.12-13). The ethnographic work allowed accounts to be formed regarding how this had happened such as the sharing of languages beyond national boundaries. Furthermore, Simpson (2016, p.12) was able to argue that as superdiversity was generated and increased through interactions and the forming of alliances it is better viewed as a process rather than a descriptive label.

[1] Vertovec (2007) hyphenates super-diversity, whereas Blommaert and Rampton (2011) and Simpson (2016) use superdiversity, I use this later form of the term throughout the rest of my thesis.

Pratt's (1991, p.39) work has a pedagogical element to it as she describes what happens when the classroom becomes a contact zone, a place where the heterogenous histories and experiences of participants are brought to bear upon the texts being study stating that,

> 'Virtually every student was having the experience of seeing the world with him or her in it.'

In such a space no one is excluded and revelations, shared understandings and new knowledge can be formed through storytelling, collaborative work and acts of transculturation along with critique and parody (Pratt, 1991, pp.39-40). The Tlang project in Leeds provides examples of this, through working with creative arts organisations researchers were not only able to communicate their findings, but also gain insight into the thoughts and perspectives of communities being researched (Simpson and Bradley, 2017, pp.13-14)[2]. One aspect of this approach they particularly valued, was the enabling of voice as participants engaged with research themes in different ways, allowing them to debate and critique them, with one of the unintended consequences being language development (Simpson and Bradley, 2017 p.15).

Canagarajah (1997) makes use of Pratt's (1991) work too and especially her concept of the 'safe house'. For Pratt (1991, p.40) 'safe houses' are,

> 'social and intellectual spaces where groups can constitute themselves as horizontal, homogenous, sovereign communities, with high degrees of trust, shared understandings, temporary protection from legacies of oppression.'

Canagarajah (1997, pp.190-191) takes this idea and argues for the 'pedagogical arts of safe houses' where students acquire mainstream academic discourses whilst continuing to engage with 'alternate forms of knowledge'. In such a space students would be able to develop a voice so as not to be silenced by dominant discourses and become better equipped for life in the contact zone, consequently ensuring its continued heterogeneity (Canagarajah, 1997, p.192).

[2] The Tlang project was a four-year study into multilingual practices in a range of cities in the UK. For more information visit, https://tlang.org.uk/.

The communities presented in the research discussed above are highly diverse, consisting of multiple affiliations and a range of communicative practices. These descriptions are based upon ethnographical research and a theoretical outlook which views complexity as the norm. However, despite emphasising the rich diversity or superdiversity and unpredictability of social life in the twenty-first century both Blommaert and Rampton (2011) and Canagarajah (2013) stress the abilities of people and communities to continue to communicate and cooperate effectively. Canagarajah (2013, p.95) argues that those who communicate in the contact zone develop a range of interactional strategies, which only become visible through a close examination of talk and everyday life. Outside sociolinguistics Sennett (2018) similarly focuses on how diverse communities cooperate as they find themselves living side by side in 'global cities'. Inhabitants of such places deal with differences in language, culture and outlook on a daily basis, managing them through a range of social practices such as maintaining 'masks of civility' during moments of tension or by not drawing attention to the differences they encounter (Sennett, 2018, pp.142-143). A further set of practices Sennett (2018, p.190) discusses are labelled as 'dialogic' with reference to the work of Bakhtin and particularly the notion of heteroglossia. According to Holquist (2002, p.70) heteroglossia questions whether meanings of utterances are ever fixed, suggesting that they must be negotiated anew under different sets of circumstances. Bakhtin's work on dialogue has also been extensively used within the field of education and it is one I return to below when considering dialogic pedagogy and classroom discourse.

A review of literature examining everyday life in urban areas highlights the limitations of traditional conceptualisations which focus on nationality and ethnicity. Ethnographic studies illustrate the complex reality of these diverse spaces, whilst recording the adaptability and ingenuity of inhabitants enabling them to communicate and cooperate. These research-based representations are at odds with the version of life in the UK promoted by the government. In my introductory chapter I discussed how the ESOL curriculum and the citizenship agenda promote a relative uncomplicated view of life and communication. I believe the literature discussed in this section demonstrates that if this official approach was straightforwardly adopted in the ESOL classroom students would not, to borrow from Pratt (1991), be able to see themselves in the world presented to them. This brings into question the usefulness of such an

approach and also the potential levels of investment from students this would invoke. Canagarajah (1997 and 2013) and Simpson and Bradley (2017) both promote the idea of working with marginalized groups to develop a voice so they can better express their experiences, thoughts and feelings on the complex realities of life. If the development of voice was to become key to ESOL teaching and learning it would recognise that ESOL learners came to the classroom already in possession of a range of communicative skills including the experience of negotiating meaning with others. Having considered theories and concepts relating to life in diverse urban areas, the context in which many ESOL learners live, I now move on to review research and literature into ESOL teaching and learning in the UK.

2.4 Research into Skills for Life

In this section I consider research and related literature concerned with ESOL teaching and learning. I begin by reviewing the three-year NRDC study into Effective Practice in Teaching and Learning started two years after the launch of the Skills for Life initiative. At the time Baynham et al. (2007, p.7) found there was little research-based evidence to draw upon in regard to effective practice in ESOL and consequently viewed addressing this as a matter of urgency. The study looked at 20 classes in Greater London and 20 classes in Yorkshire, Humberside and Lancashire, reporting on the range of practices encountered, identifying examples of effective practice and highlighting areas for future research (Roberts et al., 2004).

There were a number of articles, case studies and reports published during the ESOL Effective Practice Project (EEPP), out of which emerged some consistent themes. One such theme was that of heterogeneity, found to include not only the diversity of learners' backgrounds, but also the interactions and tasks taking place (Shrubshall, Chopra and Roberts 2004). Similar to Simpson (2016) regarding superdiversity, Shrubshall, Chopra and Roberts (2004) argue that heterogeneity should not merely be seen as a descriptive label but as something actively produced in the classroom. They were able to illustrate this through employing ethnographic methods including micro-ethnography, described as involving the examination of samples of transcribed classroom talk looking for negotiation of meaning, the establishment and maintenance of social relations and strategies for managing learning (Roberts et al., 2004, p.17). This close up view led to a re-evaluation of what may be viewed as narrow form-

focused parts of a lesson. Shrubshall, Chopra and Roberts (2004) demonstrated how during such activities teachers and learners broadened the discourse to incorporate personal opinions along with ideas of what may be considered socially acceptable. Baynham (2006) also argues for a more detailed look at classroom talk and how concepts such as IRF when employed to analyse classroom talk can in fact obscure acts of learner agency[3]. The potentially productive nature of heterogeneity discussed here challenges popular misconceptions that view diversity negatively and as a problem to be overcome (see Conteh, 2015), demonstrating instead that it can in fact lead to further learning, an increase in opportunities for genuine interaction and opportunities for learners to utilise their existing resources.

A related recurrent theme was that of balancing competing needs and demands. The EEPP report published in 2007 contained the findings of a large-scale multi-method study drawing on both qualitive and quantitative data. Correlations were established between learner progress and certain classroom strategies and were examined in greater depth via ten case studies (Baynham et al., 2007, p.53). The strategy labelled as 'balance and variety', which included providing a range of activities and materials, a focus on both accuracy and fluency, links between lessons and the integration of reading, writing, speaking and listening, was seen to have the greatest impact on student progress (Baynham et al., 2007, pp. 45-47). Furthermore, tutors viewed as the most effective were the ones who not only planned well-structured lessons and activities, but also responded contingently to learners' needs and interests. This, Baynham et al. (2007, p.56), argue goes beyond concerns of language acquisition and recognises learners as social actors who require 'the social and pragmatic knowledge' to communicate effectively in their everyday lives, a form of knowledge omitted from the AECC (see Roberts et al., 2004, p.15).

Other balancing acts tutors had to perform included the meeting of official and institutional requirements, which were at times reported as distracting from effective practice (Baynham et al., 2007, p.64). An example of where official demands become

[3] Initiation-response-feedback, 'is a pattern of discussion between the teacher and learner'. It has been widely criticised for encouraging recitation rather than genuine participation. (British Council, no date).

a distraction is provided by Cooke (2006) and Hamilton (2009) in their research and discussions concerning Individual Learning Plans (ILPs). The ILP presented as placing learners at the heart of the learning process, much like the government vision of UK citizenship, does not stand up to a close examination. Cooke (2006, pp.59-60) using Bernstein's (2000) performance model of education, argues that SFL with its focus on the acquisition of specific skills by individuals through ILPs is a form of 'instrumental training' meeting the demands of the 'market economy', not of individual students. Further limitations are also imposed by the Adult ESOL Core Curriculum (AECC) which according to Roberts et al. (2004, p.15) fails to represent the richness of talk encountered in the classroom. Through interviews with learners in their 'dominant language' Cooke (2006) demonstrates how ILPs do not promote a learner-centred approach, but can lead tutors to make false assumptions about their learners, oversimplifying their immediate needs and long-term goals.

Opportunities for ESOL learners to speak about what matters to them are valued throughout the literature, emphasised by the fact that many learners reported the limited opportunities they had to practice outside the classroom (Baynham et al., 2007, p.58). The term 'speaking from within' is used to describe times when learners feel compelled to communicate something. At such moments Baynham et al. (2007, p.58) state that,

> 'They have to assemble whatever resources they have to convey intent and are pushed to extend their communicative ability in ways beyond the requirements of the more tightly controlled and less personally engaging elements of the lesson.'

There is also a concern that learners' other languages were not being utilised more to support learning and increase participation (Baynham et al., 2007, p.62). Supporting learners to speak so their voices can be heard is in contrast to conversations around ILPs where learners' goals have to be SMART[4]. As Hamilton (2009, p236) states this often leaves learners confused and largely passive in the 'negotiation' of their learning goals, as teachers often end up 'putting words into their mouths' in order to make goals auditable. It is by stepping beyond official requirements that spaces open up allowing a deeper level of learner engagement.

[4] Specific Measurable Achievable Relevant Time-bound.

There was no one specific strategy reported that could be promoted as a result of this research project, instead it demonstrated the importance of teaching expertise which enabled flexibility and the incorporation of learner input into lessons along with a recognition of the social nature of language and language learning. Recommendations focused on developing 'greater subject knowledge and subject-specific pedagogy' during initial teacher training and CPD as 'teacher expertise and vision are the most important resources for effective ESOL practice' (Baynham et al., 2007, p.71). Cooke and Simpson (2008, p.45) expand on this further developing the idea of 'principled pragmatism' where teachers orientate themselves 'towards their students and their learning contexts' drawing on a range of methods and teaching techniques to best suit the particular situation they find themselves in. Emphasising the need for contingent responses in a context sensitive approach once again.

The research considered in this section brings to the fore the heterogeneity of the ESOL classroom, including not only learners' diverse backgrounds, but also the interactions and practices which take place. As the EEPP was unable to find one single effective approach to ESOL teaching and learning it argued that teacher knowledge and the ability to make informed pedagogical choice was a significant factor in ensuring learner language development. This research also demonstrates how official perspectives and demands do not necessarily align with the complex needs of ESOL learners. As a result, teachers find themselves performing a balancing act in order to meet these demands while attempting to keep learners engaged and learning meaningful. Furthermore, the above highlights how despite the promotion of individual needs through ILPs, SFL promotes an oversimplified version of life and language in the UK in the twenty-first century failing to prepare learners for real world encounters. The EEPP also looks at ways in which learners' voices can be heard so tutors can gain a more thorough understanding of their everyday lives to inform lessons. This includes teachers responding contingently to and utilising whatever learners bring into the classroom, including other languages, as well as taking a more detailed consideration of existing classroom discourse. Effective teachers are reported in the literature as acting as mediators or brokers between their understanding of learners' complex needs and official discourses and demands.

As discussed in my introduction the economic reasoning behind SFL soon combined with and may even have been overshadowed by narratives of community cohesion the citizenship agenda. Cooke and Simpson (2018, p.4) argue that this led some in the ESOL teaching community to focus on political participation and a renewed interest in critical pedagogies, such as that of Freire. I therefore now move on to consider research into participatory approaches in ESOL.

2.5 Participatory ESOL

Even before Skills for Life participatory pedagogies were being adopted in the context of migrant language learning in the UK. However, Skills for Life bought with it the increased professionalisation of ESOL teachers, a significant number of who saw a concern with 'matters of social justice' as part of their professional identity (Cooke and Simpson (2008, p.41). The shift in official focus to community cohesion and citizenship combined led some ESOL tutors and researchers to re-examine the work of Freire in response to the expectation that ESOL teaching should include aspects of social and cultural life. To understand the research which followed I begin by presenting the key ideas of Freire's participatory pedagogy.

In conversation with Ira Shor, Freire declares that education is always directed towards something, always serving a purpose (Shor and Freire, 1987, p.22). For Freire (1996) the purpose of education is the transformation of society. This will be brought about by the liberation of the oppressed through engaging with them in critical dialogue, ultimately leading to transformative action. Freire (1996) contrasts this dialogical education with the dominant banking model where teachers present knowledge for learners to acquire and repeat passively. In a dialogical system teachers and learners work and learn together in order to generate new and relevant knowledge. Freire emphasises that this is not simply a technique but an epistemological position requiring the full commitment and participation of all involved (Shor and Freire, 1987, p.15). The teachers' role in the dialogical classroom is to 're-present' the world from the perspective of learners as a problem upon which they can take action, achieved through developing and employing a series of codes to help objectify a particular theme. As learners take a step back, see their reality in a new light they engage with others to broaden their understanding and plan meaningful action. Language and meaning are at the heart of this process as Freire (1996, p.78) argues that language

always refers to a specific way of seeing and presenting the world and it is through language which new meanings and possibilities can emerge. Consequently, learning is presented as a social process as it is only through engaging with others that learners are able to develop a better understanding of the world and plan action.

As has been discussed above, research into ESOL teaching and learning has also engaged with the question of who and what is ESOL for. Literature which examines participatory approaches undertaken in ESOL classrooms across the UK draws specifically on the work of Freire and others influenced by him such as Auerbach (1992). This literature, which I now consider, like Freire's work, is overtly political as it seeks to support and give voice to the experiences and issues faced by migrant language learners to counter mainstream and official discourses, with a view to taking transformative action.

Cardiff et al. (2007, p.3) claim that the Reflect approach[5], based upon participatory models of education including that of Freire, has the ability to link ESOL 'to wider processes of social integration and community cohesion'. Although, unlike officially promoted versions of citizenship, Reflect for ESOL seeks to give,

> 'refugees, asylum seekers and other marginalised groups a greater voice in their own community, challenging stereotypes and confronting social exclusion, racism and isolation.' (Cardiff et al., 2007, p.3).

Participatory classroom-based research exploring the theme of integration similarly sought to provide an opportunity for ESOL learners to have their voices heard in a debate in which they often have limited or no opportunities to participate in (Bryers, Winstanley and Cooke, 2014b). For Baynham (1988 p.6) dialogue from a Freirian perspective 'mutually respects the rights and the subjectivity of each participant', and Cardiff et al. (2007, p.6) emphasise that no one voice should control what can be said, but what is said can be challenged. From these perspectives the need for ESOL learners to develop a voice and speak out looks to address imbalances of power and social injustices.

[5] The Reflect approach fuses ' the theories of Paulo Freire with participatory methodologies developed for Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA)' and provides a range of tools for teachers to explore learners' lives to plan learning, generate materials and bring about meaningful language learning to effect social change (Cardiff et al., 2007, p.5).

The starting point for this approach is learners' lives, the teacher, Auerbach (1992, p.13) writes, does not arrive in the classroom 'armed' with a curriculum. Teachers may have a structure in mind before meeting a class, but through interacting with learners a curriculum can emerge reflecting issues and ideas relevant to the class. Bryers, Cooke and Winstanley (2014a, p.41) present an example of this when planning a series of lessons focusing solely on discussion work. They began by asking learners to talk about news items they were aware of, listening out for topics which raised significant amounts of interest and using these to plan future sessions. There is, however, a recognition regarding the impossibility of 're-presenting' learners' lives to them as a universally shared experience, upon which everyone can arrive at the same critical understanding. Auerbach (1992, p.40) herself states 'the classroom itself may be the only community that students have in common' and Shore and Freire (1987, p.25) also consider the limitations of social class analysis commenting that contradictions exist even within individuals.

The concept of diversity presented in many different forms is a recurrent theme in the literature discussed so far. It has mainly been presented as a generative concept and continues to be so here. The diversity of experience found in the ESOL classroom can in fact help to objectify the issue under consideration as a range of viewpoints are offered. Furthermore, alliances formed during dialogical discussions reflect those reported in research related to superdiversity, such as those found in Simpson (2016). This was demonstrated in Bryers, Cooke and Winstanley (2014b, p.31) participatory work on integration, where it was reported that;

> 'unexpected alliances were formed, which transcended the boundaries of culture nationality, class and religion, and many of us moved out, even if fleetingly, from our comfort zones'.

The fact that there is not one universal experience to engage in dialogue about may seem challenging, but can also enrich the potential of participatory discussions. It illustrates the possible flexibility of participatory approaches to accommodate newer understandings of social organisation such as superdiversity.

The starting point for a participatory approach is not only learners' lives, but also learners' language, the language they use to name the world. Auerbach (1992, p.12) writes how during the standard curriculum development process the knowledge to be

acquired is broken down into specific competencies, as with the AECC. Moon and Sunderland (2008, pp.11-12) in their report on the implementation of the Reflect ESOL materials remark that using learner generated language as the starting point removes limitations imposed by a curriculum, leading to a more meaningful use of language. In the participatory classroom the object under consideration is owned by all those engaged in its study, in stark contrast to standard forms of education where the teacher is viewed as the 'expert-knower' (Shor and Freire, 1987, p.15). The purpose of using language in the participatory classroom is therefore to engage in meaning-making not in decontextualised language practise. A result of this, reported by both Bryers, Winstanley and Cooke (2014a, p.40) and Moon and Sunderland (2008, p.16), was the engagement of learners and teachers with language at discourse level, employing different strategies to better express themselves on important issues rather than acquiring discrete language forms to perform a limited number of everyday tasks. Although there were times during lessons where Bryers, Winstanley and Cooke (2014b) state they did focus on form, but in a contextualised manner.

Shor and Freire (1987, pp.12-13) reflect how apart from what may described as 'elite institutions', there are few opportunities in mainstream education for the critique and generation of knowledge by learners. Participatory approaches through addressing power imbalances in the classroom provide an opportunity for established knowledge to be critiqued and new knowledge to emerge. An example of this is provided in the participatory project at Tower Hamlets college where learners and their teachers/co-learners developed an understanding of integration, asserting that it was a process for which everyone in society bears a responsibility (Bryers, Winstanley and Cooke., 2014b, p.31). As a consequence, this group challenged a dominant discourse relating to migration. Through such acts Bryers, Winstanley and Cooke, (2014b, p.32) claim the ESOL classroom transforms from a rehearsal site for the outside world to an important space for resisting dominant and negative discourses around migration'.

The literature considered in this section recognises the demands and levels of commitment required of both teachers and learners to engage in dialogic pedagogy. Bryers, Winstanley and Cooke (2014a, p.41) consider the need for tutors to 'hold their nerve', giving learners time to think before jumping in to fill what may seem to be awkward silences. Auerbach (1992, pp.42-43) admits that learners often come to the

classroom expecting the teacher to already know what is going to happen and reluctant to share information about their lives. The role of the teacher is therefore to create an environment in which learners feel comfortable perhaps through employing a familiar format that is non-threatening. As with the consideration of different teaching strategies in the EEPP (Baynham et al. 2007), there is therefore a recognition of the requirement for a balanced approach to be adopted. One which perhaps moves learners towards greater influence over the content and form of their learning, but provides moments of 'structured, teacher-initiated activities', meeting learners' expectations and creating a non-threatening environment (Auerbach, 1992, p.43).

Finally, the purpose of all the above is to transform and improve learners' lives, not the acquisition of a specific skill or an improvement of grades (Auerbach, 1992, p.20). Freire (1996, pp.68-69) very clearly states that there can be no action without reflection, but also that reflection without action is worthless. However, understandings of what counts as transformative action are broad, for example Auerbach (1992, p.20) considers that the change brought about could simply be an internal change for a learner, Bryers, Winstanley and Cooke (2014a, p.26) discuss the possibility of organising a bike ride to challenge gendered misconceptions of migrants in East London, but also illustrate how the dialogue which took place served to counter negative discourses ESOL learners can be subjected to. Cardiff et al. (2007, p.3) similarly consider the power of developing a voice and supporting ESOL learners in gaining the confidence to speak out when faced with injustices. Consequently, action and the transformation it may lead to can be viewed as being broadly defined and not necessarily immediately obvious.

The literature considered here, similar to that reviewed in the previous section, views the purpose of ESOL teaching and learning as supporting learners to better express themselves on issues which matter to them. As stated above, participatory approaches are overtly political, reflected in the research discussed. Learners are not only encouraged to express themselves, but to engage critically with others as they objectify their experiences and seek to better understand them before undertaking transformative action. Research by Bryers, Winstanley and Cooke (2014a, p.45) report how language work in their participatory sessions on both discourse and syntax level were taken up by learners and added to their repertoires. A strong possible

reason for this is that the learners themselves provide the starting point for both the curriculum and the language to be used, increasing its relevance to them. Criticisms of participatory pedagogies based on the work of Freire include accusations that they can become instrumental (Matusov, 2009, cited in Wegerif et al. 2020, p.12). I believe that the work of Bryers, Winstanley and Cooke (2014b) around integration begins to demonstrate the potential for participatory pedagogies to be adaptable allowing for more nuanced understandings of alliances beyond those of class, which can shift according to the context and who is participating.

2.6 Translanguaging

Learners' experiences and language form the starting point for participatory approaches. In a multilingual classroom should this not then include all the languages learners know, not just English? The EEPP reported that learners' other languages were not being effectively used in the classroom (Baynham et al. 2007, p.62). Shrubshall, Chopra and Roberts (2004) make a similar comment whilst also illustrating how some learners used other languages to manage their learning independently of the teacher and how when a teacher and learners shared an additional language it enhanced their learning. For Auerbach (1993 and 2016) excluding the use of other languages may not only delay learning, but can silence learners as it restricts their ability to participate. In recent years there has been a significant theoretical development concerning this issue, now known as translanguaging. Translanguaging originated in the context of bilingual education in Wales where researchers and educators were concerned with sustaining the development of both English and Welsh in compulsory education (see Chalmers, 2016). This concept has since been employed in a variety of global educational contexts, often with the intention of not only improving language learning opportunities, but also addressing the inequalities faced by multilingual speakers. In this section I review literature related to translanguaging, including recent research undertaken in ESOL classrooms in the UK. I consider its potential to enhance dialogic pedagogies and contribute to the argument for a pedagogy committed to developing learners' voices. I begin however, with a brief discussion of debates related to the English only rule in the classroom and pedagogical responses to multilingual learners.

Auerbach (1993) explains how the origins of the English only rule, often viewed as a common sense approach to teaching English, can be traced back to ideological debates around citizenship. Speaking other languages was seen as delaying a persons' Americanization with English used as a gate-keeping device, and a monolingual native speaker being presented as the ideal teacher (Auerbach, 1993, p.13). In mainstream education in the UK a similar ideological shift can be seen during the 1980s as part of the Conservative government's 'back-to-basics' campaign. Rampton, Harris and Leung (2002, p.8) describe how provision for multilingual students in British schools was severely reduced during this time as well as the promotion of teaching grammar linked to the upholding of 'standards'. Discussions of citizenship in 1.6 detail how the link between citizenship, morality and English language have continued to be strengthened in the political arena. This impact has been felt in classrooms as increasing centralisation means governments now exert more control over what happens in them.

Apart from ideological debates there is the general assumption that enforcing English only in the classroom will enhance the learning process due in part to increased exposure (Auerbach, 1993, and Hall and Cook, 2012). However, Auerbach (1993, p. 15) cites research which found allowing the use of a learners' first language to be essential for success. Reasons given for this include the fact that the English only rule can be disempowering for students, resulting in their withdrawal. Alternatively, the use of other languages has been found to have a positive impact on the learning environment, allowing for more efficient and effective communication and increasing learner participation (see Auerbach, 1993 and Hall and Cook, 2012). Despite these benefits Hall and Cook (2012, pp.16-17) report teacher and learner resistance to using other languages, even though only 10% of learners state that they never use other languages in class. Both Hall and Cook (2012) and Auerbach (1993) reflect on the genuine concern that learners have limited opportunities to use English outside the classroom, as was also reported in the EEPP (see Baynham et al., 2007, p.58), and call for the purposeful and pragmatic use of other languages in the English language classroom.

The theory of translanguaging has the potential to revolutionise how we view and understand language. Those who adhere to this theory argue that distinct named

languages are social and political constructs with no grounding in linguistic fact (see for example Garcia and Wei, 2014, and Vogel and Garcia, 2017). For Otheguy, Garcia and Wallis (2015) considering language and its use from an individuals' perspective lies at the heart of translanguaging. Garcia and Wei (2014) similarly argue that individuals possess an integrated communicative repertoire consisting of all their linguistic and semiotic resources, which they use selectively depending upon the communicative context they find themselves in. As Garcia and Kleyn (2016) contend this view of language reclaims ownership of linguistic resources for individuals away from national governments, potentially giving learners a degree of autonomy over their linguistic practices. However, literature on translanguaging still recognises the power of named languages and the need for learners to learn how to use their communicative repertoire effectively, as well as the importance of becoming fluent in a named language (Otheguy, Garcia and Wallis 2015).

Similar to participatory pedagogies, translanguaging is concerned with social justice and encouraging the political participation of those who may be unfavourably positioned in social and political discourses, such as multilingual students. Conteh (2015) describes how in mainstream education in England multilingual learners are consistently viewed as being deficient with their multilingualism seen as posing a problem for policymakers and teachers. In classrooms where they are not allowed access to their complete communicative repertoire they can be silenced, unable to ask questions or be creative (Garcia and Wei, 2014 p. 56). Encouraging learners to utilise their full repertoire allows them, it is argued, to engage critically during lessons, access their prior knowledge, integrating it with new discoveries (Garcia and Wie, 2014 and Garcia and Kleyn, 2016). In such situations learners are not merely acquiring knowledge but engaging in dialogue and to some degree at least becoming agentive beings in the classroom. Here learners do not have to abandon their existing language knowledge and identities, but as their communicative repertoire and learning expands new identities along with new ways of knowing and doing emerge integrated into their existing ways of being (Garcia and Wei, 2014, p.79). Recognising learners' prior knowledge and experience are seen as essential with Garcia and Wei (2014, p.79) referencing Norton's (2000) notion of learners' investment in the language learning process to explain why. According to Norton (2000, p.10) learners' who 'invest' in language learning expect a return for their efforts relating to their social histories,

aspirations and consequently their continually emerging unique identities.[6] Failing to recognise these identities can lead to learner withdrawal or reluctance to participate.

Garcia and Kleyn (2016) in their book *'Translanguaging with Multilingual Students'* provide a series of case studies where translanguaging principles were adopted in a number of public-school classrooms in New York. These case studies describe the benefits which emerged when teachers adopted a favourable stance to their learners' multilingual resources and included them in lessons. For example, Ebe and Chapman-Santiago (2016) report how their approach, which included providing lesson objectives and definitions in learners' languages, as well as translating 'culturally significant' words, increased student participation and disrupted traditional patterns of interaction with learners more actively involved. Woodly and Brown (2016) discuss the range of resources they drew upon to create a 'multilingual ecology', in their classrooms, helping learners to connect with the content and then enabling them to take the lead, as teachers became co-learners. Furthermore, Collins and Cioè-Peña (2016) began their sessions by discussing language choice with learners, encouraging them to use the languages they knew constructively, leading to increased learner autonomy and the dynamic use of their repertoires. This positive approach to multilingualism appeared to challenge traditional classroom hierarchies, including the negative positioning of multilingual learners. It opened up space for increased participation and deeper learning. However, these case studies are all taken from compulsory education involving children and young adults, where it could be argued the importance of utilising and developing languages used at home is greater than in classrooms in adult education.

Cooke, Bryers and Winstanley (2018, p.6) planned and undertook an eight-week participatory ESOL course titled *Our Languages*, in which they engaged with ESOL learners to find out what they 'had to say about beliefs, ideologies and attitudes towards the languages they use in everyday life.' Over the course of the project learners became aware of the breadth of the communicative repertoires they possessed with Cooke, Bryers and Winstanley, (2018, p.14) reporting that learners

[6] Norton (2000) uses Bourdieu's (1997) idea of cultural capital to develop the idea of investment in learning. This is discussed in more detail in 7.2.

began to feel positive about their language identities. They also engaged in a number of discussions relating to multilingualism such as using languages other than English in public, what languages their children should learn and why as well as exploring the meaning and implications of linguistic terms such as dialect and mother tongue. Near the end of the project learners and teachers discussed whether other languages should be used in the ESOL classroom, leading to the exchange and development of a variety of views. A number of learners expressed a strong resistance to the use of other languages, with reasons given including isolating members of the class who did not share a language with anyone and the limited opportunities to practise English outside the classroom (Cooke, Bryers and Winstanley, 2018, p.25). One reason given in favour of utilising other languages was that it was essential to do so when engaging in participatory ESOL, that this was a different type of learning beyond simply acquiring linguistic forms. Overall Cooke, Bryers and Winstanley (2018) found that learners' thinking became more nuanced as the project developed, with those who held strong views able to see others' points of view and at times changing or moderating their initial beliefs. It was also noted that learners were beginning to develop an academic register as they engaged with sociolinguistic concepts, conducted their own research and wrote reports. Their concluding remarks consisted of a call for ESOL teachers to work with learners to counter linguistic discrimination and support learners in better valuing their multilingualism (Cooke, Bryers and Winstanley. 2018, p.30).

In this section I have sought to answer my initial question around the need to include all of learners' linguistic knowledge when planning and undertaking a participatory approach. The notion of translanguaging seems to present an understanding of language which relates to the ideas and theories discussed in 2.3. Garcia and Wei (2014) view languages as mobile resources with agentive speakers drawing on what they know to make meaning in diverse spaces. The idea of discrete national languages is destabilised in the eyes of some, although still undoubtedly a powerful concept, with the belief that each individual possesses their own unique communicative repertoire. As with Bakhtin's (1981) notion of heteroglossia it is over the course of interacting in a given context in which meaning is made, dependent upon the histories and outlook of those involved. Denying leaners access to their full repertoire in the classroom restricts their abilities to make meaning, through voicing their experiences and ideas. For dialogic or participatory pedagogies, it is essential that learners are given the freedom

to access all their linguistic resources otherwise they may remain passive or be silenced. However, this is a challenge for both teachers and learners due to the long held 'common sense' belief that learning English is best done in a classroom where only English is spoken. Adult education is behind compulsory education in researching how to implement a translanguaging approach in the classroom and there is much work to be done.

2.7 Alexander's dialogic pedagogy

I now turn to Robin Alexander's work regarding dialogic pedagogy as a possible model for the ESOL classroom. I outline his main ideas, with reference to others where appropriate, this includes providing a definition of the term pedagogy, thoughts on pedagogy within the field of education in the UK and discussions of dialogic pedagogy. I conclude by reviewing and responding to criticisms of dialogic pedagogy and assess its relevance to ESOL teaching and learning.

For Alexander (2004, p.12) pedagogy is a broad concept, reflecting social and cultural attitudes to education within what may be considered a 'microculture' of a school, but also a wider national context. Nind, Curtin and Hall (2016) adopt a similar sociocultural approach to understanding pedagogy, something I return to in the following chapter. Pedagogy, according to Alexander (2004, p.11) is also purposeful as he describes it as,

> 'a discourse which informs and justifies the act of teaching and the learning to which that teaching is directed'.

This has echoes Shor and Freire's (1987, p.22) notion of there always being a purpose to education. Pedagogy is therefore also an ideological concept with different actors in society and education viewing it in a variety ways. Despite this, as Alexander (2008) remarks, policy discussions regarding pedagogy in England often view teaching and learning in a technical manner, failing to recognise the broader social and cultural implications of education and the dynamic relations between them. It can also be argued that this technical approach to pedagogy is not value free, with Alexander (2008, p.89) questioning the dominance of 'evidence-based' policy, stating that in reality it is the policy which is arrived at first and the evidence then found to fit it. Consequently, although pedagogy may be presented officially as a neutral and technical it is in fact value laden. For Alexander (2008, p.89) in England it is the

government 'who takes care of values, teachers put them into practice'. Furthermore, Alexander's (2004, 2008 and 2017) work is based in primary education where approaches to teaching and learning have been increasingly prescribed by the government. As stated previously ESOL tutors, despite being subjected to the same demands to meet targets and an inspection regime have some freedom on how they achieve their goals. However, their work is shaped by officially promoted values as well, as discussed in Chapter 1 and 2.4.

Alexander's work is based not only upon research in the UK, but also forms part of an international comparative study of primary education (see Alexander, 2001). By doing so he is able to identify and bring into focus the narrow view of pedagogy adopted in the UK contrasting it with alternative approaches from other national contexts. One such example is that of a tradition of oral pedagogy found in France which values the importance of classroom talk in learning, lacking he argues in the UK. In the French context education prepares learners to become citizens, expected to speak out, reason and argue (Alexander, 2008, p.99). As a result, Alexander (2008) argues for an alternative pedagogical approach in England, one based upon a broader consideration of values beyond narrow definitions of educational success, linking the classroom to the outside social and cultural world. For Alexander (2008) this means adopting a moral and international outlook, concerned with global issues such as climate change, where talk is central, and learners are active participants in the generation of knowledge. There are others such as Ball (2013a) and Fielding (2004a) who have called for a new vision of education to be adopted in the UK, focusing on ideas of participative citizenship, democracy and social justice. Ball (2013a) calls for close links between schools and local communities, for teachers, parents and learners to become active participants in discussions on a range of issues, including the purpose of education. Fielding (2004a) considers a 'person-centred' approach to student voice beyond the present focus on educational achievement to include mutuality, dialogue and emergent ways of working together. There are differences between these visions for the future of education in the UK, but all three promote an increase in the active participation of teachers and learners in the educational process. They also view the development of stronger links between educational establishments and the local, national and international contexts which they inhabit to be essential, recognising and realising the social and cultural nature of education.

At the heart of Alexander's (2008, 2017) dialogic pedagogy is an examination and re-evaluation of the role of talk in the classroom. Alexander (2017, p.5) contends that culture is mediated through language, and it is essentially through spoken language that we both teach and learn. Unfortunately, in the UK he notes the undemanding nature of much classroom talk, labelling it as conversational (Alexander, 2017, p.21). This echoes Nystrand et al.'s (1997, p.5) similar concern regarding the low quality of talk in classrooms in the USA and the domination of recitation. The primacy of talk in Alexander's (2017) dialogic pedagogy is based on his extensive research and also draws on the work of Vygotsky (1978) and Bakhtin (1981, 1984, 1986). Bakhtin (1981) argues that it is only through dialogue with others that we are able to reach an understanding and find meaning. For Vygotsky (1978) interaction with others is essential for learners to reach the Zone of Proximal Development (ZPD). This is only possible if children are interacting with an adult or with 'more capable peers' (Vygotsky, 1978, p.86). Taken together the work of Vygotsky (1978) and Bakhtin (1981, 1984, 1986) put forward a strong argument for the centrality and importance of talk in learning.

As Alexander (2008, p.105) outlines his vision for dialogic pedagogy he notes that dialogue, especially Bakhtinian dialogue, a concept explored further in the following section, is 'cognitively demanding' for both teachers and learners as it relies on meaningful talk, where answers lead to new questions. This requires participants to listen carefully to each other, reflect upon and analyse what has been said and respond accordingly. To participate teachers and learners need to develop repertoires of talk. Alexander (2017, p. 30-31) highlights how amongst teachers in England rote, recitation and instruction are types of talk used more frequently than discussion and dialogue[7]. For dialogic pedagogy the last two types of talk must be more widely employed, although Alexander (2008, p.88) is keen to stress the need for all types of talk to be utilised as he calls for a pluralist approach to teaching, similar to arguments put forward by Simpson and Cooke (2008) and discussed in 2.4, where pedagogical choices are context dependent. For Alexander (2008, 2017) and Cooke and Simpson

[7] Alexander (2017, p.30) describes discussion as an exchange of views to share information and solve problems, whereas dialogue is for arriving at a 'common understanding through structured, cumulative questioning and discussion'.

(2008) teachers are ideally positioned as competent professionals with an array of subject-specific and pedagogical knowledge to inform their decisions.

The dialogic teaching Alexander (2017, p.32) promotes prepares learners for lifelong learning as it 'reflects a view that knowledge and understanding come from testing evidence, analysing ideas and exploring values'. In a dialogic classroom knowledge is therefore not transmitted, but generated, with the teacher providing opportunities for this type of interaction. Alexander (2017, p.49) claims this is possible by teachers adhering to his first three principles of dialogic teaching which are collectivity, reciprocity and support and have been seen to have the greatest impact on classroom talk. The purpose of this is not simply for educational attainment, but Alexander (2017, p.33) extends this further, arguing that by developing learners' abilities to engage in dialogue there are being prepared for life as active citizens, enabling the realisation of his broader vision regarding the value of education. Evidence from related research projects undertaken in primary schools is available and this shows increased inclusion, better collective working, long exchanges and less need for teacher to control discussion, amongst other benefits. Although Alexander (2008, pp.115-117) warns against viewing an increase in talk as an indication of the success of a dialogic approach, arguing that talk needs to be meaningful, illustrating thoughtful engagement on behalf of participants.

Alexander's dialogic pedagogy has proved to be highly influential and Kim and Wilkinson (2019) use it as a framework for their paper concerned with defining dialogic teaching and pedagogies based on the centrality of classroom talk.[8] They consider and compare various dialogic approaches including Freire's use of dialogic teaching to develop a critical consciousness, noting his lack of attention regarding 'the specifics of language' (Kim and Wilkinson, 2019, 73). Alexander's primary focus, according to Kim and Wilkinson (2019), is on the role of culture and its potential to limit or encourage dialogue for learning, including both that of the immediate classroom and the wider world. Burbules (2007, p.512), although without specific reference to Alexander, is also concerned with the popularity of dialogue and specifically with the automatic

[8] Kim and Wilkinson (2019, p.83) consider 'dialogic teaching' as a '*general* pedagogic approach that embodies the different types of talk, ranging from rote to repetition to discussion, to achieve certain pedagogical goals'.

assumption that it is a democratic and liberatory approach. In his discussion he considers the potential for dialogue to marginalise, to threaten and be assimilationist in nature when it is employed in a purely analytical manner with the sole aim of reaching a consensus. Furthermore, it is perhaps most noteworthy that Burbules (2007, p.514) poses the question of whose language is to be used over the course of the dialogue, a question absent in Alexander's work and of obvious importance in a multilingual context. To counter the potential side-lining of already marginalised individuals Burbules (2007, p.517) suggests valuing times when dialogue does not lead to consensus and that the encountering of 'a radically different, unreconciled and unreconcilable point of view, value, voice or belief' can be educationally important as it may lead participants to question their own assumptions and outlooks.

Overall, I view Alexander's writing to be of profound use in supporting a boarder and deeper understanding of pedagogy. His work seeks to connect education to wider social and cultural values, capable I believe of providing an alternative to the narrow and assimilationist style official views in the UK outlined in Chapter 1 and at the beginning of this chapter. Alexander's (2008, 2017) approach values the central role of classroom talk in teaching and learning, the importance of which was similarly highlighted by Baynham et al. (2007) in the EEEP. He also reports significant evidence regarding the benefits of a dialogic approach, something lacking from the ESOL research context. I feel such a consideration is necessary to gain a better insight into a dialogic approach, to analyse it and take an evaluative view of it in action. To achieve this I have been drawn to the work of others such as Wegerif (2020) and Skidmore (2016a). However, before considering this set of literature I wish to focus on Mikhael Bakhtin's view of dialogue. Bakhtin is frequently referred to in research into classroom dialogue, as well as being a point of reference in other areas considered in this review of literature.

2.8 Bakhtin and dialogue

I have referred to the work of Bakhtin numerous times in this chapter, as well as reviewing the writing of others who have been influenced by him. In this section I aim to take a deeper look at Bakhtin's work on dialogue, especially key concepts which have become increasingly used in the field of education and linguistics. Holquist (2002, p.121) sounds a note of warning regarding how Bakhtin has come to be utilised across

a wide variety of academic disciplines for different purposes, which he argues has endangered the loss of meaning of his original work. Therefore, my interpretations of Bakhtin's work and its possible implications for ESOL pedagogy are strongly guided by established thinkers who have already considered his writing in depth in my areas of interest.

In section 2.3 I discuss Anderson's (2016) thoughts regarding centralising notions of language and culture employed in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries during the development of European nation states. Bakhtin (1981, pp.270-271) likewise views notions of a 'unitary language' as serving 'forces working toward concrete verbal and ideological unification and centralization', forces he labels as centripetal. This, he goes on to discuss, is set in opposition against a heteroglossic reality. Heteroglossia is a key concept developed by Bakhtin and now applied in a variety of contexts, in fact Creese and Blackledge (2014, p.4) state that heteroglossia has itself become heteroglossic. Their proposed definition of the term is 'the coexistence of different competing ideological points of view' (Creese and Blackledge, 2014, p.5). Holquist (2002, p.69) defines heteroglossia as 'the myriad of responses' possible by a subject in a given situation. Heteroglossia is a concept which recognises diversity and the potential for different meanings to be arrived at in everyday interactions dependent upon context and the different outlooks of those involved. Furthermore, language for Bakhtin (1981, p.271) is both 'alive and developing', stratified into different dialects, registers and genres, as well as being heteroglossic, acting as a centrifugal force against attempts at centralisation. Blackledge and Creese (2014, p. 7) call Bakhtin's understanding of language and interaction as 'tension-filled', due to its emphasis on difference and competing forces. This tension, I believe, leaves language open to new meanings as those with different histories and outlooks interact with each other.

For Bakhtin (1981, p.345) to be able to actively participate in a heteroglossic reality individuals have to develop consciousness, to discriminate between different discourses.[9] In *Discourse in the Novel* Bakhtin (1981) discusses two main types of

[9] According to Holquist (1981, p.427) Bakhtin's use of the word discourse is different to its current usage as most frequently Bakhtin is referring to speech in general, to a lesser extent to a way of using words and only occasionally to 'social and ideological differences'.

discourse, that of ‘authoritative discourse’ and ‘internally persuasive discourse’. Authoritative discourse is a powerful form a language, transmitted with little room for us to make it our own. Whereas an internally persuasive discourse is our own discourse of language and ideology which we can take creative ownership of. We are also able to engage with the discourses of others and by doing so we may modify our own view of the world (Bakhtin, 1981, pp.342-5). In order to do this we must be able to objectify language and ideology and it is through this that we develop consciousness. Skidmore (2016a) applies these two concepts to analyse discourse in a primary classroom, noting the dominance of teacher controlled 'authoritative discourse'. He argues that despite prescriptive elements in the wider national context there is still scope in the immediate classroom context for teachers to move away from this 'authoritarian discourse' to better challenge and engage learners (Skidmore, 2016a, p.167).

On the surface it appears that Bakhtin and Freire share a similar outlook with regards to dialogue and the need to objectify language and ideology in order to develop consciousness. However, for Freire dialogue is a way of knowing the world, an epistemological position (Shor and Freire 1987, p.14). Wegerif (2008, p.349) on the other hand, considers Bakhtin's attitude towards dialogue to be ontological, a way of being in the world and that meaning 'is the product of difference'. This argument is used by Wegerif (2008) to highlight differences between Bakhtin and Vygotsky, emphasising Bakhtin's rejection of dialectics. On the matter of dialectics Bakhtin (1986, p.147) in fact writes,

> 'Take a dialogue and remove the voices (the partitioning of voices), remove the intonations (emotional and individualizing ones), carve out abstract concepts and judgement from living words and responses, cram everything into one abstract consciousness - and that is how you get dialectics.'

This is in stark contrast to Freire (1996, p.97) who values dialectics in achieving a 'synthesis' communicating 'to the participants a sense of totality'. By highlighting Bakhtin's ontological view of dialogue and rejection of dialectics Wegerif (2008) foregrounds the generative quality of different viewpoints, without needing to synthesize them. This can perhaps be seen to echo Burbules (2007) argument that

dialogues which do not end in consensus are still of value as they have the potential to broaden participants' outlooks.

A further concept of Bakhtin's utilised in the field of education, and classroom discourse specifically, is that of polyphony. For Bakhtin (1984, p.6) polyphony meant '*a plurality of independent and unmerged voices and consciousnesses'*, a notion employed by Bakhtin in his critical analysis of Dostoevsky's novels. These voices may combine at times, but 'are not merged in the unity of the event.' Adding further weight, I would argue to Bakhtin's rejection of dialectics. Skidmore (2016b, pp.34-35) finds value in applying this concept to education in general stating that it recognises that 'every learner will come to the situation with their own psychological perspective', with a 'psychological perspective' consisting of 'prior knowledge' and their 'mind-set at a given time'. Skidmore and Murakami (2016a, p.264) extend this further in the evaluation of discourse over a whole class discussion concerning a poem. Using Conversation Analysis they are able to demonstrate how what is valued 'is a shared sense that everyone has been party to a process of dialogue', enabling them 'to deepen their understanding of the poem' rather than arriving at an agreement, presenting this as an example of polyphony.

Before concluding I would like to discuss one final point regarding Bakhtin and dialogue. As Vitanova (2008, p151) writes Bakhtin views 'the self as a unique human being' whilst also being 'a dialogic phenomenon'. From a Bakhtinian viewpoint consciousness and outlooks may never merge, but meaning and a sense of self always involves another, even if they are imagined. For example, Bakhtin (1986, p.69) states that a speaker always orientates themselves towards a response and to begin with is in fact responding to what has gone before. Our dialogue with the world is always ongoing.

In this section I have reviewed some of the key concepts developed by Bakhtin and employed in the field of educational and linguistic research. Bakhtin's notion of dialogue, I believe, if applied to a classroom setting has the potential to be educative, whilst not requiring participants to arrive at a consensus. Consequently, it could lead to the development of a model of dialogue which begins to address the concerns of those such as Burbules (2007) about the marginalisation of some if arriving at a

consensus is seen as always necessary. Furthermore, Mercer (2000) in his work on the role of language in collective thinking and knowledge building considers the importance of context. He remarks how in a number of contexts we often find ourselves not only sharing a language, but similar experiences and a degree of 'common knowledge', making communication easier. This is unless, he states, 'we are finding our feet in a new language environment' (Mercer, 2000, p.25). As ESOL learners are 'finding their feet' in what may be new contexts a more open version of dialogue, sensitive to difference may perhaps be appropriate and more productive. In the following section I consider research focusing on dialogic classroom discourse and how classroom space can be opened up to include a wide array of voices.

2.9 Classroom Discourse

Despite arguments concerning the importance of talk in learning Alexander (2017) and others such as Nystrand et al. (1997) have found that meaningful talk rarely occurs in classrooms in the UK and the USA. The most common form of talk they found was recitation where learners are asked to recall what they have been told or learned previously. In recitation there is no space for new knowledge to be generated based upon the perspectives and experiences of those in the classroom. In Bakhtinian terms this could be viewed as an authoritative form of discourse with little scope for learners to arrive at their own understanding (see Skidmore, 2016a). A result of this concern is the development of a substantial literature exploring the role of classroom discourse in dialogic pedagogies. In this section I therefore discuss research relating to classroom discourse. I begin by explaining the importance of talk in dialogic approaches, as well as identifying key features of dialogic discourse and potential outcomes.

Classroom talk is not a purely technical matter and the manner in which it is conducted, particularly when viewed through a dialogic lens, can position participants in a certain way, either opening up or closing down space for learner contributions. For example, Skidmore (2016c, pp.99-100) states how in Nystrand et al.'s (1997) work quantifying the types of talk which occur in a classroom was not necessarily essential. What was apparently of importance however, was 'how far students are treated as active epistemic agents, i.e., participants in the production of their own knowledge'. Wegerif (2020, pp.31-35) takes this further considering 'the ontological reality behind types of

talk', looking at the 'intersubjective shifts' that can occur in talk as individuals orientate themselves towards each other. Classroom discourse therefore has the potential to position learners as empty vessels or as valid and active participants in the generation of knowledge and understanding. This issue gains in significance if as Alexander (2017), Fielding (2004a) and Ball (2013a) argue the purpose of education is to prepare and support learners for lives as active citizens.

The role of the teacher and teacher talk has a considerable impact in shaping classroom discourse. Hepworth (2019, p.105) who in his research on argumentation in the ESOL classroom reminds us that teachers are 'speaking from a position of power'. He refers to the work of Erving Goffman regarding the *Interaction Order,* declaring that teachers are on 'a different footing' to learners. Skidmore and Murakami (2016a), similarly make use of Goffman's *interaction order* to consider issues such as 'face work', 'taking' and 'holding the floor' as well as dealing with misalignments. Goffman's work (1983) recognises that when people enter a situation they do so with their own history and cultural assumptions which informs how they interact with others. This could be seen as enabling interaction from one perspective, but from another could be viewed as repressive or exclusionary. Goffman (1983, pp.5-6) considers how this orderliness often relies on hierarchical positioning leaving some disadvantaged and consequently having to 'pay a very considerable price for their interactional existence'. Hence Hepworth's warning that teacher's need to carefully consider their position when discussing difficult issues with others and why Skidmore and Murakami (2016a, p. 230) stress that learners need to know both how to hold the floor and when to surrender it.

One of the main ways of opening up space for dialogic talk and inviting learners to take the floor is to use authentic questions, described by Alexander (2017, p.15) as those with no pre-ordained answer. Such is the potential of questions to influence discourse that Nystrand et al. (1997, p.37) argue that they can shape 'the character of instruction', including or excluding learners' voices and Alexander (2017, p. 15), amongst others, claims that authentic questions signal that the teacher is interested in what learners have to say. Nystrand et al. (1997, pp.20-21) also argue that learners' answers to authentic questions should be incorporated into the lesson, examined, elaborated and revised, not dealt with quickly with a simple 'good' before moving on.

Through this uptake of learners' ideas their voices are validated and have the potential to shape classroom discourse and genuine dialogue ensues. Furthermore, Kremer (2016), in her detailed analysis of three language classroom excerpts illustrates how a teacher's careful questioning is able to support a group of learners to build new knowledge together. In one excerpt Kremer (2016, pp.142-146) focuses on the teachers' shift in footing during a discussion as learners are asked to elaborate on their answers, consequently 'enlarging the intersubjective space'. As a result, learners are able to begin scaffolding each other with the teacher becoming a 'bystander and attentive listener'. This can be quite demanding, with Skidmore and Murakami (2016a, p.234) stating that teachers have to continually make 'micro-judgements to sustain dialogic discourse.

Thoughtful questioning is a powerful tool for teachers who wish to adopt a dialogic stance in the classroom. However, this alone is not sufficient to create the type of dialogic environment outlined by Alexander (2017). Mercer (2000, pp.16-20) considers how 'contextual foundations' need to be laid in order for the co-construction of knowledge between teachers and learners. These foundations are usually based upon shared knowledge and use of language, as stated above in the ESOL classroom as well as in other superdiverse spaces this cannot be assumed to pre-exist. Some of this context, however, can be built in the classroom through frequent recaps, reformulations and exhortations and making connections clear (Mercer, 2000, pp.53-55). For instances of intercultural conversations Mercer (2000, p.38) calls for the establishment of 'ground rules' for different types of talk. These ground rules should not be imposed by the teacher, but working together teachers and learners can develop 'a joint understanding of the appropriate ground rules for talking together' (Mercer, 2000, p.43). The necessity for the development and establishment of ground rules for talk is also visible in Nystrand et al.'s (1997, p.49) work in compulsory education. In this large-scale study it was reported that small group work was often not collaborative in nature with the conclusion that learners in general needed specific guidance on how to work collectively together.

One type of talk which is discussed and reflected upon considerably in the literature is that of exploratory talk. Mercer (2000, pp.98-99), describes exploratory talk as talk where participants work collectively, engaging in critical conversations in which ideas

or solutions are subjected to challenges where reasoning is made explicit. Groups then arrive at some form of agreement before taking action. In this type of talk Wegerif (2020, p.35) describes the intersubjective orientation as,

> 'people are open to each other, willing to learn from each other, identifying with the shared project of the dialogue not with individual egos'.

Knowledge and understanding are arrived at through a collective effort, with multiple voices having the opportunity to contribute. However, more recently Wegerif (2020, p.39) has sought to develop the idea of exploratory talk to include a more playful use of language and ideas, as he questions ‘the centrality of explicit reasoning to exploratory talk’. This playfulness for example, he argues, could include the use of metaphors, which Wegerif (2016, p.39) states have been used effectively in the teaching of science.

There has been further significant work in this area with a large-scale research project undertaken in the Education Department at the University of Cambridge. This has led to the development of a toolkit to support teachers and researchers in undertaking 'educational dialogue' (T-SEDA Collective, 2021), amongst other things. Educational dialogue shares many aspects with exploratory talk, with the initial step being the establishing of ground rules for talk in the classroom. Further aspects include participants carefully listening to each other, contributing and sharing ideas for exploration and evaluation whilst forming links 'allowing knowledge to be built collectively (T-SEDA Collective, 2021). The toolkit highlights specific strategies for achieving this, encouraging both teachers and learners to evaluate the type of talk they engage in. Reported benefits include teachers beginning to view learners as worthy partners in the co-construction of knowledge and increased learner engagement (CEDiR, no date).

In this section I hope to have demonstrated the important role classroom talk can play in supporting the development of a dialogic pedagogy with the potential to affect wider society and culture. Teachers and most ESOL learners will arrive in the classroom with previous educational experience and will probably already have been inducted into the expected interaction order of the classroom. Similarly, to the position promoted by Auerbach (1992) teachers need to support learners in adapting to a different type

of interaction order. As highlighted above in the work of Kremer (2016) and Skidmore and Murakami (2016a) this involves teachers making on the spot judgements to support learners to become more active participants in classroom dialogue, adopting a different epistemic position. Mercer's (2000) work illustrates how a productive context for such an approach can be developed over time, with learners provided with opportunities to contribute at every stage. This can result, according to Mercer (2000, p.170) in the classroom becoming a 'thinking community', modelled on Lave and Wenger's (1991) idea of Communities of Practice, where specific ways of speaking and thinking together are developed over time. One final important point is that as with discussions of participatory practices discussed above Nystrand et al. (1997), Alexander (2017) and Skidmore and Murakami (2016a), are not promoting the complete abandonment of what might be labelled as traditional teaching practices such as recitation, but for a considered and purposeful use of different types of classroom talk.

2.10 Dialogue and self-formation

In this final section, before drawing this chapter to a conclusion, I return once again to the main title of this thesis concerned with developing a voice. As I initially stated I have adopted a dialogical understanding of the term voice, recognising the dynamic relationship between an individual and the world they inhabit along with the possibility for the intentional use of language to express a specific outlook. The development of voice, as previously stated, is ongoing and not without struggle, requiring a collective effort as I have discussed. For example, in section 2.5 I considered participatory approaches to supporting learners to develop a critical consciousness necessary for engaging in transformative action. This was further developed in 2.6 with the introduction of the notion of translanguaging and the potential to increase learner engagement and their capacity for critical reflection through encouraging the use of their full linguistic repertoire. Both of these key ideas, developing a critical consciousness and translanguaging, contribute to larger pedagogical debates concerned with the value and purpose of education. As discussed in 2.6 there is a belief that official discourses of education and pedagogy have become too narrow in focus, disconnecting the classroom from wider society. Those such as Alexander (2017), Ball (2013a) and Fielding (2004a, 2004b) seek to address this through establishing links between education and the outside world. At the centre of these

proposed pedagogical approaches is the valuing of learner voice and the need for educators to create learning environments where this can be achieved.

In the previous section on classroom discourse I explored and reflected on research relating to opening up interactional space in the classroom for learners to become more active in their learning and the production of knowledge. I highlighted Wegerif's (2020) argument about the potential for talk to lead to specific intersubjective positionings, which could either support or restrain learner contributions. Finally, I now briefly consider the potential for the classroom to become a space where individuals, as part of a group, could also develop new subjectivities, drawing on Ball's (2013b, 2019) work concerning Foucault's ethics of self-care.

Ball (2013b, p.125) reflects on how Foucault in his later work comes to focus more on the idea of subjectivity 'as an active process of becoming'. For example, Foucault (1991, p.351) considers,

> 'From the idea that the self is not given to us, I think there is only one practical consequence, we have to create ourselves as a work of art'.

Foucault (1991, p.352) also labels ethics as determining 'how the individual is supposed to constitute himself as a moral subject of his own actions'. From this perspective individuals do have some form of agency and as Ball (2013, p.139) states are capable of taking responsibility 'for their identity and their social relations', similar to a dialogic notion of voice. Building on this Ball (2019) argues for education to become and be seen as an act of self-formation.

Such an approach as outlined by Ball (2019) would include the challenging of established truths, the critiquing of everyday actions resulting in the realisation of new possibilities for living and being. Along with this would be an acceptance by both teachers and learners of their own fallibility as they transgressed and tested limits. As a result, all participants would learn from each other through dialogue where, during the process, the teacher becomes a 'genuine interlocutor' (Ball, 2019, p.140). This is in contrast to Nystrand et al. (1997, p.73) who argue for learners' to be treated as 'fully-fledge conversants', emphasising that teachers too will be taking risks during dialogue which focuses on self-formation. It is also seen to be different to critical pedagogies which are concerned with 'the emancipation of others' instead it focuses on 'an

individual's capacity to develop alternative "subjectivities"' (Sicilia-Camacho and Fernandez-Balboa, 2009, p.458, quoted in Ball, 2019, p. 140). In this approach the classroom is transformed from a space focused on conforming with neo-liberal ideas of performativity to a liberatory space open to questioning and critique (Ball, 2019).

If the ESOL classroom is a superdiverse space, inhabited by individuals, who to quote Mercer (2000, p.25) are 'finding their feet' in a new language, the opportunity to engage in acts of self-formation is essential. A dialogic pedagogy which supports the development of a repertoire of talk and interactional practices to encourage and allow for the participation of all, as well as valuing individual perspectives and differences is I believe compatible with a focus on self-formation. As previously discussed migrant language learners are often positioned negatively in mainstream discourses and therefore participating in acts of self-formation has the potential I believe to resist such positioning and help ESOL learners realise other future possibilities. The focus on the self in a creative way also appears to be less restrictive than traditional participatory approaches to ESOL influenced by a dialectic outlook.

2.11 Conclusion

I now bring this chapter to a conclusion, providing an overview of the literature I have discussed and my thoughts regarding its implications for developing pedagogy in the ESOL classroom. I began by describing the wider context in which ESOL teaching and learning takes place. I outlined arguments as to why this should be viewed as a superdiverse space where heterogeneity is the norm. I adopt Alexander's (2008) broad view of pedagogy as being related to culture and society, understanding and recognising this context and its dynamic relationship to the classroom is essential. Research undertaken as part of the EEEP (see Roberts et al. 2004 and Baynham et al. 2007) similarly remarks on the heterogeneity of ESOL classes and the need for this to be accommodated in order for teaching and learning to be effective. There is also a recognition by those such as Cooke and Simpson (2009) and Cooke (2006) that some of the officially promoted practices are in fact limiting in nature and fail to meet the needs of ESOL learners, restricting what can happen in class. Participatory pedagogies, largely informed by Freire, have proved to be effective in supporting learners to critically examine the world in which they live (see for example Byers, Winstanley and Cooke, 2041a, 2014b). Recently there has been an increased

recognition that if multilingual learners are to engage in dialogic discussion they must be allowed to draw on all of their linguistic resources and this is now starting to be considered in relation to the adult ESOL classroom. However, there is also some concern that some interpretations of participatory pedagogies, which focus on consensus can be exclusionary (see Burbules, 2007). Dialogic pedagogical approaches informed by the work of Bakhtin, such as Skidmore and Murakami (2016a, 2016b) and Wegerif (2020) suggest there is an alternative approach which could be applied to the ESOL classroom. This dialogic approach centres on the importance of classroom talk, recognising the heterogeneity of everyday life and is sensitive to the unique perspectives of individuals. Pursuing such an approach has the potential I believe to open up space for learners to become active participants in dialogue and as a result possibly undertake actions of 'self-care'.

Discussions of the literature in this chapter have therefore led me to formulate the following research questions:

Overarching question:
How can a dialogic perspective inform pedagogy for the ESOL classroom?
RQ1. What are the implications of the current multilingual turn in theories of language learning for dialogical pedagogy?
RQ2. How can teachers and learners challenge established classroom discourse patterns to engage in dialogue?
RQ3. What happens when space is opened for dialogic interaction?

3. Researching ESOL, pedagogy and dialogue

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter I present my research methodology, beginning by outlining the ontological and epistemological positions I have adopted. In light of this I then consider literature relating to researching both pedagogy and dialogue, before discussing my specific research methodology based upon Exploratory Practice. The specific methods I utilised are also reviewed followed by a reflection upon research ethics and my ethical stance, including reflexivity. I conclude with an overview of my research approach along with relevant criteria drawn from the literature discussed to allow for an evaluation of my research once it has concluded.

3.2 Emergent Research Focus

My original research proposal focused solely on translanguaging in the ESOL classroom and remained so during my pilot study, initial teaching intervention and tutor focus group. However, after this preliminary stage my research began to shift and I started to view translanguaging as just one aspect of a dialogical approach which became my main concern. My research remained classroom-based throughout with an increasing emphasis on studying classroom discourse in detail, especially after considering the work of Wegerif (2020), Mercer (2000) and Skidmore (2016a, 2016b), in order to better understand the dynamics of classroom dialogue.

3.3 Research outlook

In this section I consider the ontological and epistemological positions I have adopted and how these have underpinned decisions about methodology. My starting point for this discussion is to reiterate Pring's (2004) warning concerning over simplistic debates where ontological choices are divided into a distinct dichotomy between realism and constructionism. This process, he argues, has been reduced to a competition between qualitative and quantitative approaches rather than a serious consideration of what may be the most appropriate research methodology for the questions being asked. My research questions (see 2.10) are essentially descriptive in nature, concerned with exploring processes of teaching and learning. I arrived at

these questions after reflecting upon my own experiences as an ESOL teacher and a review of literature related to pedagogy, multilingualism and dialogue.

In my introductory chapter and in 2.3 I express concerns regarding official discourses of language, learning and migration and how these negatively position ESOL learners and present a restrictive view of language and language learning. The consequences of which, I argue, can limit the potential for ESOL teaching and learning to relate to learners' lives and aspirations. I consider this initial standpoint as aligning with constructionism, described by Blaikie (2007, p.23) as 'the view that social reality is a structure of ideas' produced through 'meaning-giving activity of human beings in their everyday lives'. To study how the world is socially constructed according to Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2018, p.23) usually leads to a specific focus on interactions, contexts, environments and biography, as I have done over the course of my research. However, Hammersley (2011, p.132) outlines how constructionism arrives at problems when considering knowledge claims, arguing that 'a constructionist could only claim that her or his account is more persuasive', than another. Although, I acknowledge Pring's (2004) point that it is impossible for a researcher to claim anything, I have found a hermeneutic view of understanding to further aid the shaping of my research, ensuring I am open to the accounts of others at the research site.

My primary concern is to better understand the possibilities of engaging in dialogue with ESOL learners and how this may support them in acts of self-formation whilst developing their own understanding of the world around them. As discussed in Chapter 1 it is possible to have differing views of the term understanding and the definition which I previously outlined, is one taken from hermeneutics. Understanding from this standpoint means 'to make something one's own, cognitively speaking: to know it from the inside'. Gadamer, Hammersley (2011, p.138) claims, based his model of understanding upon dialogue between historians and the past, where the horizon of 'the people whose beliefs and actions' were being interpreted were fused with that of the researcher. Usher (1996, p.21-22) describes this as an interplay between different interpretive frameworks leading to a broadening of horizons, where the process of comparing and contrasting can lead to consensus. This outlook has led to a recognition of both myself and the research participants as historically, socially and culturally situated beings who consequently see the world differently. I have actively

sought out the views of others and engaged with these various perspectives through a detailed consideration of interaction, whilst also building upon previous research. As a result, I aim to arrive at a better understanding of how a dialogic perspective can inform pedagogy for the ESOL classroom. Furthermore, I adhere to Bakhtin's interest in dialogue, which Wegerif et al. (2020, p.10) claim is to focus on the illumination brought about by holding different perspectives in tension. Therefore, I do not aim to arrive at a consensus between the different perspectives of those who engaged in this research, but seek to consider them together in order to develop new perspectives and raise further questions.

In Chapters 1 and 2 I present evidence of the silencing or exclusion of multilingual migrant learners in debates relevant to their lives, an issue I look to address to some degree over the course of my research. By doing so I am also drawing upon elements of critical theory, including the work of Habermas, which view the purpose of the production of knowledge not simply to increase understanding, but to bring about democratic and emancipatory change (Usher, 1996, 22). The discussion of pedagogy in my literature review highlights a growing interest in pedagogies relating to democratic citizenship and social justice, work I hope to contribute to (see for example Alexander, 2008 and Ball, 2013a). I have also been considerably influenced by the work of Paulo Freire (1996), who in the critical tradition proposes that emancipatory knowledge is developed through working with the oppressed to unveil regimes of power and plan transformative action. I recognise criticisms of this outlook, such as the difficulty of ensuring that everyone has an equal opportunity to participate in critical discussions on which claims of truth are based (see Blakie, 2007, p.137). In light of these criticisms, I refer once more to my adoption of Bakhtin's view of dialogue, as one which questions the possibility of arriving at consensus, aiming instead for illuminative understandings.

Overall, my research is informed by a constructionist view of reality as it shapes the lives of those who inhabit the ESOL classroom. This includes public debates of migration and citizenship as well as discussions on the value and purpose of education. Throughout the research process I am interested in the experiences of research participants along with their interpretations of events. I view the purpose of this is to arrive at a better understanding of ESOL teaching and learning in order to

inform a pedagogical approach able to address some of the inequalities experienced by migrants and non-native speakers of English. I continue to expand on this initial discussion below as I outline my methodology and research approach in more detail. As stated above I also conclude this chapter with a further summary statement regarding how I will evaluate my research drawing on the literature discussed here.

3:4 Researching education: pedagogy and dialogue

The dominant theoretical position I adopt throughout my thesis is that of dialogicism, drawing on the writing of Mikhael Bakhtin and others who have used his work to frame their own research into pedagogy and classroom discourse. From such a perspective meaning is always negotiated and in the process of becoming, dependent upon context and the individual perspectives of those who engage in interaction (Bakhtin, 1981). I believe this aligns with the constructionist and hermeneutic positions I have outlined above. In this section I therefore demonstrate how these positions inform my research methodology, as I consider how others with a similar outlook, most of whom I refer to in my literature review, have approached researching pedagogy and classroom discourse and outline my own methodology.

Nind, Curtin and Hall (2016) take a sociocultural approach to understanding and researching pedagogy, recognising the need to explore not only official interpretations of pedagogy, but how it is enacted and experienced in the classroom. In this approach individuals are perceived to possess agency and research therefore must seek to consider possible meanings behind actions, recognising that those who enter the classroom do so with their own history and views of the world. Researching and understanding how pedagogy is enacted and experienced is highly complex and requires a dynamic approach as Nind, Curtin and Hall contend (2016, p.183). Calls for the creation of socially just pedagogy by those such as Fielding (2004a) and Ball (2013) add further weight to the argument that a research approach which hopes to capture the complexities of pedagogy must include a consideration of how it is experienced. Fielding (2004b, pp.305-306) promotes the creation of a ‘dialogic model of student voice’ in which students are actively involved in the research process as an ‘educative opportunity’ where the researcher is ‘speaking with rather than speaking for students’. However, Atkins and Duckworth (2019) discuss the difficulties of working collaboratively with learners during the research process, but recognise that this is an

evolving research area, in need of further development, I return to the issue of learner involvement in my discussion of Exploratory Practice. Alexander's (2008) own extensive research is in fact criticised for not including an experiential aspect (Nind, Curtin and Hall, 2017, p.27).

A methodological approach which recognises the role of context in both shaping pedagogy and classroom discourse is regarded as essential in related discussions on researching educational spaces with a sociocultural and dialogical outlook. According to Nind, Curtin and Hall (2016, p.223) this includes a consideration of the broader context as classroom interactions are connected to other places, spaces and times. To arrive at an in-depth understanding as possible researchers need to look beyond the immediate focus of their research, engaging with learners' lives outside and how their experiences are brought into the classroom shaping educational discourse. The relevance of such an approach is further increased when taking into account Kershner et al.'s (2020, p.55) discussion of how knowledge is increasingly viewed as something which is socially constructed rather than individually acquired in a purely cognitive process. Again, resulting in the need to consider the context in which talk and learning take place to inform a meaningful analysis of classroom interaction.

A dialogic research framework values the role of context whilst viewing it as dynamic, as it is constantly in the process of becoming. Requiring, therefore, a similarly dynamic research process to realise and understand its complexities. Nind, Curtin and Hall (2016, p.173) also call for a similar research approach to understand classroom-based decisions, motivations for which may not be explicit. Observations and transcriptions are not enough, but require follow up methods such as interviews and discussions to access thoughts and feelings. Kershner (2020, p.210) accepts that this requires a high level of inference, emphasising also that individual's thoughts and feelings are often 'mixed and changeable'. Furthermore, the aim of a dialogic research framework is not to arrive at some definitive objective truth, but instead a 'polyphonic truth' found in dialogue (Wegerif et al. 2020, p.249). The research process needs to include different voices, encompassing a range of perspectives of classroom life. However, in this dialogic understanding of reality researchers will never completely be either an insider or an outsider as participants in dialogue are always looking both inside and outside simultaneously. Wegerif et al. (2020, p.23) describe this process thus;

> 'I label you and contain you within my universe when I pretend or claim to understand you and if I am dialogically engaged with you, I am also aware that you are doing the same to me.'

Wegerif et al. (2020, p.24) continue to claim that the tension between the insider and outsider perspective is ‘generative of meaning and understanding’, stating that the outside view allows for some form of objectivity and for a comparison to take place, whereas as an insider the researcher can adopt a subjective stance allowing for a level of empathy with those involved in the research. These two views will not combine to form one universal perspective but have the potential to ‘interanimate’ each other, leading to meaning which is ‘situated and partial’ whilst also ‘aspiring to be of more general relevance’ (Wegerif et al. 2020, pp. 24-26).

There are also more practical considerations involved when undertaking insider research, popular within the field of education. Atkins and Wallace (2012) name a number of different reasons for this popularity including the ease of access for postgraduate researchers who work as teachers in institutions being researched along with the insights and understandings which come from being a member of the community at the research site. They also cite a range of challenges and issues, similar to those outlined in the section below regarding classroom observations. Some of these include the impossibility of being impartial, competing loyalties and ethical questions around participation. Although Atkins and Wallace, (2012, p. 54) also point out that as education involves working with people it will always be subjective to some extent, insider research does heighten problems surrounding this. I therefore discuss issues relating to bias and power dynamics in the sections on ethics and reflexivity below.

In conclusion my main concern throughout my research is to engage with a range of voices involved in the process of ESOL teaching and learning. I aim to gather data from the research context, some of it first hand and the rest from encouraging others to reflect and talk about their experiences. This is why I have chosen to frame my research around a case study approach and as I am looking to take some form of transformative action I also apply elements of Action and Exploratory Research. I now consider both of these in further detail reflecting on their strengths and weaknesses.

3.5 Action Research and Exploratory Practice

My research has been influenced and shaped by Exploratory Practice, an emerging research methodology developed in the early 1990s by Dick Allwright along with teacher educators in Rio de Janeiro (Hanks, 2017a, p.2). At the heart of this methodology is the integration of language teaching and learning with research in the belief that teachers and learners are best placed to research and report on their experience. As Hanks (2017a, p.3) states Exploratory Practice has some similarities with Action Research and reflective practice, whilst also possessing 'distinct' differences as it seeks to 'go beyond' both of these approaches. I have chosen to follow the principles of Exploratory Practice as I believe it aligns best with the theoretical stance I have taken regarding language use and language learning, outlined in my literature review. I consider these principles in detail below, but begin with a discussion of the tradition of Action Research, highly popular in the field of education. In this section I examine the important development of practitioner research and the principles which have informed Exploratory Practice. I then highlight criticisms and limitations of this approach before explaining how Exploratory Practice has sought to address these issues.

3.5.1 Action Research

It can be argued that Action Research takes both a hermeneutic and critical theory approach as according to Burns (2005, p.488) it is concerned with 'creating meaning and understanding in social situations' with the aim of making improvements. At the heart of Action Research is the belief that meaning and understanding cannot be separated from the context in which the action takes place along with those who inhabit such spaces. Action Research and case studies have this outlook in common and Koshy (2005, p.106-107) notes how case studies are an appropriate way to disseminate Action Research, as they are both 'strong in reality'. It is also 'explicitly interventionist' and practice-based, undertaken by researchers who are aware of the local issues and concerns needed to be addressed (Burns, 2005, p.60). The role of teachers as generators of knowledge and researchers is another central principle of this methodology, a point discussed throughout the relevant literature. For example, Burns (2005, p.57) argues that the 'modern seeds' of Action Research can be found in the work of Dewey and the belief that action and theory should not be separated. Whilst Koshy (2005, p.3) refers to the work of Stenhouse and curriculum development

in the search for ‘emancipation, and intellectual, moral and spiritual autonomy’, encouraging experimentation and reconceptualization in the teaching profession. In work on the current practise of Action Research McNiff and Whitehead (2005) similarly stress the importance of teachers being actively engaged in theory and the advancement of educational knowledge, not solely as practitioners whose work is best researched and theorised by others.

Cooke and Roberts (2007b) as part of the NRDC Effective Practice research project produced a guide to undertaking Action Research in the ESOL classroom. In this guide they highlighted four stages of the Action Research cycle, which is repeated across much of the literature (see for example Burns, 2005 and Koshy, 2005). The first stage of Action Research often involves the teacher/researcher reflecting on a problem or puzzle they have encountered in their practise. They then plan a way of changing their practise to bring about an improvement, which they act upon in the next stage, collecting data and modifying their action if and when appropriate. Finally, there is a period of analysis and reflection where the teacher/researcher can reflect on further issues and begin the process again (Cooke and Roberts, 2007b, p5). This cyclical process is not meant to be followed rigidly, but one in which the researcher needs to be ‘open and responsive’ (Koshy, 2005, p.5).

A main concern in the literature is the rigour with which the research process is undertaken. The phrase ‘recoverability’ is used by both Burns (2005) and Checkland and Howell (1998) to assess the potential quality of Action Research. For Burns (2005, p. 67) recoverability involves the researcher telling a 'plausible' research story in detail, allowing others to recover the process and draw their own conclusions regarding the quality. Checkland and Howell (1998, p.18) argue that to successfully meet the recoverability criterion researchers need to go beyond plausibility and include thought processes and models used to interpret data and draw conclusion so they can be subjected to critical scrutiny by others. As my research has been undertaken as part of a PhD thesis I have had to make my ontological and epistemological positions clear, as well as grounding my work in an established peer reviewed literature. I therefore believe that this combined with the detail I provide about my research process in this chapter and the following three chapters allows for a significant level of recoverability.

There are other issues regarding Action Research, which explain why I have chosen to adopt elements of Exploratory Practice into my methodology. For example, Burns (2005, p.63) considers some of these to include how Action Research has come to be seen as a form of professional development moving away from issues of curriculum and pedagogy and as a consequence she states, 'teachers can become co-opted into the very institutional norms that AR might seek to critique'. I continue to discuss and reflect on some of these issues in my discussion of Exploratory Practice which now follows.

3.5.2 Exploratory Practice

As I have stated above Exploratory Practice is a recently developed methodological approach to researching the language classroom. Consequently, its founding principles and their development are relatively easy to track. I believe these principles are worthy of consideration as they highlight points of difference from other practitioner-based research methodologies, such as Action Research. Furthermore, as Exploratory Practice does not involve a highly structured approach an extended discussion of these key principles is necessary in order to understand the research process.

Hanks (2017a, p.88) provides an overview of the evolution of Exploratory Practice, breaking it down into 3 stages. In stage 1 (1991-1997) the defining characteristics of exploratory theory were developed, next stage 2 (1997-2003) saw the integration of pedagogy and research with stage 3 (2003-2017) focusing on quality of life. During these stages there was a consistent call for the boundaries between the classroom and the outside world to be broken down as it was put forward that the purpose of language education and research was to understand and address real life issues. This point is illustrated in a 2003 paper by Allwright where he makes clear the need to advance pedagogical practices concerned with developing understandings of the social world. Allwright (2003, pp.114-117) describes the broadening of a classroom focus as ‘thinking globally, acting locally’ in contrast to an ‘asocial’ focus on teaching techniques, looking to improve ‘efficiency’ in the classroom. In order to achieve this Allwright (2003) developed a set of ‘fundamental principles’. I have included a list of these principles below, but would like to reiterate Hanks’ (2017a, p.227) proposition that they are better viewed as an interconnected network of principles, with quality of

life at the centre, rather than a check list. I proceed to discuss these principles thematically including a discussion on the importance of quality of life, the quest for understanding, the need to work collaboratively and pedagogy as research.

Exploratory Practice as a set of principles
1. Quality of life first. 2. Work for understanding classroom life. 3. Long-lasting profound change, beyond the technical. 4. Involve everyone. 5. Work for mutual development. 6. Research not to interrupt classroom practice. 7. Understanding as a continual exercise.
Allwright, 2003, pp.128-130.

Table 1

A concern with 'quality of life' is a central theme in most of the literature on Exploratory Practice. Gieve and Miller (2006) have given this central principle a significant amount of consideration, highlighting the questions and possible contradictions that such a focus may lead to. For example, they consider whose understanding of quality does 'quality of life' refer to. They are very clear that it does not simply refer to success in educational terms, but that it is concerned with broader issues developed from local understandings (Gieve and Miller, 2006, p.23). They also stress the interdependence of participants' classroom and personal life, stating that one does not begin where the other ends, individuals are more than teachers and learners in the classroom. Hanks (2017a, p.101) also calls for the end of the dichotomy of 'work life balance', and for Allwright (2003, p.120) 'work is a part of life' not separate. In Exploratory Practice the classroom is to be viewed as a social space consisting of different relationships that can be better understood through an illumination of 'the relationship between linguistic interaction and life' drawing on the work of Bakhtin (Gieve and Miller, 2006, pp.28-29). Hanks (2017a, p.101) describes this as 'dialogic interactions with their worlds', learning is therefore not simply a cognitive process, but a social one as well centred on meaningful dialogic exchanges. Consequently, the principle of 'quality of life' is to be understood in its broadest sense; it does not exclusively refer to educational goals or individual concerns.

Allwright (2003, p.131) proposes that a quality of life is to be achieved through understanding. Both Allwright and Hanks (2009, p.144) stress the need for

understanding in contrast to the endless quest to improve performativity and efficiency. Hanks (2017a, p.243-244) describes this as moving from problem-solving, a central tenet of Action Research, to puzzling; from asking how questions to why questions. This broader 'puzzling' seeks to connect the classroom to the outside world, promoting 'local understandings' and recognising the complexity of everyday lives (Allwright and Hanks, 2009, p.149). It also reflects the concerns of those such as Blommaert and Rampton (2011) regarding life in superdiverse multilingual spaces. In fact Hanks (2017a, p.283) expresses the importance of engaging 'multiple voices and cultures' in multilingual spaces like the modern day language classroom which in turn have become a 'small' culture. Those who practice language learning in these spaces need to work together to achieve understanding, it cannot simply be the role of the teacher/researcher. I would also argue that with its emphasis on engaging multiple voices, along with a strong belief in collegiality discussed below, the principles of working for understanding and a concern with quality of life align Exploratory Practice with some aspects of critical theory. Although Hanks (2017a, p.104) claims that Exploratory Practice is not as political as the work of Freire. Near the end of her book on Exploratory Practice Hanks (2017a, p.314) declares that the principle aim of Exploratory Practice is to develop human understanding of the world, similar in nature to the interpretivist and hermeneutic stance outlined above as well as a dialogic outlook.

In Exploratory Practice developing for understanding is a collaborative process, with teachers and learners working together, both of them being practitioners of learning and consequently co-researchers (Hanks, 2017a, p.100). In this process teachers and learners are 'elevated', no longer objects or subjects of research but the main actors. Gieve and Miller (2006) emphasise the importance of active participation in providing a 'richness' to the understanding arrived at through Exploratory Practice. It is particularly important in a multicultural and multilingual language classroom to actively engage multiple voices. The potential benefits of adopting this approach include increasing the agency of those involved in the research as they too can be heard in discussions on educational issues which directly impact their lives. Also, the development of research skills has the potential to increase an individual's cultural capital positively impacting on their lives outside the classroom, working towards improving quality of life. According to Hanks (2017a, p.226) for Exploratory Practice to

be successful there needs to be a considerable amount of trust between all participants. Learners need to trust that teacher/researchers will take them seriously and teachers need to trust learners' ability to research and reflect upon their own learning (Hanks 2017a, p.262).

One way in which trust is developed is through research becoming part of the learning process, instead of taking time away from it. Hanks (2017a) promotes the use of everyday pedagogical activities to investigate issues around language learning. Consequently, learners will continue their language learning, but I would also contend acquire high value investigative skills as they reflect on puzzles related to their learning. Gieve and Miller (2006, p.34) argue that with this approach a sustainable culture of enquiry can be established within the classroom, limiting the burden placed on teachers and learners to complete the research process. Hanks (2017a) illustrates the success of Exploratory Practice when discussing how it has now become part of the language learning curriculum in some institutions. Further claims include challenging traditional ideas of research and pedagogy by not seeing them as completely separate concerns, but reuniting them to improve teachers' and learners' quality of life along with arriving at a deeper understanding of the language learning process. This research methodology therefore has clear links to wider pedagogical literature and the need to broaden the scope of pedagogical concerns.

I believe my discussion regarding Exploratory Practice and its key principles illustrates why I consider it to be an appropriate methodology for my research. Its emphasis on understanding aligns with my epistemological position regarding a form of hermeneutic understanding. Also, the influence of Bakhtin's concept of dialogue, which lies at the centre of this thesis, is present in literature to Exploratory Practice. Furthermore, similar to one of the stated aims and main motivations for my research it recognises that educational practice and research should not solely focus on what happens in the classroom, but must also connect to the world outside, aiming to improve quality of life. There is although a problem with this aim, such as how it is to be measured and by whom. I believe I will not be able to adequately answer this question as sustainable improvements may take time to emerge and also would need to be qualified by others. I however intend that my work will add to ongoing discussions

and shed new light on certain issues and raise new questions to help others continue this work and improve both classroom life and learners' lives outside.

A further related and significant issue I wish to discuss are the difficulties of learners becoming active research participants. In any classroom-based research this would be a considerable issue due to long established regimes of power and traditional beliefs regarding the roles of teachers and learners. I believe this has been further complicated by the fact that I am undertaking this research as part of a PhD, which comes with its own demands and expectations. For example, the choice of the research focus was mine alone, although I discuss below how this changed after initially engaging with learners and teachers. Furthermore, for practical reasons such as time constraints, meeting deadlines, problems arising due to the COVID-19 pandemic along with complying with institutional and funding demands, additional constraints were placed on how active learners were able to be in this project. I return to this subject at the end of my thesis when I assess my research in my final chapter using Exploratory Practice principles as part of an evaluative framework.

3.6 Case Study

I decided to undertake and present my research as a case study, the reasons for which I outline below. Before doing so I first state what I consider a case study to be in recognition of Hamilton, Corbett-Whittier and Fowler (2012, p.10) highlighting that amongst relevant literature it is possible to find case study being presented as 'a method, methodology or research design'. For Van Wynsberghe and Khan (2007, p.81) case study is neither a methodology as it provides no theory relating to the research process nor a method due to the lack of prescription regarding data collection. They consider it instead as a heuristic device suitable for use across paradigms and disciplines. Elliot and Lukeš (2008) discuss case study as a research genre with its own conventions and morphology as well as a 'mode of reasoning'. Employing case-focused reasoning, they contend, does not depend upon undertaking a case study, but takes 'a form of deliberative reasoning (phronesis) about a situation in which there is a political imperative to act' (Elliot and Lukeš, 2008, p.101). Their call for deliberative reasoning and action relates to a concern with research and policymaking in education, the valuing of 'situated judgements' and the potential for these to inform practice, policy and research. I therefore present my research as a

case study recognising it as a genre of research, open to different methodologies and methods, where I am able to arrive at situated judgements which can lead to action.

One of the main reasons for undertaking a case study, as outlined above, is that the issue being researched is viewed in context and as a result can be considered amongst all its complexity (Stake, 1995, Day Ashley, 2017), one of the reasons it is promoted for use in Exploratory Practice by Hanks (2017b, p.41). Flyvbjerg (2004, pp. 391-392) considers the nuances which come with 'context dependent knowledge' drawn from a case study as necessary to advance our learning and understanding of a subject as we view it in reality. As discussed in Chapters 1 and 2 the contexts in which ESOL learners live and learn are both diverse or superdiverse and complex and in need of further in-depth research. A case study I argue, enables researchers and practitioners to arrive at better understandings of learning contexts in order to inform dialogic approaches. The potential for contextual detail and knowledge to emerge out of a case study is therefore, I believe, of great value to my research. Furthermore, there is a history of case study research in education with Stenhouse (1985) arguing that it forms part of an illuminative research tradition, aligning with the stated aims of my research above in 3.3.

There are different types of case study discussed in the literature, the type I consider this case study to represent is that of an instrumental case study. Over the course of an instrumental case study a researcher studies the case with a particular issue in mind, acting as a focus for the research (Hamilton, Corbett-Whittier and Fowler, 2012 and Stake, 1995). In my research the case under consideration is a number of ESOL classes from 2018 to 2021 delivered by an adult education provider in London in which three separate interventions took place led by myself as the teacher.[10] My original focus was to some extent etic in nature, even though I arrived at it partially based upon my experiences at the case study site. However, as Stake (1995, p.20) considers this approach 'may not fit the circumstances well and need repair', and as a result emic issues emerge belonging to those who inhabit the case. As stated in 3.2 my research focus evolved as I began to consider the issue of translanguaging focusing on the use

[10] A more detailed analysis of the local context is provided in Chapter 1. I also provide class and focus group specific information at the start of each relevant findings chapter.

of other languages to be part of a larger issue relating to dialogue and the development of learner voices. I arrived at this renewed focus after undertaking a pilot study, a focus group and the first intervention, whilst also broadening the literature I reviewed to include dialogic pedagogies. Through this process I engaged with other perspectives, including those from the case study site, helping to refine the issue under consideration. Similarly, Van Wynsberghe and Khan's (2007, p.87) concept of case study calls for the delineation of the case 'from the unit of analysis', clarifying the focus of research as it progresses. This I believe can be evidenced through the reading of my findings chapters, with Chapter 5 being a key turning point as I become aware of the potential for dialogic pedagogical approaches to encourage an opening up of classroom discourse allowing for acts of learner self-formation to take place.

A focus on context and complexity, including the particularities of a case, have so far been discussed in a positive light, but can also be viewed as problematic especially when considering the ability to make generalisations based on such research. According to Elliot and Lukeš (2008), generalisability was a particular concern for Stenhouse who argued for the necessity of keeping case records, allowing for cross case analysis and the accumulation of knowledge, seeing the value of single cases as problematic. Elliot and Lukeš (2008, p.91) provide an alternative view of the process of generalisation, arguing that researchers, policy makers and teachers in fact need to 'disacculmulate knowledge' presented to them so they can apply it 'to their particular problem'. They also utilise of Gadamer's 'fusion of horizons', discussed above, to suggest that the evaluation of a case study could depend on its ability to challenge the reader, opening their mind to new possibilities. I find this notion similar to one of Van Wynsberghe and Khan's (2007, p.84) features of a prototype case study, that of 'extendability'. In this feature readers of a case study can have their understanding of a particular phenomenon transformed or find that what they are reading resonates with their own experiences. To some extent from these perspectives the reader will then decide how generalisable the research is rather than the researcher.

Despite this there are expectations and conventions regarding case study research, enabling judgements to be made about how valid it is and the rigour with which it has been conducted. These include making clear the parameters and context of the research along with well-defined research questions (Atkins and Wallace, p.112). Over

the course of the research data should be collected from multiple sources, using different data collection methods and an opportunity provided for those involved to review findings. Stake (1995) believes that these methods of triangulation are not simply about confirming initial findings, but also include searching for alternative interpretations or contradictions in what has been observed. Consequently, despite a number of issues surrounding the evaluation of case study research there appears to be some indicators regarding its quality. I believe I have met these expectations as participants in my research were drawn from three separate groups of ESOL learners and a number of different tutors from the case study site. I used a range of methods for collecting data including classroom observations, the recording and transcribing of classroom talk as well as two focus groups. Furthermore, I have discussed and outlined my research process in this chapter and continue to provide further relevant detailed information in the following findings chapters. I return to these discussions on generalisation and validity at the end of my thesis, using them to guide an overall evolution of my work.

3.7 Classroom observations

I undertook classroom observations with groups of learners over the course of my research and information regarding dates, timings and participants can be found in sections 4.5, 5.3 and 6.5. As my research centres on a specific approach to teaching and learning it seemed essential that I should collect live data from the classroom. Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2018, p.542) and Denscombe (2003, p.202) appreciate the first hand and holistic nature of data derived from observations which can include reports of interactions, relationships and non-verbal actions. Observations, Denscombe (2003, p.192) highlights, mean researchers do not have to solely rely on reports of what participants say they do, although this does not mean that they are problem free as the very fact that there is an observer present can change participants behaviour. Also, what is reported is seen through the eyes of the observer who is unable to observe and report everything which occurs.

There are different types of observations from highly structured to unstructured as well as those involving different levels of participation by the observer. Structured observations are planned with an observation schedule for the recording of specific expected actions, whereas in unstructured observations the researcher has no

'specific data collection goal in mind' (Lankshear and Knobel, 2004, p.222). According to this the observations I completed could be best labelled as semi-structured, as I arrived in the classroom with a set of pre-defined research questions and some ideas of what I was looking for. However, as stated above it was partly due to my initial observations that my research questions evolved and the focus of my research changed.

A further choice to be made by an observer concerns their level of participation in the research setting. Participant observation as Atkins and Wallace (2012, p. 158) note is a key ethnographic research strategy frequently referred to in educational research literature. Lukeš and Elliot (2008, p.94) report Stenhouse's concern about the use of ethnographic methods in educational settings. One of the main reasons being that these are settings in which the majority of researchers and readers already have insights into and are consequently able to assign meanings, unlike in traditional ethnographic research. However, guidelines provided stress the need for observers to be as descriptive as possible, trying to limit the number of inferences they make as well as being aware of their own biases and standpoints through reflexivity, an aspect of my research I discuss below (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2018, Lankshear and Knobel, 2004, and Denscombe, 2003).

My observations were undertaken whilst I was teaching the classes involved meaning, according to Lankshear and Knobel (2004, p.245), I had an 'insider perspective' as a full participant. I agree with this statement to a certain extent and recognise that as the teacher of these classes, who had known some of the students for a number of years, I had already established a rapport with them and had considerable knowledge of the setting. Despite this I cannot claim to have a full insider perspective as my view of the classroom was and is structured by my role as a teacher, not as a learner. Attempts to note down as much detail as possible, including descriptions of learners' actions and things they said over the course of lesson cannot completely overcome the limitations presented by my particular perspective. Teaching the classes I observed also meant it was difficult for me to write down any in-depth field notes. Instead, I followed Atkins and Wallace's (2012, p. 156) advice and wrote down very basic notes over the course of the lesson and expanded on these as soon as possible after the lesson had ended. I also photographed or collected materials used during the session

to help prompt my recollections. The format of my observations included the date, the number of learners, a brief statement concerning the context, ideas and aims of the session and then my observation notes structured around the different stages I had planned. A sample of these can be viewed in Appendices D, G and L.

As I decided to focus on dialogue I realised I needed to audio-record classroom talk during my observations. This was not possible during my first intervention, reported in Chapter 4, as one of the learns declined to be audio-recorded making recording other members of the class whilst excluding this learner impossible. I was also not able to record for most of the second intervention due to the class moving online because of the COVID-19 pandemic. I continued to make observations but chose not to record these online sessions for two main reasons. One being it would have been a video recording which I was reluctant to undertake and was not certain learners would have agreed to it especially as it would have recorded them in their own homes. Furthermore, the nature of discourse would have been significantly different to that occurring in a face-to-face situation in the classroom, which I wanted to focus on and has once more become the norm in my own setting. The outcome of this is that I only have one recording from this intervention. However, this recording dominates my findings in Chapter 5 as I came to view it as a significant event during my analysis of it and consequently consider it to be 'critical incident'. Cohen, Manion and Morrison (201, p.551) describe a critical incident as an event which can 'typify or illuminate very starkly a particular feature'. As I discuss in greater detail in the relevant chapter I believe that this discussion clearly captured the potential for space to be opened up in the ESOL classroom where learners engaged in illuminative dialogue, generated new knowledge and took part in acts of self-formation. I was also able to audio-record and observe learners in my final intervention in Chapter 6.

3.8 Focus Groups

To engage with a range of perspectives relating to multilingualism and dialogue in the ESOL classroom I conducted two focus groups at different stages, reflecting the evolving nature of my research focus. By doing so I aimed to broaden my understanding of these two issues whilst increasing the scope of my work. Both Morgan (1997, p.15) and Wilkinson (2004, p.180) highlight the practical benefits of focus groups stating that they provide an opportunity to collect data from multiple

participants in a considerably shorter amount of time when compared to individual interviews. Morgan (1997) also places value on the interactive nature of focus groups as participants compare and contrast different experiences and perspectives, which at times can lead to observable moments of either agreement or divergence. Similarly, Wilkinson (2004, p.180) considers how the process of participants reacting to each other often results in 'the production of more elaborated accounts than are generated in individual interviews'. There is a recognition that data drawn from focus groups will therefore be different from that collected during individual interviews. Gibbs (2017, pp.191-193) emphasises that for focus groups 'the unit of analysis is a collective perspective' formed through interaction. This is perhaps why she acknowledges the importance of understanding each individual focus group in its own context, including the location and the participants. In 4.2 and 6.2 I provide contextual information and reflect on how this may have impacted on the data collected in these sections and during analysis of the data in the findings which follow. Overall, the valuing of interaction and the potential for this to lead to new insights on the issue being discussed reflects and aligns with the dialogical focus of my thesis, one which has informed its methodological outlook.

I acted as moderator during both focus groups which were audio-recorded after teachers gave their informed consent. I followed the guidance provided in the relevant literature (see for example Krueger, 1998 and Krueger and Casey, 2014), whilst remaining open to the unexpected. This included drafting questions, encouraging quieter participants to contribute and offering summaries of what appeared to be important points to check I had understood what had been said as best as possible. I also presented an opportunity for the teachers involved to read my emerging findings after the discussion focus group, which was taken up by one participant. The fact that all participants, apart from one, had been working in the same department for at least one or two years, meant that they were already familiar with each other and there was an established group dynamic. This I realise will have impacted on the data collected in both positive and negative ways, but ultimately I believe contributed to the broadening of my perspective in relation to the issues I focused on at this case study site.

3.9 Transcription

Discussion of dialogic pedagogy in my literature review emphasised the central role of spoken interaction in creating a dialogic environment. To understand its role and significance requires a detailed analysis, which is why those such as Skidmore and Murakami (2016a) promote the use of Conversation Analysis (CA) to highlight its intricacies and nuances. I therefore chose to use a simplified form of CA to transcribe recorded classroom conversations and two focus groups. Hepburn and Bolden (2017), like Skidmore and Murakami (2016a), value the potential for CA to capture some of the nuance of spoken interaction, recognising that the manner in which something is communicated has the potential to impact on meaning. However, CA is a highly detailed approach requiring extensive training and practise. Although I used a similar transcription method in my Master's dissertation, I am aware that I am still at the early stages of a research career and do not have the necessary expertise to fully employ this method. As a result, I have chosen to utilise a simplified version of CA analysis. I use some of the key features outlined in Hepburn and Bolden (2017) based on the Jeffersonian approach and present a key to my transcriptions below.

[	overlapping talk
=	latching
.	falling intonation
?	rising intonation
,	slight rise in intonation
(xxxxx)	unclear talk
(.)	short pause
_____	emphasised word or phrase

Table 2. Transcription key based on Hepburn and Bolden (2017).

As CA recognises that transcription is an interpretation of the spoken interaction which occurred it is viewed as a form of analysis. I also use other methods of data analysis to interpret and present my findings. These different methods and the reasoning for their use are discussed before a presentation of the data in each of the following three findings chapters.

3.10 Research Ethics

My ethical approach has been informed by BERA (2018) ethical guidelines, research related literature such as Duckworth and Atkins (2019) and examples from other ESOL research projects, most notably Simpson et al. (2011). Furthermore, I have found Guillemin and Gillam's (2004) development of the concepts of procedural ethics and ethics in practice to be helpful in realising that a consideration of ethics does not end with gaining informed consent from participants, but is an ongoing process.

Many of the participants in my research are adult migrant language learners whose first language is not English, a factor which requires extra consideration. Bernstein's (2019, p.128) research took place in a pre-school with new English language learners used where she translated permission forms which were read aloud in 'everyday language' in order for participants to give informed consent if they wished to do so. In my context English was the only language I was able to use and the main language used by participants in the classrooms and focus groups. Therefore, to gain informed consent I employed an approach similar to that of Simpson et al. (2011) and read aloud the consent form written in as accessible a language as possible. I also took an additional step by presenting my research to learners in a simplified format utilising language learners could understand as well as providing them with an information sheet using the template provided by the University of Sunderland. Duckworth and Atkins (2019, p.125) took a similar approach when working with learners who had lower levels of literacy and promote the use of a verbal presentation when seeking informed consent. The learners involved in my study were also given at least one week to consider whether they wanted to take part. During this time, they were able to discuss it with each other, sometimes in other languages, take the information home to talk about it with families or friends as well as the opportunity to ask further questions. The learners in the first two interventions also had high levels of English, whereas the group of learners from the third intervention had lower levels. However, I still believe that I was able to gain informed consent from them, as the research situation was slightly less complex in their case, a point expanded on below.

BERA (2018, p.13) highlight issues which may arise when a researcher has dual roles, as is common in practitioner research. There was indeed some tension in the first two interventions as the research was planned to take place during timetabled classes. In

these cases I believe it was important that learners had a higher level of English and were better able to express concerns around what would happen if they did not consent. Despite, clearly stating both verbally and on written documents they took home that there would be no negative repercussions if they did not wish to participate, I still consider this a tension present in most practitioner-based research. However, as the BERA (2018, p.20) guidelines state 'the rights of individuals should be balanced against any potential social benefits of the research', a point especially relevant to ESOL which is under researched. The third group of learner participants whose English was lower were recruited to attend an additional session which was optional as it was not part of their course.

I sought to further address my ethical concerns by adopting Guillemin and Gillam's (2004) suggestion of viewing ethics as an ongoing issue throughout my research. Bernstein (2019, p.131) used Bakhtin's concept of answerability to extend this further, arguing that we are always answerable to someone, even if its our own moral code. There were several instances where I had to make ethical decisions over the course of my practice. For example, in 5.6 I discuss how a learner shifted the focus of the lesson due to her need for support in completing the Census, this took time away from the research focus, but I would argue it was ethically necessary to do so as ESOL classes are often the only place learners can find support in such matters. Chapter 5 is also dominated by what may be considered a highly personal story about a difficult experience, which was audio-recorded and transcribed. Some weeks after she had provided this narrative I checked again that the learner was happy for me to use what she had disclosed in my research. Furthermore, not all of the lesson or lessons were audio-recorded, as a consequence I clearly informed learners when recording devices were being switched off and on, so there were times in the lessons where they could express themselves without being recorded.

During the consent process I also informed learners of potential for them to be exposed to harm over the course of the research. For my study, I considered the main risk to be the possibility of participants being identifiable. I have taken measures to counter this as far as possible, this includes withholding the name of the specific area of London in which the research takes place as well as the name of the institution. Learners in the second intervention have been anonymised following Atkins and

Wallace's (2012, p.158) advice, providing them with 'gender and ethnicity appropriate pseudonyms'. However, learners in the first and third intervention, as well as the teachers involved in both focus groups, have not been given assigned pseudonyms as to provide them with gender or ethnicity appropriate pseudonyms would make them easily identifiable by those within the institution, therefore these participants have been assigned numbers. Learners in the second group were all of the same gender and ethnic background and it would be much harder for them to be identifiable.

Finally, there are two broader areas to be considered with regards to ethical research. The first being,

> 'All educational researchers should aim to protect the integrity and reputation and reputation of educational research by ensuring that they conduct their research to the highest standards'
> (BERA, 2018, p.29)

As I hope to have demonstrated I have grounded my research in relevant literature, clearly stating its aims and the process by which it was undertaken. As a result, I have developed my research with reference to academics already established in the field of educational and linguistic research and have provided sufficient information for others to form their own judgements about the quality of my research. By undertaking a form of Exploratory Practice I am also bound to its key principle of improving quality of life. This is more difficult to evaluate and as stated above is an issue I shall return to in my final evaluation.

Overall, it was essential that my ethical approach to working with ESOL learners was a continual process. This was due to the vulnerability of the learners because of issues with language as well as local and national power dynamics relating to their positions as learners and migrants, discussed further in the section on reflexivity below. I had to go beyond standard protocols for gaining their informed consent and then continually review the research process and the data collected with regards to the potential to cause learners harm, recognising the challenges ESOL learners face on a daily basis and the sensitive nature of some of the experiences they disclosed. This was the case in the retelling of a difficult narrative which is the focus of Chapter 5 and briefly discussed above. In this instance I did not wait to see if the learner expressed any concerns, but pro-actively asked for her verbal consent once more a few weeks after

the event. I consider that such an approach should be the norm when working with ESOL learners and it is in line with the main focus of this thesis to develop learners' voices. Tutors and researchers should actively seek out opportunities for learners' concerns to be heard through asking questions and providing learners with time to reflect on what takes place and their involvement, emphasising that their thoughts and feelings regarding the research process are of importance. This should not however, act as a deterrent for those who wish to undertake research with learners as I believe some of the most powerful moments in this thesis are those in which the voices of leaners can clearly be heard. Researching with ESOL leaners, positioning them as active participants rather than as research objects as promoted in Exploratory Practice, demands extra and ongoing consideration but can lead to meaningful outcomes and truer reflections of classroom life in all its complexity, as I hope to have achieved. As highlighted in Chapters 1 and 2 too often ESOL learners are the objects of powerful discourses and policy interventions, research can perhaps begin to address this in some way through a well thought through ethical process.

3.11 Reflexivity

As with the above section on ethics I have found the work of Guillemin and Gillam (2004) extremely helpful in arriving at a broader understanding of reflexivity as well as being relevant to research which has an improvement in quality of life as a guiding principle. Firstly, reflexivity looks to ensure a certain amount of rigour and validity to the research process, recognising as Denscombe (2003, p.300) states the 'inevitability' that the understandings we arrive at are shaped by 'our experience as social beings and the legacy of the values, norms and concepts we have assimilated during out lifetime'. Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2000, p.141) also consider reflexivity to include a recognition that participants will 'behave in particular ways in their presence'. In the introductory sections of my findings chapters as well as at various points during my data analysis I highlight specific aspects of my identity and behaviour or that of others which I feel could have had an effect on the data. Although I realise, especially due to the dialogic standpoint I have adopted, all elements of my research reflect my own unique perspective of the world. As a teacher/researcher I enter the classroom with a certain privileged position, as indicated in my discussion of the interaction order in 2.8. Furthermore, the fact that I am a white native English

speaker also limits my ability to fully understand the perspectives of a diverse group of people whose first language is not English.

Reflexivity, according to Guillemin and Gillam (2004, p.275) should also have an ethical dimension concerned with the interests of participants and the research context, including the ultimate purpose of the research. I argue that these issues have been addressed to a certain degree by my adoption of Exploratory Practice as part of my research methodology, as well as some of the steps I have taken and outlined above. Furthermore, as previously stated Exploratory Practice looks to minimise the potential disruption to learning through research being integrated into the learning process, as well as a central concern with quality of life (Hanks, 2017a). Despite this, I have to accept there are limitations as to how far I have been able to achieve this, particularly as perhaps the main purpose of conducting and reporting this research has been to fulfil the requirements of an academic qualification. However, I believe that there is an ethical dimension to this research, as I work with others who inhabit the ESOL classroom to inform a pedagogical approach which values the voices of learners.

3.12 Conclusion

In this section I have set out my methodological approach based on a constructionist ontology and an interpretivist and hermeneutic epistemology. My adopted outlook is based on my recognition of the dynamic relationship between pedagogy, society and culture, a position adopted by others in my field such as Nind, Curtin and Hall (2016). Acknowledging the role of both the wider and immediate context in shaping pedagogy and classroom discourse has led me to situate my research within a case study where I am able to engage with the perspectives of others at the research site. I appreciate that I am both an insider and outsider in this context, holding certain privileged positions as a teacher, which limit my insight into the perspectives of others. Even as a teacher my understanding is still partially limited by my own unique identity. I attempt to counter this through reflexively engaging with the data and my interpretations of it.
There is an additional ethical dimension to my work as I attempt to take some form of positive action within my research setting. In Chapter 1 I highlighted problems relating to the negative positioning of migrant language learners in national discourses along with the overly functional approach to teaching ESOL promoted from a policy

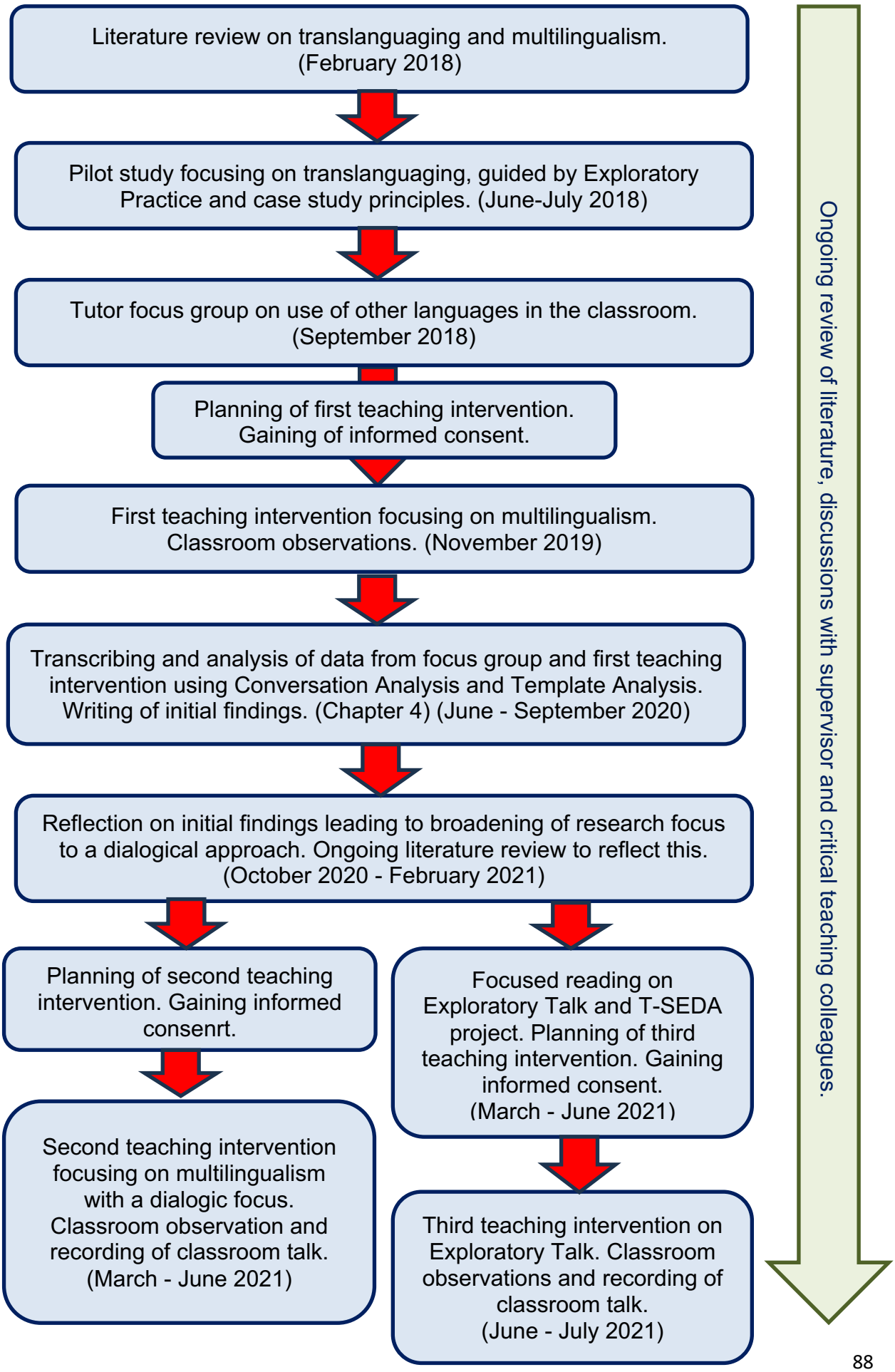
perspective. In Chapter 2 I explored this issue and possible responses in greater detail arriving at a set of research questions related to developing dialogic pedagogy. I have outlined how undertaking a form of Exploratory Practice with ESOL learners has the potential to explore this issue working with learners to arrive at a deeper form of understanding of classroom dialogue.

Finally, I now draw upon literature discussed in this chapter to form a framework to aid the evaluation of my research once it is completed. Regarding questions of validity, I refer back to Burns (2005, p.67) and the notions of recoverability and the importance of others finding the research plausible. I, therefore, record and present a detailed account of my research process and the data collected to allow for this. Furthermore, I also hope this will permit a degree of extendibility regarding my case study, as outlined by Van Wynsberghe and Khan (2007, p.84), where others can reflect on the implications of my research for their specific settings.

To add further validity I collect data from a number of sources using different methods as a from triangulation, not necessarily to confirm the findings of one set of data, but as Stake (1995) promotes to open up my data to alternative interpretations. Additionally, as my research seeks to address the issue of learner voice and increase learner participation in the classroom and the world in general I feel I must also evaluate my attempts to achieve this. As stated above making these type of evaluations are not without problems, but I believe by turning to the relevant literature I have found possible ways to undertake some judgements regarding this aspect of my research. Firstly, Hanks (2017a) argues that in Exploratory Practice learners should become co-researchers. Nind, Curtin and Hall (2016, p.27) also criticise Alexander's research for the lacking the presence of learners' voices. Therefore, I will take these two factors into account in my final evaluation by asking the questions, how involved were learners in the research process and can their voices be heard in my research.

3.13 Research Overview

Below I present a brief overview of the research process highlighting its iterative nature and emergent focus. Further information is presented before each of the findings chapters regarding participants and the length and nature of interventions.


Literature review on translanguaging and multilingualism. (February 2018)
Pilot study focusing on translanguaging, guided by Exploratory Practice and case study principles. (June-July 2018)
Tutor focus group on use of other languages in the classroom. (September 2018)
Planning of first teaching intervention. Gaining of informed consent.
First teaching intervention focusing on multilingualism. Classroom observations. (November 2019)
Transcribing and analysis of data from focus group and first teaching intervention using Conversation Analysis and Template Analysis. Writing of initial findings. (Chapter 4) (June - September 2020)
Reflection on initial findings leading to broadening of research focus to a dialogical approach. Ongoing literature review to reflect this. (October 2020 - February 2021)
Planning of second teaching intervention. Gaining informed consenrt.
Second teaching intervention focusing on multilingualism with a dialogic focus. Classroom observation and recording of classroom talk. (March - June 2021)
Focused reading on Exploratory Talk and T-SEDA project. Planning of third teaching intervention. Gaining informed consent. (March - June 2021)
Third teaching intervention on Exploratory Talk. Classroom observations and recording of classroom talk. (June - July 2021)
Ongoing review of literature, discussions with supervisor and critical teaching colleagues.

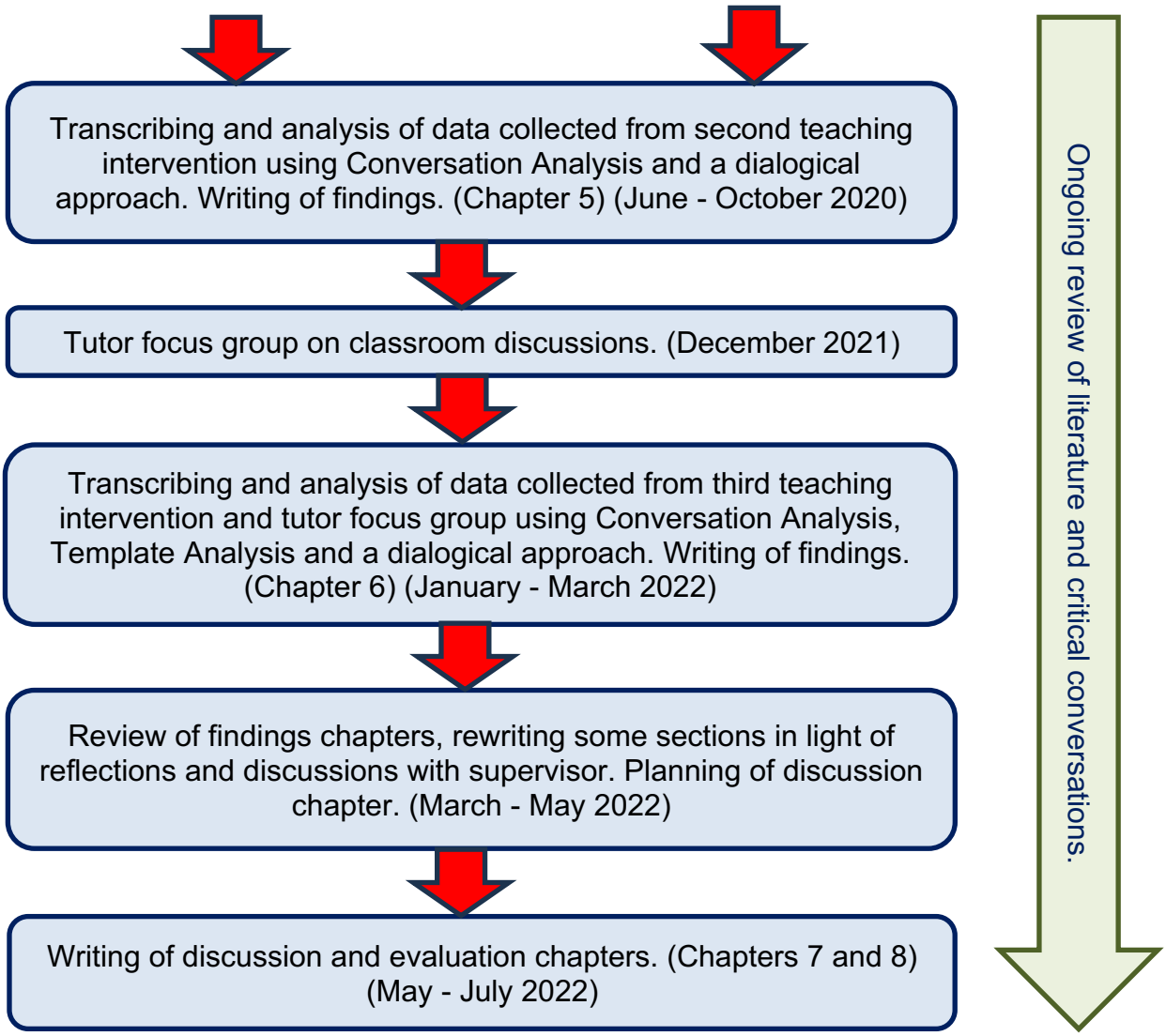


Diagram 1. Research process

4. Exploring multilingualism

4.1 Introduction to findings

In the next three chapters I present findings from the interventions I planned and implemented between October 2019 and July 2021. This chapter looks at the intervention around multilingualism, Chapter 5 at an autobiographical focus and Chapter 6 at exploratory talk. At the start of each of these chapters I provide details regarding the context in which they took place, as although they were carried out in the same educational institute they happened at different stages of the academic year with separate groups of learners, all of which will have impacted on the data collected.

A broader description concerning the national and London wide context for the educational provider can be found in Chapter 1. As all the interventions were seeking to inform a development of a dialogic pedagogy some of the findings overlap or when viewed in relation to each other combine to arrive at new and deeper understandings. However, this chapter focuses particularly on RQ1, whilst RQ 2 is addressed in greater detail in Chapter 5 and Chapter 6. RQ 3 is considered in all chapters, but especially in Chapters 5 and 6 as this is in when I broadened my research focus to a dialogical approach rather than translanguaging. All three chapters combined seek to answer the overarching research question concerning a dialogical pedagogical approach therefore I undertake a brief comparative analysis of the findings in the concluding sections of Chapters 5 and 6 before a combined in-depth discussion of them in Chapter 7. I have not adopted a universal approach to data analysis, but have used a range of methods dependent upon the nature of the data collected and the related research question it seeks to answer. A description of the particular method of analysis employed and the process followed is provided before the presentation of the findings in each chapter.

4.2 Dialogic pedagogy in multilingual spaces

In this part of my thesis I report findings based upon an analysis of data collected regarding multilingual approaches to teaching and learning. In my literature review I discuss the development of a theory of translanguaging outlining how in line with much literature on dialogic pedagogies it is similarly concerned with opening up classrooms

to encourage participatory meaning-making. Furthermore, I argue that research around translanguaging, as part of a broader project into dialogic pedagogies, begins to address one of Burbules' (2007, p.514) concerns that too often work on dialogic pedagogy does not account for multilingualism, failing to consider which language should be used in dialogic encounters. In the UK mainstream classrooms are now frequently linguistically diverse while the ESOL classroom will always consist of multilingual learners and as I discuss below it is not uncommon for ESOL teachers themselves to be bi or multilingual.

The two major forms of data collection in this section consist of a focus group of ESOL, literacy and numeracy tutors followed by a series of lessons around the topic of multilingualism with a group of Level 1 ESOL learners. The focus group was audio-recorded and during the classroom-based element I made brief field notes, which I expanded on later. First, I provide information regarding the focus group before discussing how the data it produced was analysed. I then present the themes which I developed through the process of analysis with the aim of providing an insight into how one group of tutors approach working in a multilingual classroom focusing on their attitudes towards the use of other languages.

In my introductory chapter I describe the national context in which this research takes place through a discussion of relevant policy and dominant national discourses around issues such as immigration. I provide information regarding the borough where my research takes place, for example the ethnic diversity of the population, languages spoken and other socio-economic factors. I also highlight the fact that despite the dominant public discourse of accountability in education along with various forms of performance management ESOL teachers have a certain degree of agency to direct the learning in their classrooms (see Cooke and Simpson, 2018, p.3). Consequently, I argue that a focus group where tutors who work with ESOL learners discuss their opinions and experiences of using languages other than English is valuable in providing further contextual information to arrive at a better understanding of what happens in the classroom. The experiences that both teachers and learners bring into the classroom did in fact form a thematic category in both sets of data. This is in line with Bakhtin's (1981) view that language and meaning cannot be separated from their setting and the people engaged in interaction. Both in this chapter and Chapter 6,

where I undertook focus groups with teachers, I have kept the analysis of this data separate from that collected in the classroom. There were practical reasons for this such as ease of analysis and that the analysis of the focus group data could serve as a springboard for analysing classroom data. However, I also began to appreciate the two different perspectives these sets of data offered. The classroom data contains the voices of learners, albeit gathered, recorded and analysed by myself as a teacher, learners who offer a different perspective on classroom life to teachers, although both groups are obviously diverse. I therefore feel there is value in keeping these two perspectives separate to remain as sensitive as possible to their potentially different outlooks, which can be evidenced in this chapter regarding views of the use of other languages in the classroom.

The tutor focus group was attended by 7 tutors and took place in September 2018. I issued an open invitation to tutors within the department where I work, including numeracy and literacy tutors. Although my study is concerned with ESOL teaching and learning, tutors from both numeracy and literacy often have current or previous ESOL learners in the classroom so I decided to include them in this part of my research to get as broad a picture as possible. The main purpose of this focus group was to discuss the use of languages other than English in the classroom including tutors' opinions and experiences. I prepared for the focus group by writing a list of possible questions to ask, but I did not intend to follow these strictly as I expected tutors to have a variety of opinions on the subject and wanted freedom to respond contingently to their answers, following up any interesting points. My aim was to conduct, to some extent, what Morgan (1997, p. 40) describes as a 'less-structured focus group' where an issue is explored with the potential for the researcher to learn something new as discussed in 3.8. The tutors were given an information sheet and the opportunity to ask questions. They all agreed to the audio recording of this session in which I also took notes. The focus group lasted for nearly one hour with all participants contributing at some point. As I have been working with many of these tutors for a number of years the discussion was at times humorous with the raising of familiar themes which we had previously discussed informally during the course of our work. Four of the seven of the tutors were also bi or multilingual themselves which added an additional interesting element to the focus group, as I will outline below.

I listened back to the focus group twice whilst making notes, highlighting recurring issues, opinions or experiences as well as instances where a tutor response led to intense debate. Where points of discussion recurred I selected what I considered to be the clearest example of the issue to be transcribed along with the most intensely debated points. I transcribed these sections of the focus group using a simplified form of conversation analysis as outlined in 3.9, along with a key for transcription. I believe certain elements of the transcription key I employed such as denoting when speakers ran into each other or spoke at the same time highlight how some of the opinions and experiences expressed resonated with others, adding to the believability of what was said.

4.3 Data analysis

I decided to analyse both the focus group and classroom observation notes using template analysis, a decision based on the nature of the data I collected. Brooks and King (no date, p.5) in their discussion of template analysis describe it as being largely concerned with the content of the data, where researchers look for relevant and related themes. The aim of the focus group was to set the scene for classroom-based research by providing an overview of tutors' attitudes and approaches to the use of other languages in the classrooms they taught in. I was therefore primarily interested in the content of what was said rather than how ideas were produced through interaction. Some sort of thematic analysis consequently seemed to be the best fit for this part of my research. As my field notes from the classroom-based research also consisted mainly of an outline of my own and learners' responses and actions, rather than a detailed recording of classroom interaction, I continued to employ template analysis throughout. Although I believe that to develop a dialogic pedagogy there needs to be an analysis of classroom interaction to explore, for example, the communicative stance adopted by teachers and learners and how this was achieved, it was not possible using the data I collected and analyse in this chapter. However, Chapter 5, and to some extent Chapter 6, include in-depth examinations of classroom talk which allow for a consideration of the above.

Brooks and King (no date, p.4) provide a clear guide on how to carry out template analysis, stating that the main aim is to undertake a close reading of the data in order to develop a 'coding template' which 'summarises themes identified by the

researcher(s) as important'. They also recognise that many researchers approach their data with a priori themes and these can used to begin the coding process, although they stress they should always be of a limited number and then used in a tentative manner (Brooks and King, no date, p.6). Recognising the existence of a priori themes is important regarding the validity of research findings, allowing others to have a clear as understanding as possible of how they have been reached. The main influence regarding my a priori themes was the 'Our Languages' project (Cooke, Bryers and Winstanley, 2018), as discussed in 2.6, which I also used to inform this part of my research. A rereading of this paper aided the creation of an initial list of possible themes for the classroom-based section, all of which were refined, omitted or added to after a detailed consideration of the data I had collected. The focus group was not analysed until after the analysis of classroom data as between undertaking the two the focus of my research changed. Despite not directly referring to the classroom-based coding template when analysing the focus group, I will inevitably have been influenced by it, along with the wider reading I have undertaken. Furthermore, when I analysed the data from the focus group I used the transcription which also included notes about what had been said, but not transcribed, to allow for the fullest analysis of the data to hand as possible.

4.4 Findings: themes from the tutor focus group

After completing the analysis of the data from the focus group I arrived at these three main themes; tutor opinions on languages and language learning, how other languages can support language learning and the problems of using languages other than English in the classroom.[11] Below I outline these three major themes with reference to sub-themes supported by extracts from transcripts of the focus group. I have tidied up quotes to make them more accessible, but they can be viewed in their original transcription form along with a larger sample of the extract from which they were taken in Appendix B. I selected the extracts based on how clearly I felt they demonstrated a particular theme, as I include extended versions of the extracts in Appendix B this will hopefully allow others to form some level of assessment regarding the validity of my claims as well as drawing their own conclusions. Tutors names have not been used and they have been assigned numbers to help preserve anonymity.

[11] The complete coding template for this focus group can be found in Appendix A.

4.4.1 Tutor opinions on language and language learning

I begin by outlining the most general of sub-themes in the category, that of the link between language and culture, a theme which arose several times during the focus group. This view was clearly expressed by T1 who stated, 'language is also reflecting your culture a lot and……because language is a cultural structure itself'. The group returned again to this theme when another tutor, T5, discussed problems connected to limiting learners to English only, giving the example of Somali learners who when asked to describe Somali food were reduced to saying simply rice and meat. Although T5 thought this could be addressed through translation, it could be that it is not possible to describe such dishes using English only, a fact highlighted further when T5 said he expected the learners to say something along the lines of 'tagine' or 'lasagne'. There was also some recognition that the choice of languages may influence your approach to studying with another tutor describing how when he learned Arabic his study partner asked him what language he wanted to study in. This led him to reflect that 'there's a whole frame there's a mindset' dependent upon the language you study in. These reflections seem to suggest that tutors recognise to some extent at least the social and cultural experiences closely linked to other languages which ESOL learners bring into the classroom. The example given of the Somali learners highlights how failing to recognise this link can be limiting for learners.

In a discussion regarding language and culture tutors mainly regarded national languages and cultures as separate entities, apart from one instance outlined here. In the section of talk on language and culture referred to above T1, who grew up outside the UK speaking a language other than English said, 'when I want to say something very instinctive I instinctively draw from my own country my own language my way of thinking' supporting her argument that she will never be truly fluent in English. However, a few lines later she notes 'I've culturally changed' as she recalls that when she speaks to her mum on the phone she uses the phrase 'ok', rather than the distinct language she shares with her mum. Here is an example of translanguaging where two cultures and languages have met and something new has emerged, a sort of mixing has taken place. In this example T1 is drawing on her full communicative repertoire.

In more classroom-related discussions there were three instances where tutors expressed the opinion that the use of other languages was inevitable in the ESOL classroom,

‘it’s [banning the use of other languages] impossible they just naturally end up using their language.’ (Extract taken from M.F.G.2)

As a consequence, the tutors in the focus group saw it as something which needed to be managed. At one point T3 stated that managing the use of other languages was essential ‘otherwise the class will you’ll lose its function’. A further reason for this was to ensure students had an equal opportunity to participate in the class, which I discuss further below. It was also seen as something of a risk as for most tutors allowing the use of other languages meant that they would not always be aware of what learners were saying. They would be less in control of what happened in the classroom. This was clearly illustrated by T1 who sated;

‘they might be misunderstanding there misinterpreting and translating their own way so I don’t have 100% control of what goes on.’ (Extract taken from M.F.G.3)

Another tutor T4 declared that ‘I think there’s 30% of chatter in the classroom that I’m never going to know’. There is a perceived risk attached to the use of other languages with the potential for negative consequences, discussed further below.

The apparent universal agreement regarding the need to manage the use of other languages was equally matched by a degree of consensus around how this was best implemented. In general discussions regarding language learning T7 stated, ‘it would be dependent on the student on that person’. Reflecting the widely held view amongst this group of tutors that there was no one size fits all approach to language teaching that the best approach was one employed contingently. This was echoed in talk on managing the use of other languages,

‘there’s no ruling either way and just what kinda happens naturally in the classrooms for them to be able to solve the problem I’m giving them is all well and good….’ (T5, extract taken from M.F.G.4)

Another teacher, T4, suggested that the use of other languages did not always need to be continually addressed and that the classrooms where this was the case were generally ones that ‘work better together’. When other languages were a problem there was some agreement that teachers would instinctively know this, they would be able to trust their gut. Although this was challenged by T6 who stated it was impossible to always know what was going on, echoing T4’s point outlined above. Tutors therefore

appeared to accept the use of other languages and agreed on the need to manage their use although there was no hard and fast rule to how this was done.

4.4.2 The use of other languages as a positive

Despite talk on the need to manage the use of other languages their use was generally viewed as positive, enhancing the teaching and learning of English. Learners' multilingual repertoires allowed them to support each other, with the following quote from the focus group outlining a clear example of scaffolding where a more able peer was able to support another learner.

> 'if I can't make them understand and one of the learners has understood it in their own language why not use that particular learner to explain that concept in their own language.'
> (T3, extract taken from M.F.G.5)

It was also viewed as an efficient way to get learning done and to quickly address misunderstandings around language related issues. Furthermore, the potential for learners to compare and contrast between different languages was largely seen as beneficial as it provided an opportunity for what could be described as deeper learning.

T5 admitted that this could be a struggle for beginner learners, but that this struggle and questioning could potentially mean that 'it will stick in their head they will use it properly'. At other stages of the focus group other languages also appeared to have an affective use, providing security for learners, making them more comfortable in the classroom, as well as opening up space for enriching discussions. This was illustrated through the story T5 told regarding Somali learners describing the food they ate. He then went on to state that when learners wrote down their ideas in their own language first it was easier for them to write. Finally, the use of other languages was also seen as a way of ensuring all students were able to participate in the lesson. Reasons given for this include that learners at the early stages of learning English would experience cognitive overload and be too tired to participate. However, it was also suggested that if some learners were restricted to using English only they would be silenced, unable to contribute to the lesson not due to tiredness but because they could not yet or did not feel confident enough to contribute in English.

> 'if you don't allow them to speak their first language therefore they end up spending the whole two hours saying nothing,

trying to struggling with all these ideas.'
(T5, extract taken from M.F.G.6)

4.4.3 Problems when using languages other than English

Unsurprisingly, given findings around tutors' opinions of language and language learning, they also discussed problems which arose when other languages were used in the classroom. This formed a separate theme, parts of which contradict the findings above and are discussed as a separate theme below. The main problem, which was returned to several times, was that of how the use of other languages could exclude some learners from participating in the lesson. For example, T4 reports that in some classrooms he has had to enforce the speaking English only rule as 'I've found that some people just getting excluded…'. This is a particular problem in the area where I work as there is a large Bangladeshi population, as stated in 1.7, and it is not uncommon in classes to have the majority of learners being able to speak Bengali or Sylheti with one or two other learners who do not share another language with anyone else. Situations where this occurs are viewed as being to some extent discriminatory,

'why should there be one rule for one and not for the other' (T4).

In this respect enforcing the English only rule is seen as providing everyone with the same opportunities to learn, although some of the findings above appear to contradict this. During the focus group T3 also outlined an instance from his own teaching experience where he himself felt excluded by two leaners who were constantly talking in another language they shared. As a consequence, he stated 'and there was tension, a lot of tension in that classroom for the whole year.' The use of other languages in the classroom from the tutors' standpoint is therefore not without problems. Most of the issues appear to centre around creating a classroom environment where all are able to participate and feel included, which the tutor sees as their responsibility.

Another negative consequence connected to the use of other languages was that of complicating the language learning process with the potential to delay the acquisition of English. After one tutor, who considered herself to speak English as a second language, described how when learning English she constantly compared it to her main language until she spoke it fluently, T4 asked 'do you think actual comparison is a lot of energy misspent sometimes?' He returned to this point at the end of the session when he stated, 'a lot of students get trapped in the direct translation route.' Again, the

same tutor also highlighted how the use of other languages also acted as a distraction as learners engaged in ‘a ridiculous conversation’, meaning something other than the focus of the lesson. Two other tutors also expressed a similar concern during the course of the focus group. A similarly related issue was tutors concern that many of the learners had little access to English outside the classroom, so needed to make the most of the time they had in the classroom,

> ‘but I need them to practise their English because sometimes
> some of the people only speak English in the classroom.’ (T6)

Tutors therefore viewed the use of other languages as delaying the acquisition of English and especially learners' ability to speak fluently, which T2 described as ‘a moment in your language you know second language acquisition when you begin to speak.’ Her emphasis on the word speak suggests to me the idea that you find your voice in English, although I did not clarify this with her.

4.4.4 Contradictions

The data from the tutor focus group highlighted a variety of opinions, some of which demonstrated tutors both agreeing and disagreeing. Over the course of the discussion individual tutors also expressed varying attitudes towards the use of other languages, perhaps highlighting their ultimate adoption of a contingent approach discussed above. Such an approach may also explain a number of contradictory positions which were adopted as the focus group progressed. The main contradictions which I wish to draw attention to are that of how the use of other languages can both include and exclude along with how they can lead to efficient learning whilst also delaying the acquisition of English.

The theme regarding the use of other languages as a positive included tutor’s considering how using them enabled all learners to participate, especially those at the early stages of language learning or those lacking in confidence. Conversely the theme addressing problems highlighted how tutors viewed the inclusion of other languages as potentially exclusionary, with the enforcement of English only as the best way to ensure inclusivity. I would argue again that this perhaps highlights the need for tutors to adopt a contingent approach when reflecting on the use of other languages, considering the reasoning for its use during specific points in the lesson, a point I expand on in Chapter 8. Thus, demonstrating the complexity of teaching in

multilingual classrooms along with the limitations of the trend for universal and uncomplicated ideals such as ‘best practice’. This was further emphasised when tutors expressed a belief that other languages could lead to more efficient language learning, but also delay the acquisition of English, especially gaining fluency. However, there was universal agreement regarding how effective it was to have learners who shared language help each other out when trying to understand new concepts. This again reinforces how unlikely it is for teachers to arrive at a conclusive answer regarding how and when other languages should be used in the classroom.

4.5 Classroom-based research

From October to December 2019 I planned and implemented a series of lessons based upon ideas from the ‘Our Languages’ project, making use of the accompanying materials (see Cooke, Bryers and Winstanley, 2018). These lessons sought to explore the multilingual realities of learners' lives relating to the notion of translanguaging. This exploration was undertaken utilising a number of different participatory activities to support learners in relating issues to their everyday experiences whilst they undertook a critical analysis.[12] I worked with a group of 12 learners in a Level 1 ESOL class who started classes at the end of September, all of whom gave their informed consent. I had planned to make an audio recording of the classroom discourse, allowing for an in-depth analysis of the interactions which took place. However, one learner did not wish to be recorded, although they were happy for me to take notes during the lesson of what occurred along with what was said. I also gained permission to collect examples of their classwork including a number of artefacts generated during participatory activities. Consequently, my main form of data collection consisted of brief field notes typed up as soon as possible after the lesson, following the process as outlined in 3.7.[13]

[12] Further details regarding the teaching interventions can be found in Appendix M.
[13] Samples of classroom observation notes can be found in Appendix D.

Participants

Participant	Country of Origin
A1	Sri Lanka
A2	Bangladesh
A3	Afghanistan
A4	Somalia
A5	Bangladesh
A6	Bangladesh
A7	Bangladesh
A8	Bangladesh
A9	India
A10	Bangladesh
A11	Bangladesh
A12	Bangladesh

Data collection

Date and length of time	Data Collected
12.11.19 2.5 hours	Classroom observation Classroom materials, learners' work
25.11.19 2.5 hours	Classroom observation Teaching Materials, learners' work
26.11.19 2.5 hours	Classroom observation Teaching Materials, learners' work
02.12.19 2.5 hours	Classroom observation Teaching Materials, learners' work
03.12.19 2.5 hours	Classroom observation Teaching Materials, learners' work

There are two main themes which I developed after an analysis of the classroom-based data. I have labelled these as multilingual identities and classroom practices. As with the teacher focus group the first main theme is a broader one relating to issues which arise both within and outside the classroom. I begin by exploring this theme first

before moving on to focusing on what happens in the classroom. A complete version of my coding template is attached in Appendix C. While outlining these classroom-based themes I make reference to my findings form the focus group followed in some instances by brief discussions which I will return to in more depth in my discussion in Chapter 7.

4.5.1 Difficulties in forming multilingual identities

As the experiences of teachers formed a broad theme of opinions on language and culture data from the classroom generated a related theme of multilingual identities. In this part of my research on multilingualism I discussed the meaning of some key linguistic terms such as 'mother tongue' with learners to consider the language required for a related discussion in English and to perhaps spark a debate on concepts such as dialect which, depending on the sociolinguistic standpoint taken, can be viewed differently. It was a consideration of the term 'mother tongue' which led me to record in my notes that one of the learners defined it as being 'my own language' This led me to note the following observation,

> '……it implies that they don't own language [English], this language belongs to someone else, therefore they don't get to decide the rules of what happens with it.' (Classroom Observation, 12.11.19)

T1 in the teacher focus group made a similar point, but in the course of exploring this she realised that she was in fact mixing languages. Her communicative repertoire contained both English and the other language she spoke initially without her realising it as it was instinctive. This could perhaps be the case for the above learner discussed, although I did not pursue this with them. Key thinkers on translanguaging such as Wei and Garcia (2014) argue against the notion of separate languages and put forward the idea that each individual possess their own unique repertoire. In the ESOL classroom the notion of separate languages that belong to people of different nations or other geographical areas is strong and it is in fact very difficult to take part in discussions about language without using terms which support such an ideology (see discussion by Cooke, Bryers and Winstanley, 2018). This makes a critical analysis of multilingualism and the promotion of the idea of a communicative repertoire difficult to pursue and something I struggled to do with this group.

The discussion I undertook with this class on multilingualism inevitably included the retelling and consideration of difficult experiences of racism or linguicism. Learners were encouraged to reflect on and explore instances where they had been discriminated against because they were English language learners by answering questions about a photograph showing a receptionist looking unhappy about repeating themselves to a client or customer. These questions followed the pattern described by Auerbach (1992, p.70) to encourage learners to reflect as objectively as possible on a situation before relating it to their own personal experiences and then considering possible action to be taken. I repeated this exercise in Chapter 5 and 6 using the picture code directly from the 'Our Languages' website (see figure 1) and following the same questioning pattern. I recorded in my observation notes that one learner related an instance where a receptionist at a GP practise refused to help her, believing it was related to the fact that the learner was Bengali (Classroom Observation, 02.12.19). My notes regarding this occurrence are brief and I have no record of how I responded to this story or how others in the class did. I did note however, that one learner commented that ‘Asian people are rude, British people aren’t’ which is itself a discriminatory statement. Instead of exploring this issue further by trying to understand why the learner felt like this and encouraging a critical exploration of it I noted,

> ‘This was something that I failed to explore. If I am going to be drawing on learners’ experiences then I have to be prepared to deal with instances such as this and think about how I am going to respond.’ (Classroom Observation, 02.12.19)

I know I am not alone in experiencing this as Cooke, Bryers and Winstanley (2018, p.29) make a similar point in their assessment of their research project on translanguaging stating that they needed to find ‘more effective ways’ to challenge ‘racist or prejudiced ideas.’ Tutors similarly spoke about taking risks when they relinquished some control of classroom discourse in the focus group above. When creating a dialogic classroom where the aim is for learners to direct discourse, express their opinions and subject them to a critical examination teachers need to respond contingently, to be able to think on their feet in order to facilitate and support learners. This I would argue is exceptionally demanding when dealing with issues relating to discrimination.

4.5.2 Classroom practices

There are two main strands to the overarching theme of classroom practices, one concerned with common sense beliefs, held by both teachers and learners regarding language education. These shape expectations of what should occur with the potential to influence behaviour in the classroom. The other is concerned with possible dialogic approaches and the challenges such an approach may bring about.

The general consensus amongst the learners appeared to be that the use of other languages should be kept to a minimum in the ESOL classroom. In my classroom observations dated 12.11.19 I noted that learners seemed to agree that the ideal balance of languages used should be 90% English and 10% other languages, a figure which was repeated again a few sessions later. However, when learners were asked about what happened in reality several of them noted that they spoke Bengali for more than 10% of the lesson. It was interesting to note that learners who did not share a first language with others thought the ideal use of other languages should be 1%, but they too used their first language via online tools to support them during the lesson. Two learners also expressed the belief that using other languages delayed the acquisition of English,

> 'One learner admitted that he lived in a different borough but came to (name withheld) as fewer people shared his language and this would force him to use English more. Another learner talked about how she previously lived outside of London where few people shared her language and therefore she learned English quicker.'
> (Classroom Observation, 02.12.19)

The use of other languages in the ESOL classroom was clearly seen as problematic and in fact detrimental to learning English. Echoing the findings of Cooke, Bryers and Winstanley (2018). The tutors in the focus group appear to have a more positive attitude towards other languages. Although they also expressed concerns that other languages could delay the learning of English, along with other reservations.

As I attempted to take a dialogical stance in the classroom I found that my expectations regarding my role as a teacher were challenged. In my classroom observation notes there are several references to the pace of the lesson. I was already aware of this issue due to my reading of Alexander (2017, p.20), who specifically highlights the

overvaluing of fast-paced lessons in classrooms across the UK at the expense of providing learners with the opportunity to engage with lesson content in a thoughtful manner. It is worth noting then that I mentioned the issue of pace and the need to slow down three to four times in my observation notes, something which recurred multiple times in my two other interventions. Here this usually occurred with reference to tasks where I tried to engage learners in critical thinking and felt uncomfortable with silence in the classroom or that learners would have been able to contribute more if I had given them more time.

> 'It took a while for learners to begin discussing this, there was silence for the first few minutes. ……It felt odd, as a teacher I want an instantaneous reaction……'
> (Classroom Observation, 25.11.19)

Another related issue was my uncomfortableness with spending time and focusing solely on one group of learners during a small group discussion activity.

> 'Is this because I am afraid to pay so much attention to one group, so I end up walking around catching snippets here and there of different conversations, not getting a clear picture of what any of the students are saying?' (Classroom Observation, 26.11.19)

This too is an issue highlighted in relevant literature, with Alexander (2017, p.20) questioning the reluctance of teachers to work in depth with just a number of students. As a consequence, there is no real engagement between teachers and learners at a critical level, with classroom discussions maybe involving a larger number of learners but limited to a recitation of previous learning.

On a more positive note, the themes of dialogical interaction and scaffolding draw attention to potential ways of opening up interactional space in the classroom, although these too are not without their own challenges. As outlined above the use of other languages was something that learners mainly considered in a negative light. However, there were instances where learners thought the use of other languages to be acceptable; this was largely concerned with ensuring comprehension of new vocabulary items or teachers' instructions regarding an activity. Here other languages play a considerably functional role supporting the acquisition of language items or the smooth running of the classroom, similar to many of the beliefs of the tutors. Also, amongst data regarding this theme there is what I consider to be an interesting

example illustrating a learner's possession of a linguistic repertoire and how this is employed in the classroom.

> 'with the other member [of the group] stating that she would use Bengali (think her main language is Hindi) for explanations during the class.' (Classroom Observation, 12.11.19)

In a classroom learners are not simply choosing between using their mother tongue and English, but drawing on their full repertoire to make sense in a multilingual setting. Considering the use of first language or mother tongue can be an oversimplification of the multilingual lives which these learners live and the languages skills they possess.

Along with other languages the use of various artefacts or tools contribute to the theme of scaffolding, especially in relation to critical thinking. The 'Our Languages' project used a variety of tools developed from the work of Paulo Freire and the Reflect materials (Cardiff et al. 2007), these tools helped learners to objectify and then critically begin to explore the reality of their everyday lives as they contemplated challenging issues such as linguicism. In one section of my classroom observation notes I compare the success of an activity where learners drew their journey to class along with the languages they used and encountered on the way with a previous attempt where learners only made notes. As I brought this activity to a conclusion I noted:

> 'I ended up looking at the clock realising we had spent about 40 minutes on this activity, one in which I hardly said anything, yeah!' (Classroom Observation, 26.11.19)

I recognise that the length of time an activity went on for does not simply qualify as an example of a successful interaction, as highlighted by Alexander (2017, p.115-117), but I would argue that it begins to illustrate how participatory tools can enable learners to work collaboratively and independently of teachers. As I discuss further in Chapter 5 these participatory tools combined with an autobiographical focus can free up classroom discourse, offering learners greater freedom to speak.

From my classroom observations there is one discussion which I consider to be quite successful where learners were talking about whether it is easier to learn a language when you are younger. I noted that during small group work learners looked engaged

and I was especially pleased with the whole class discussion which occurred at the end of the activity. In my observation notes I wrote:

> ' …I felt I was good at monitoring this whole class discussion, bringing in a number of different voices and getting learners to build up on other people's ideas' (Classroom Observation, 12.11.19)

During the analysis of this data I began to consider why this discussion appeared to have been so successful, beyond my own management of it. After I had completed this part of my research I read Mercer's (2000) description of dialogic talk. In this description Mercer (2000, p.148) states that one of the key elements of a dialogic exchange is participants orientating themselves to each other in conversation, recognising that their interactants are speaking from a different place and recognising this when engaging with them. I believe this was illustrated when a learner addressed a younger learner about how much easier it was for him to learn a language. Even though the assumption put to the learner was refuted the fact that the discussion had been orientated towards his experience enabled his participation and ability to engage critically with what had been said by another learner.

Regarding the conclusion of the above discussion, I noted,

> 'However, in my final field notes I write I needed to find a way to bring this discussion to a meaningful conclusion, it's a shame that I didn't get to build on it more as there were some really good ideas.' (Classroom Observation, 12.11.19).

This quote highlights what I consider to be two interrelated challenges concerning transforming the classroom into a dialogic space. The first, and perhaps the most significant, being how to respond to learners in a contingent manner. If the interactional space of the classroom is to be opened up, where teachers hand over or share the direction of classroom discourse they will not be able to predict the content and nature of classroom dialogue. Teachers therefore must be ready to respond to learners' contributions, orientating themselves and the lesson to the learners. Furthermore, although there is some debate regarding whether it is necessary for dialogic interactions to reach an agreement in the classroom, I feel they still need to be brought to some sort of conclusion. Maybe this would be to justify why they have been undertaken or summarise how any new knowledge generated during the discussion relates to prior or future learning.

4.6 Conclusions

In this chapter I have presented my findings from engaging with teachers and learners in relevant debates emerging out of the current multilingual turn in theories of language learning. In 2.6 I discuss a theory of translanguaging and review recent related research undertaken in two different ESOL settings in London. As with Cooke, Bryers and Winstanley's (2018) research I too found learners reluctant to view the use of languages other than English in the ESOL classroom in a generally positive light. However, all the learners did recognise that they used knowledge of other languages to assist in their learning of English to some degree. Also, as I report in Chapters 5 and 6 the two other groups which I broached this topic with appeared to see the use of other languages in a more positive light.

As an English teacher who is only rarely called upon to utilise their limited linguistic knowledge outside of English, I can report that I found learning about learners' multilingual repertoires to be eye-opening. I gained a better understanding of the range of communicative practices in a superdiverse urban area such as London and some of the choices learners made regarding their learning. It is this which I found to be the real benefit of engaging with the multilingual turn in language learning in this part of my research. My knowledge of learners' multilingual lives continued to develop throughout my research and I return to this issue again in the following chapter.

Teachers appear to some extent to already be engaging with learners' full linguistic repertoires, working in a multilingual environment means that many already have ideas and beliefs relevant to a theory of translanguaging. Consequently, all teachers were able to see the potential benefits of the use of other languages in the classroom. These benefits include immediate and practical reasons, but also affective ones along with a realisation to some degree of the connection between language and culture and that to engage with learners' cultural backgrounds will require the use of other languages where possible. Furthermore, tutors in the focus group reflected that to exclude the use of other languages could restrict or shut down opportunities for participation. However, in an environment where not everyone has the same linguistic resources to draw upon the use of other languages is not straight forward and should be addressed sensitively and in a contingent manner, an issue returned to again in Chapter 7. In the next two chapters I consider a dialogical approach in more depth and

begin by explaining my decision to broaden the focus of my research beyond translanguaging.

5. Multilingualism: an autobiographical focus

5.1 Introduction

In this chapter I present findings relating once more to exploring multilingualism with a group of ESOL learners, but with an autobiographical lens. As previously stated, my research focus evolved over the course of my PhD. My initial research was concerned primarily with translanguaging, on which I planned and carried out a short pilot study with learners in 2018. In between the first teacher focus group and starting to collect an initial set of data from the classroom I realised that I wanted to broaden my focus, but I was not sure how. A key moment occurred during my first intervention when I undertook an activity taken from the 'Our Languages' website entitled 'My Language Journey', which asked learners to read and then produce their own autobiographies of language learning and I felt more could be made of this. As I worked on writing an evaluative commentary to transfer from an MPhil to a PhD my thinking became clearer. I developed a deeper understanding of the work of Bakhtin and its implications for language learning, helped by reading the work of those referred to in this chapter (for example, Pavlenko 2007, Vitanova, 2005, 2013). Consequently, I began to value working with learners to understand themselves better as individuals, developing a sensitivity towards the uniqueness of individual perspectives. This was further reinforced when I was encouraged by my supervisor to read the recent work of Stephen Ball (2019) concerning Foucault's' later ideas on the ethics of self-care and the alternative approach to education this promoted (see 2.10 for a discussion of this). As I result, I decided to pursue an autobiographical focus, mainly through my approach to data analysis, but also encouraging learners to write language autobiographies, both of which I discuss in detail below.

5.2 The context

The language autobiography stage of my research was undertaken in a Level 1 ESOL speaking and listening class run by the adult learning provider who I work for. There were 7 female learners registered on the course, all of whom were originally from Bangladesh. They sometimes used their first language to ask for help and support each other in the lesson or just to simply chat and continued to do so over the course of the research. It is worth noting that Bangladesh has many regional languages or

dialects, depending on the sociolinguistic standpoint taken.[14] However, as Simard, Dopierala and Thaut, (2020, p.9) state these differences tend to be overlooked in Britain with people from the Bangladeshi community labelled as Bengali speakers, regardless of whether they speak Bengali or not. In addition, one learner briefly lived in Italy before coming to the UK and another for a considerable time in Spain, as a result these learners are able to communicate in Italian and Spanish respectively. During one session after working together a group admitted that they had not completed the task I had set them, but that the Spanish speaker had been teaching Spanish and another learner who knew some French had also tried a spot of teaching. Consequently, despite initial appearances this is not a monolingual class as the learners brought an array of language resources with them into the classroom.

At Level 1 learners are able to communicate and express themselves in English with relative ease whilst also engaging with complex topics. I had been teaching six of these learners as a class since September 2020 and we had already established what I considered to be good relationships along with some knowledge of each other's previous experiences. A further learner was referred to the class from the Literacy department after she completed her Entry Level 3 Functional Skills Literacy. She was a confident speaker and seemed to get on well with the rest of the class. By the time the recording of the classroom discussion took place along with the collection of written autobiographies it is fair to say that these learners were friends as they were socialising together outside class.

Participants

Participant	**Country of Origin**
B1	Bangladesh
B2	Bangladesh
B3	Bangladesh
B4	Bangladesh
B5	Bangladesh
B6	Bangladesh
B7	Bangladesh

[14] For a more in-depth understanding of this see Cooke, Bryers and Winstanley (2018).

This was a mainstream ESOL class funded by the GLA and learners were required to achieve a qualification for the learning provider to secure funding. The learners took Level 1 speaking and listening exams in May and June, with the project work fitted around this. When I introduced my research to learners I reassured them that it would help prepare them for their assessments, but they were anxious to undertake work specifically related to the exam. As a result, some of the planned activities were not undertaken.

Due to the coronavirus pandemic the classes in which the research took place were online using Zoom, apart from the final session when face-to-face teaching had resumed. This led to significant changes in teaching and learning mainly because the interaction patterns that occur in a typical face-to-face ESOL class were difficult to maintain. For example, a lack of visual cues led to a higher frequency of people talking over each other and the inability to read body language and facial expressions as well as in a regular classroom situation. Restrictions were even greater for learners, some of whom were accessing classes via a smartphone. Sharing resources in breakout rooms was also incredibly difficult. Learners often took notes from the main screen and used these as prompts for group work, whereas in the classroom they may have had picture prompts, stories, news articles and worksheets to help structure their group work, as was the case during the final session. We were also at the mercy of the quality of our internet connections, which frequently interrupted the flow of the sessions.

5.3 Data collection

Date and Length of time	**Type of data**
04.03.21 2.5 hours	Classroom observation (Zoom) Teaching materials
09.03.21 2.5 hours	Classroom observation (Zoom) Teaching materials
11.03.21 2.5 hours	Classroom observation (Zoom) Teaching materials
16.03.21	Classroom observation (Zoom)

2.5 hours	Teaching materials
18.03.21 2.5 hours	Classroom observation (Zoom) Teaching materials
23.03.21 2.5 hours	Classroom observation (Zoom) Teaching materials
17.06.21 2.5 hours	Classroom observation (face-to-face) Teaching materials Recording and typed transcript of class work and discussion.
21.06.21 - 30.06.21	3 learner language autobiographies collected

5.4 Data Analysis

In this part of my research, I have decided to employ different approaches to analysing data. In Chapter 4, where I outlined the findings from my initial investigation into multilingualism, I opted to employ a form of template analysis as I focused on the content of the data. Here I will also be using template analysis to examine the classroom observations for the same reasons outlined in 4.1. However, in this section I have a transcript of recorded classroom talk and wanted to undertake a detailed analysis of the interaction which took place as I began to consider how an autobiographical focus could support a dialogic classroom and address RQs 2 and 3. The recordings were transcribed using a simplified form of Conversation Analysis, following a similar process as described in 4.3, but with the added use of an automated online transcription tool to begin with. This included highlighting where speakers hesitated, spoke over each other or where there were no pauses between turns (see 3.9 for transcription key). Skidmore and Murakami (2016a, p.235) outline the benefits of using Conversation Analysis to examine classroom discourse, explaining that its highly detailed approach has the protentional to better illustrate 'how a shared understanding of a topic is produced through the local dynamic of interaction'. Essential I would argue when exploring the development of dialogic pedagogy, the aim of which is to generate knowledge through interaction.

Despite the benefits of Conversation Analysis focusing solely on the immediate classroom dynamics would be limiting by failing to consider the wider context. Therefore, I included a further step to the analysis of the transcripts drawing on literature regarding a dialogical perspective. I also utilise this approach in the analysis of 3 written language learner autobiographies. Some of this, such as the work of Pavlenko (2007) and Vitanova (2005, 2013), make explicit references to Bakhtin while others, namely Davies and Harré (1990), do not. However, I consider all the literature I refer to in this section as sharing a dialogic outlook, united in the belief that when we engage with others we do so as socially situated beings, bringing our past experiences with us into interaction. Language from such a perspective is no longer neutral, but has the potential to be loaded with intent, reflecting an individual's view of the world around them at that particular moment.

In light of the above my primary concern was not necessarily with the content of what was said or written, but how it was communicated. Pavlenko (2007, p.168) criticises the overuse of content analysis with regards to auto/biographical research, as it fails to recognise that the data is an interpretation of events, not an objective account of what happened. To address this Pavlenko (2007) encourages a consideration of content to include what has potentially been excluded, which I discuss below, as well as the context and form of the autobiographies produced. I have provided both the class (see 5.2), local and national along with the historical contexts (see Chapter 1) in which the accounts discussed were produced and make further reference to them in my analysis below. With regards to the structing of the narratives, many of the excerpts follow a traditional linear narrative format, seemingly compatible with the work of Labov (1972). This is perhaps unsurprising as learners had spent months preparing for an oral examination where they were required to produce a narrative with a clear introduction and conclusion along with the sequential ordering of events. As I state in a classroom observation dated 17.06.21 I did not allow enough time for an in-depth discussion on how to produce a written language autobiography. Consequently, the three collected were heavily influenced by the model provided.[15] The fact that all of the written, and extended spoken narratives were produced in English also limited learners' choices in how they presented themselves. Although, learners did use some

[15] A copy of the writing model and learners' autobiographies can be found in Appendix F.

of their first language to communicate with each other at times during the classroom discussion.

Both Pavlenko (2007) and Vitanova (2013) discuss how in autobiographical narratives individuals position themselves towards others, wider social groups and institutions, as well as ideologies they encounter. Vitanova (2013) provides specific examples of this using the concept of 'double-voicing', taken from Bakhtin (1986). This can include repeating the words of others but with the intention of the utterance altered as it is reaccentuated to align with their own world view. It is possible to accomplish this by changing the tone of what others have said, making use of parody to highlight opposition or through constructing a polemic in response to another's utterance (Vitanova, 2013, pp.250-251). Davies and Harré (1990, pp.47) also describe how positions are taken up in conversation as those interacting identify with certain categories. These categories consist of characteristics individuals view themselves and others as possessing. As a result, they develop a related moral outlook from which they perceive the world. Such positions are then taken up in conversation, through the insertion of autobiographical fragments embedded in topics and storylines in which they assign parts to themselves and others. (Davies and Harré, 1990, p.48-49). Positioning as described by Davies and Harré (1990) is a dynamic process where different and sometimes contradictory positions can be adopted across interaction with the possibility of those involved accepting or rejecting how they are being positioned by others.

To conclude an analysis of the transcripts and written autobiographies from a dialogic perspective is not a straightforward process. It demands a sensitivity to context in which the data was produced including all the 'human' features of shared conversation such as taking the other person's words and attitudes into account as part of a dynamic process. I have begun to address this above and continue to do so throughout this chapter along with the recognition that my analysis is informed by my own view of the world. Due to its specialised nature I also refer to the literature discussed in the introductory section of this chapter throughout my analysis. I do so to support the claims I make as well as making clear how this literature has impacted on my findings. I believe it has the potential to highlight the possible opportunities which autobiographies and narratives of language learning can provide for learners to

develop an authorial voice as they narrate their past experiences in a supportive environment and engage in dialogue with others.

5.5 The local interaction order

I begin my presentation of the data by examining a roughly 20-minute discussion regarding learner experiences of using English outside the classroom. For this I used materials along with the suggested activity from the 'Our Languages' website which involves learners considering a picture code (figure 1) and discussing a series of questions to identify and analyse an issue (table 3). The questions follow the order suggested by Auerbach (1992, p.70) whereby they focus on the picture with increasing complexity before inviting learners to share related personal experiences. Learners had completed this exercise 2 months earlier, but online, observation notes of which can be viewed in Appendix G. I decided to repeat it as I had been encouraged by the quality of the interaction that had occurred and wanted the opportunity to observe and record what happened in a face-to-face situation. When we had undertaken it previously learners talked together in 2 small groups before taking part in a whole class discussion. We only had had time to consider one learner's experience so I was fairly certain that they would still have things to talk about. The activity followed the same pattern as before where learners worked together in two smaller groups before a whole class discussion took place.

The initial review of data focuses on using a form of Conversation Analysis in order to better understand the dynamics of the interaction. As I discussed in 2.9 those such as Wegerif (2020) and Mercer (2000) consider spoken discourse to be central to employing a dialogical approach. Too often classroom talk, according to the literature discussed, is dominated by recitation where learners are asked to provide answers to questions the teacher already knows the answer to. In a dialogical classroom interaction includes the asking of authentic questions, where answers can be interrogated by teacher and learners and the direction of the discourse steered by both.

Figure 1 taken from http://ourlanguages.co.uk/resources/#communities

1. Where are they?
2. Who is in the picture?
3. What is happening?
4. How does she feel? How does he feel?
5. Why do you think this is happening?
6. What are the possible consequences of this?
7. Has this ever happened to you or anyone you know?

Table 3 taken from http://ourlanguages.co.uk/resources/#communities

Therefore, in this section I examine the transcripts to consider the nature of the interaction when learners narrate and reflect upon their past experiences of using English. Before beginning the analysis I reread the chapters by Kremer (2016) and Skidmore and Murakami (2016a) who use Conversation Analysis to consider how a dialogic stance can inform classroom talk. The names of learners have been changed in line with my ethical approach, as outlined in 3.10. I have chosen not to 'tidy up' these

transcripts in an attempt to make clearer the apparent messiness of classroom talk with its numerous interruptions, hesitations and people speaking over each other, out of which powerful and important stories, ideas and reasonings can emerge. The points I make are supported by short excerpts of talk, which can be viewed in a fuller context in extended extracts in Appendix E. As previously selection was based on how clearly I felt they demonstrated a particular theme.

5.5.1 Claiming space to talk

Much of the first extract is dominated by Amira who volunteers to share her experience and who I then invite to address the rest of the class. As a result, she produces an extended turn rich with narrative detail.

Rachel	go Amira. and (.) go on Amira.
Amira	yes errr like this errm situation I I was suffer (.) from this. one time when I came in the UK. newly. so err in September 2019 I err went to the to my GP and asked for help to register my GP er to register my err health (.) GP GP register. but errm she was in Bengali. Sylheti Bengali. but I asked in err that errm (.) I can't err speak in lang in err English language properly and I can't understand the proper language. because I could underst I could understand about reading and writing.
Rachel	yeah
Amira	and I err wasn't used to in English in our country. so that's why when we came in the uk new errm err I was just confused about English language because err somebody mm tells speak fluently. somebody tells err quickly. and somebody said errm some err story. so err when she speaks slowly I can understand. but when err she speaking fluently then I can't understand.=
Rachel	hmm=
Amira	so that's why I asked for help in Bengali. but errr she didn't help me. even she didn't talk to me about that. she just tell me that I can't understand Bengali and I can't err speak in Bengali. sorry. sorry for that. but after that next to me he was a Bengali people. he was err a Bengali err brother=

(Extract taken from C.D.1)

She is clearly comfortable with holding the floor for an extended period of time and in fact there are several instances where she resists others' attempts to take the floor

from her. In the example below, even though I have invited other learners to speak and they have begun to provide an explanation as to why the GP may not have wanted to speak in Bengali Amira persists in providing details regarding her specific situation.

Rachel	ok. so what do you want to say
Farzana	some people born here some people=
ms	[yeah (xxxxxxxxxx)]
Farzana	[they didn't understand word of (xxxx) Bengali]=
ms	[(xxxxx)
Happy	[like our children Rachel.]=
Amira	I can't speak I wasn't speaking err real language. I wasn't speaking err English. but I just didn't understand the real err English.

(Extract taken from C.D.1)

Kremer (2016, p.137) states, in reference to dialogic teaching, that to go beyond mere recitation requires teachers to give learners a voice in the language classroom. Amira, I would argue, is determined to have her voice heard, to the extent that she appears to be challenging the interaction order of the classroom. In the second example she does not wait to be given the floor but claims the floor for herself. The examples of Amira's talk above could be viewed as what was described by Bayham et al. (2007, p.58) as the power of 'speaking from within'. Here the vividness of this memory and its associated emotions push Amira to continue speaking as she persists in keeping hold of the floor. The fact that she is a high level ESOL learner who is talking with people she socialises with outside of class must have contributed to her confidence to speak out. However, it can also be argued that focusing on narratives of language learning has repositioned learners in this particular instance as experts, as well as evoking strong emotions, which has had an impact on the interaction order.

Amira's narrative dominates the whole of this classroom discussion, and she is still talking about it near the end, approximately eight minutes later. There are examples of other students producing extended turns (see Appendix E), both of these countering what Amira had said with learners relating their own experiences. The topic does more than afford learners the opportunity to speak from within in this instance. It appears to be an exceptionally powerful one, in which most students have something they are willing to share and in the case of Amira actively claim space for speaking out. Baynham (2006) discusses the importance of ESOL learners learning to claim space

to talk to better equip them for challenging exchanges outside the classroom. I may have initially invited Amira to speak, but beyond this she disrupts the discourse to make sure she is heard to the fullest extent possible.

5.5.2 Teacher on the periphery

Before analysing my role as a teacher in this discussion it is necessary to once more emphasise that discourse is shaped by the personal histories of participants. For example, my linguistic repertoire consists of English, some Spanish and a smattering of French and German learned at school. I am not a Bengali speaker and do not live in the area where this research takes place. Consequently, I do not have extensive knowledge regarding the communicative contexts in which these learners use English outside the classroom. I am very much reliant on the narratives of their experiences to develop my knowledge. However, I am aware that even within my own department there are teachers who share more of their linguistic repertoires with learners and possess a much greater knowledge of the communicative acts in which they participate every day as they inhabit some of the same spaces. This must be born in mind when considering the subsequent analysis.

As stated above Kremer (2016, p.137) views one of the teacher's roles in a dialogic classroom as giving learners a voice by affording them opportunities to participate. Possible ways in which this is achieved, as described by Kremer (2016) and Skidmore and Murakami (2016b), include inviting learners to take the floor whilst also managing turns to help ensure participants remain engaged. Learners' contributions can also be encouraged through teacher validation along with asking questions when necessary, so learners explain and elaborate their ideas in order to build knowledge through discourse. Examples are found in both of the excerpts above taken from C.D.1 where I address specific learners inviting them to speak and through short verbal utterances such as 'yeah' and 'hmm' aim to indicate that I am listening and interested in what is being said. In C.D.3 I ask Happy to explain why she thinks what Amira has described is a form of discrimination.

```
Happy   it's like discrimination. (.)
Rachel  it's kind of a discrimination?
Happy   yeah.
Rachel  yeah? but why are you saying it's discrimination.
```

```
Happy   she likes she only likes Sylheti person.=
Salima  yeah=
Happy   not like (xxxx) person=
Salima  yeah. yeah=
Happy  Amira is
       [(xxxxx)]=
Amira  [ yeah I heard about err]=
```

(Extract taken from C.D.3)

This leads to a more complex discussion regarding differences between people born in the UK who are Bengali speakers and Bengali speakers from Bangladesh, one in which additional learners join in and a deeper level of understanding is arrived at.

Kremer (2016, p.143) in an analysis of a transcript taken from a language classroom describes how the teacher is 'recast as a bystander, an attentive listener'. In this example it could be argued that I have taken up such a position from the beginning, quantitively I say very little, though still occasionally directing the flow of the discourse, admittedly not always successfully as described above. Kremer (2016, p.149) also discusses, with reference to Communities of Practice (see Lave and Wenger, 1991), how students can move from peripheral participation to full participation as the teacher takes up an increasingly dialogic stance. In this instance due to the nature of the discussion and my own personal history it feels to me as if I were a peripheral participant to some extent as beyond some management of the discourse there is little which I can contribute compared to the learners.

5.5.3 Learners managing dialogic discussions

The extract of classroom talk analysed in this chapter contains examples of learners adopting a dialogic stance as they too seek to manage the discourse through validating what others' have said, listening attentively and interrupting when they want to add their own voice. Although the excerpt taken from C.D.3 may initially look confusing it does show Salima and Amira validating what Happy is saying. Near the end of C.D.1 Jahanara tells other learners to be quiet so she can presumably listen to Amira. I still have a role to play and appear at times to be at the centre of the discourse when learners address their utterances to me specifically, such as when Sadia takes the floor in C.D.2. Signifying the presence and enduring power of the traditional interaction order of the classroom or alternatively that I am the participant with the most to learn. Either way learners are taking an active role in managing the discourse.

The outcome of this dialogic stance is that the learners work well together to build knowledge, engaging in what Skidmore and Murakami (2016b, pp.233-234) describe as 'polyphonic dialogue'. The aim of this type of dialogue is not to arrive at a consensus, but instead at a feeling that each individual has had a role in shaping a dialogue in which everyone's understanding has been deepened. Most of the learners apart from listening and validating what others had said also took the opportunity to actively participate, relaying their own experiences and ideas, C.D.2 and C.D.4 illustrate the clearest examples of this. They achieved this by claiming space to talk, as in C.D. 2 where Sadia relates a story similar to Amira's but where a person's reluctance to use Bengali was justified by previous experiences regarding the precise use of language required in a legal context. Happy in C.D.4 provides a more positive narrative concerning interaction with a medical professional, which counters Amira's experience. These particular narratives, along with interruptions and short turns from other learners serve to move the discussion on from the possible discrimination of one group of speakers by another to a consideration of why people with knowledge of Bengali born in the UK may be reluctant to employ it. The amount of latching, where there is no break between speakers, represented by = in the transcripts, can be seen to indicate, that learners are engaged and keen not only to have their voice heard, but to move the discussion on. They are using their past experiences to bring different perspectives to the discussion.

Learners discussed this issue in small groups before the whole class discussion, as well as participating in a similar discussion just two months ago, perhaps explaining why they are able to take such an active role in the discussion, along with their high-level English language skills. They had an opportunity to rehearse some of the stories they shared and the points they made, but there is a degree of spontaneity regarding this discussion. The 'errs' and 'erms' which litter the extract demonstrate that learners are thinking on their feet. As Kremer (2016, p.150) notes this is extremely demanding and in this instance, I would say more so as learners are discussing an emotive topic which has stirred up strong feelings, especially in Amira who in her story was denied access to vital resources for herself and her family. The sharing of experiences regarding English language use, as part of a wider narrative of language learning, pushed learners to become active participants in a complex discussion out of which new understandings were arrived at.

I also observed other instances of dialogic exchanges between this group of learners prior to this discussion. For example, in my classroom observation notes from 11.03.21 regarding a discussion on how learners prefer to learn I noted that one learner changed her position over the course of a short discussion. She began by stating that she prioritised writing when it came to language learning as it helped her remember what she was learning. Further on she changes this to include reading as well as writing, after presumably listening to others as well as reflecting on her original position, illustrating I believe an openness to dialogue where stated positions are not necessary final and discussions do not have to be disputational.

5.6 A dialogical analysis

The above analysis offers an insight into the potential for discussions of language learning experiences to reshape interactions between teachers and learners. This narrow focus has highlighted how developing such narratives can lead to the opening up of space in the local interaction order so learners' voices can be better heard. I now move to a broader dialogical analysis to consider the wider context. Vitanova (2013, p.259) states, 'Bakhtin enables us to bridge the individual and the social in second language learning'. This is possible Pavlenko (2007) argues, as narratives are produced with an audience in mind and therefore always co-constructed. Even when the immediate audience is singular, they can be seen as representing a broader group or an ideological position, similarly argued by Davies and Harré (1990). Furthermore, such narratives often contain the words and actions of others which the narrator responds to, as described in 5.3. In this section I focus on analysing the same discussion from this broader perspective using the literature referred to here as a guide. As Vitanova's (2013) work contains interviews with migrant workers in the USA, reflecting on the challenges of communicating in English it is perhaps unsurprising that I have found similar themes emerging from the classroom discussion. I also consider the three written autobiographies which I collected. Both Pavlenko (2007) and Vitanova (2013) contemplate an analysis of written and oral narratives, whereas Davies and Harré (1990) are more focused on the dynamic process present in conversation. This is reflected in my analysis which now follows.

5.6.1 Space to resist

This theme draws again upon Amira's spoken narrative employing Bakhtin's notion of double-voicedness and informed by Vitanova's (2013, p.252-253) analysis of Nataliia and the challenges she faced when communicating with her English-speaking co-workers. Amira's narrative is co-constructed as it contains the discourse of the GP as well as being directed towards myself and the other members of the class. Early on in her narrative she proclaims, 'I could understand about reading and writing', with reference to English, and also 'when she speaks slowly I can understand, but when err she she speaking fluently, then I can't understand.' I believe in this instance Amira is addressing how she may have been perceived by the GP or society in general; that she should really have made the effort to learn English. In this extract she is able to contest this perception of her as she states she arrived in the UK with knowledge of English, but understandably as someone who had not previously lived in an English-speaking environment communicating with native speakers in a high-stakes interaction was a challenge for her. The retelling of this event also provided the opportunity for Amira to respond to the GP's denial of assistance in Bengali when she emotively declares 'You can try! You can try to speak in Bengali but you didn't try.' It is unclear if Amira actually said this to the GP at the time, if not revisiting this event in the classroom has provided her with the opportunity to voice her response to the GP's position. The tone which she uses, denoted by the exclamation mark, also illustrates the emotion and upset this event caused. I would argue that this is not solely aimed at the GP on a personal level, but also to a wider audience regarding the challenges of accessing essential healthcare as a newly arrived speaker of other languages.

Nearer the end of the discussion Amira causes the class to break out in laughter as she reports what her husband said after the above event:

> after hear that err situation. about that situation. and err about that what happened in the GP. my husband say. don't worry about that. don't worry about that. I think she has a fight with her husband. don't=
>
> (Extract taken from C.D.4)

Although this is not an example of parody, it serves the same purpose as described by Vitanova (2013, p.254), where laughter is considered an act of resistance as it rearranges positions of power. Prior to this the GP who interacted with Amira held a considerable amount of power, acting as a gatekeeper to healthcare. In the excerpt

above Amira's interlocutor is no longer positioned primarily as a medical professional, but as someone in a relationship which has its ups and downs, a position most people can identify with. Briefly the GP becomes Amira's peer and no longer an authoritarian figure.

Pavlenko (2007, p.181) in her evaluation of autobiographic narratives claims that they provide an opportunity to subvert power relations. Specifically, she states that this is achieved by transforming those who may have been positioned as objects by various discourses to more active subjects, openly evaluating and responding to their experiences. In Amira's retelling she is no longer silenced, forced to accept the situation she found herself in at the surgery, but she is able to voice her anger and her own perspectives regarding this situation. For Vitanova (2005, p.143) one of the key elements to developing a voice and self-authorship is 'active engagement in one's situation'. Amira achieves this through a critical examination of a Freirian pictorial code which she then applies to a personal experience and as a result becomes a prominent participant in a discussion where she speaks out against her treatment. The space and support to do this is essential for adult migrants who speak other languages, as Vitanova (2005, p.146) highlights such people are often dealing with the pain of losing their voice as they are no longer able to '"reveal", themselves to others in their first language'. As discussed in 5.5.1 the ability to speak out is essential to improving the life chances of many migrants and developing a voice in English is surely an essential step in this process.

5.6.2 More than an ESOL learner

This particular theme centres around the concept of positioning considered by Davies and Harré (1990, p.48) as a conversational process where individuals can take up positions in 'jointly produced storylines', identifiable 'by extracting autobiographical aspects'. An analysis of the data from the classroom discussion through this conceptual lens has led me to identify a variety of positions which learners were able to take up during the classroom discourse. I argue that by focusing on experiences of using English outside the classroom learners could adopt an array of positions beyond that of language learners. This allowed individuals to share a larger part of their autobiography and consequently make greater contributions to the discussion. A

possibility which was enhanced as they took charge of the classroom discourse, as discussed in section 5.4.

The positions taken up and assigned to others in the individual retellings formed part of an overarching narrative concerning the challenges of using English and communicating outside the classroom. The learners adopted similar positions throughout the discussion relating mainly to negotiating access to resources for themselves and their family as well as other interactions connected to their roles as primary care givers for their children. There does, however, appear to be some resistance to how Amira positions the GP in her narrative as someone reluctant to offer assistance to Bengali speakers from outside Sylhet. Although there is a general agreement that the GP could have done more to help Amira, there is evidence that as the discussion develops a number of learners begin to view the GP more sympathetically. For example, Jahanara when talking about Bengali or Sylheti speakers born in this country says, 'they like to really really err pronounces really hard', and 'they are trying modelling stylish'. This perhaps portrays such speakers as highly self-conscious of their non-native language skills, lending an amount of sympathy and understanding to the position adopted by the GP. It also illustrates how through this discussion Jahanara, along with all the other participants, apart from myself, have moved from being positioned as language learners to positioning themselves as language experts, ably assessing the language skills of non-native speakers of Bengali and Sylheti in particular.

Six of the seven participants had children most of whom were school-age and during the discussion they referred to their experiences of raising children in a multilingual environment. Happy in C.D.4 retold a positive experience of interacting with a medical professional. Sofia in the same extract also reports her experience of talking to one of her child's teachers at parents' evening.

Sofia my son. my son's school. then last fff time then there were parents meeting. then when they registered the time. there are (xxxx) interpreter Bengali. then (.) that time yeah. I said yes. but last two time their records show that I need Bengali. then when first went do you need Bengali I said no. I can now. then there when they (.) heard

my language then my son teacher oh you know (xxxx). my son also his she's teacher he's (.) Bengali but she can't speak Bengali.=

(Extract taken from C.D.4)

Relating yet another positive interaction with someone who could be seen as a figure of authority. Sofia's story also provides the opportunity for her to position herself as a successful language learner and competent multilingual. In this excerpt she describes how she no longer requires an interpreter, apparent also to her son's teacher, who unlike Sofia is only able to communicate in English. This is in contrast to my classroom observation dated 04.03.21, the first session where there was a focus on multilingualism. Here I recorded how some learners stated they knew only 'a little bit of English', despite the high level of the class, automatically positioning themselves as deficient in necessary language skills.

Overall, during the course of the discussion multilingual learners are no longer positioned as a problem or deficient, as can happen in an education system which values monolingualism as the norm (see Conteh, 2015). Here the learner-directed discussion provided numerous opportunities for learners to adopt alternative positions in conversations which others were able to relate to and expand upon. The walls of the classroom dissolved, and learners considered the challenges of communicating in multilingual spaces in the 'real world', reflecting upon both successful and unsuccessful encounters. Taking up positions as language experts and primary carers for their families led Sofia and Happy in particular at the end of the discussion to return not simply to the position of language learners but to that of highly successful ones.

5.6.3 A multilingual reality

The complexities of communicating in a multilingual environment dominated the classroom discussion. In the three written language learner autobiographies I collected multilingualism emerged as a dominant theme as well. I was heavily influenced in this analysis by the work of Pavlenko (2007) as I reread the narratives several times trying to resist the urge to undertake a simple content analysis. As previously stated, it was difficult to gain much from an analysis of the structure or form of the autobiographies as I ran out of time to fully support learners to plan, draft and write more personalised stories. In Appendix F it is possible to compare the model that learners were provided with and the work they produced to realise the extent to which

they were influenced by it. However, following Pavlenko's (2007) advice to look beyond the content of the narratives and consider what is missing I realised how significant the theme of multilingualism was. In Salima's written work her main focus is on learning Spanish as an adult, not English, if she had had more time she may have added some further paragraphs, but as it is she devotes four out of seven paragraphs to her experience of learning Spanish. For me this emphasis brings into focus the multilingual reality of these learners' lives.

Amira writes about learning Dhakaiya Bengali, standard Bengali, Arabic, English and her difficulties with trying to learn Italian. Sadia whilst growing up in Bangladesh describes learning Bengali, Arabic and English. However, this is how she begins her first paragraph about the UK,

'In 2017 1st of October I started my first job in the UK, where
I was working everyone was speaking Urdu, so I learned Urdu from them'.

These learners really have developed a rich linguistic repertoire, which reflects their personal histories and identities, reminding me of the learner who in Chapter 4 described how she used a second or third language to communicate with other learners in the class when she needed support. Engaging with these, as I hope to have demonstrated, has opened up space for learners to claim space to talk, to direct their own discussions and adopt a range of positions in conversation beyond that of being an ESOL learner.

5.7 The real world of the classroom

This final theme draws upon the classroom observation notes I made throughout the project. I reread these several times in order to undertake a type of template analysis as described in 4.3 As these were not a primary data source in this section of my research I used the themes I had already formed through Conversation Analysis and a dialogical approach as my guide. Consequently, I have been able to draw on the observation notes in this chapter to support and at times add extra depth to the claims I have made. As I reflected upon these further there emerged a final theme which I had not found in my other data sources. This concerned the reality of classroom life in a publicly funded adult education institute, a space where adult ESOL learners raise issues they encounter in their everyday lives and tutors attempt to find a balance between meeting institutional demands along with the needs of learners.

The decision to focus on experiences of language learning was mine, even though it was one which I hoped learners would quickly become engaged with and have some role in directing the ensuing classroom discourse. I believe that I have demonstrated that this did indeed happen. However, I can find at least two instances where learners brought in a new focus which they wished to be addressed during the course of the lesson. This is evident in the observation dated 11.03.21 where I state:

> 'before we could get to this we talked about the Census as on learner had requested support with it and we returned frequently to the topic of employment.....'

These issues may have disrupted the flow of the sessions on language use and learning, but as Roberts et al. (2004) discuss with reference to asylum seekers, the ESOL classroom is often more than a space for learning a language. It is a vital source of information, where teachers provide support and advocacy for their learners. Although these learners were not asylum seekers, Amira's story highlights how settling in a country where you may not have established support networks can leave individuals vulnerable as they attempt to access essential resources or comply with official demands, such as completing the Census. This sort of 'disruption' I believe aligns with arguments made in 5.5.1 where learners were claiming a space to talk. Here they are not only directing classroom discourse, but also deciding the lesson focus in order to receive the support they require. To employ a truly dialogic stance teachers must be open to these changes in focus, otherwise once again learners will be silenced with classroom discourse becoming monologic in nature.

There is another example of learners changing the focus of the lesson this time due to a misunderstanding. During the session on 16.03.21 we revised the structure remember + verb + ing and I had planned to ask learners to then share their memories of their first ESOL class. However, one learner began talking very vividly about a childhood memory involving her father. I noted in my observations

> 'As this learner seemed to begin discussing something that was very important to her I decided not to move directly on to talking about their first ESOL class, but to discuss a happy memory from childhood, which learners did in pairs in breakout rooms'.

The stories which emerged from these discussions centred on gendered relations between father's and daughters and cultural expectations regarding acceptable

female behaviour in both the UK and Bangladesh. This turned into talk about the then recent murder of Sarah Everard, an important and relevant conversation which arose out of a misunderstanding.

The 'institutional demands', namely the passing of qualifications necessary to gain funding for the learning provider, seemed a distraction from the work we were doing rather than a disruption. The definition of distraction according to the Cambridge English dictionary online is 'something that prevents someone from giving their attention to something else'. This seems at times a fitting description of exam related work in ESOL classroom, where meaningful work relating to real issues in learners' lives has to be drawn to a halt in order to focus on exam tasks. Such tasks rarely relate to learners' real-life experience, although learners do seem to value them and they can add structure to learning. For example, this is the concluding paragraph for the lesson observation dated 18.03.21,

> 'Rest of the lesson was taken up with an introduction to Level 1 role play. Learners watched a video and answered questions highlighting the language they would need. They then asked questions about the role play and the exam in general.
> There was no time to undertake the final activity where learners conducted a role play around the English only rule.'

The above extract highlights the possibility of adapting exam tasks, here the role play where learners have to discuss an issue amongst themselves and then with a manager, councillor or head of department, so they can relate it to a relevant experience being discussed in class. Such adaptation is not always possible or fruitful, as I discussed in my introductory chapter the AECC breaks down language into supposedly easily identifiable competencies, presenting language in a decontextualised manner. The purpose of exam tasks is to allow learners the opportunity to demonstrate that they can use specific language items designated as being at their level. Consequently, restricting the natural flow of spoken discourse as learners must attend to producing the correct language forms at the expense of expressing themselves fully, an issue which I return to again in the following chapter. I would argue this may be due to the varying demands made upon time in the ESOL classroom along with an over estimation of what could be achieved in a session,

especially as Alexander (2017, p.20) highlights that adopting a dialogic approach can slow down the pace of the lesson. Taking a dialogic approach may have the potential to be effective but does not necessarily fit in smoothly with the Skills for Life approach. The classroom observation notes which continually refer to running out of time, especially after having engaged in a dialogic exchange, may highlight personal problems with planning, but also the potential for such an approach to be time consuming.

5.8 Overview of analysis

An analysis of the data in this chapter has allowed me to illustrate the possible benefits of exploring experiences of language learning, where learners are encouraged to produce extended narratives and engage with others. An autobiographical focus enables learners to take up a range of different positions in which, 'to name the world' from their perspective (Vitanova, 2005, p145). As this work is undertaken in a class environment the narratives produced are not simply monologues, but enter a space where others present their perspectives and a polyphonic dialogue ensues. The result of this is that learners' voices are not only heard, but also validated, challenged or transformed as their understanding is deepened through engagement with others. In a world where ESOL learners may suffer from a loss of voice in the public sphere the opportunity to develop one in the ESOL classroom by sharing experiences and critical reflection amongst potentially sympathetic listeners is surely vital.

However, I must sound a note of caution. As I hoped to have made clear throughout this chapter much of what I describe is context dependent. The learners involved in the discussions, along with myself as a teacher all brought our individual experiences, linguistic knowledge and abilities into the classroom. Combined with the setting of a relatively small adult education provider and the timing of the discussion at the end of the academic year this led to a unique configuration. In the next chapter I report undertaking some of the same activities which did not prove to be as effective. The point of the interventions I have undertaken as part of an exploratory case study, is to highlight the potential of these dialogic approaches to support a more inclusive pedagogy. As I utilised the materials from the 'Our Languages' project in my own way, I do not expect this chapter to act as a template to be simply reproduced in ESOL classrooms. Hopefully I have provided sufficient detail for other ESOL tutors to make

informed decisions regarding what may be appropriate for their particular setting whilst prompting thoughts regarding relevant adaptations which could be made.

I similarly do not wish to overclaim the benefits of this particular intervention, recognising that the analysis of this data has thrown up various questions about this particular approach. For example, the themes discussed in this chapter seems to focus on arriving at a better understanding of learners' situations, failing to reach the action stage at the heart of participatory pedagogies. Other questions concern the need to focus on language form and accuracy which are also absent from this chapter. I shall therefore continue to assess language learning narratives, along with the other two interventions in a discussion chapter where I return and expand upon some of the points I make here.

6. Exploratory talk

6.1 Introduction

This chapter is concerned with the final intervention I undertook with a group of ESOL learners. As stated in 2.7 the nature of classroom discourse must be a central consideration to any dialogic pedagogy. Furthermore, in 2.9 I discuss those such as Skidmore (2016c) and Wegerif (2020) who consider how dialogic classroom discourse can potentially open up space for learners to position themselves as genuine interlocutors, capable of playing an active role in the generation of knowledge. In this intervention I then concentrate on a specific way of engaging with others in the classroom, which has, I believe the potential to support teachers and learners in the same endeavour. This approach is called exploratory talk, or more recently educational dialogue, and is referred to frequently in the literature on dialogic education. I therefore decided to plan an intervention where I engaged with learners in order to explore the possibility of applying key concepts of exploratory talk in the ESOL classroom. I was guided in this by the toolkit previously referred to in 2.9 using it to plan a series of lessons, specific information regarding this is presented below (T-SEDA collective,2021).

6.2 The tutor focus group

Before presenting the findings from the planned intervention I again aim to provide an insight into a group of tutors' attitudes towards the aspect of teaching and learning in question through the analysis of data from a tutor focus group, this time focusing on classroom discussions. The data collected, forms a backdrop for the work I undertook with learners to then be used to inform answers to RQs 2 and 3 and finally to feed into the overarching research focus of developing a dialogic pedagogy.

The focus group was attended by four ESOL tutors and one ESOL manager who had previously worked as a tutor for the same provider. The manager expressed a genuine interest in participating and their presence did not prevent tutors from talking about problems they faced when undertaking classroom discussions. The manager herself described one instance from her own teaching practice where a discussion caused a considerable problem within the class she taught. However, it is impossible to declare

that her participation did not impact on the tutors' contributions in some way. One of the tutors had taken part in the previous focus group, two of the others had started teaching for the provider in 2019 after completing their PGCEs so can be viewed as relatively new teachers. The other teacher has been working for the provider for over 15 years and has spent the last few years specialising in a phonics-based approach to literacy skills for ESOL learners who need support with developing their reading and writing.

I had a pre-prepared list of questions written after re-reading section 2.9, but as before I aimed to respond to what was said contingently, allowing the discussion to develop as naturally as possibly. Participants were given an information sheet and had an opportunity to ask questions before signing a consent form. All of them agreed to being audio recorded and the discussion lasted just over 45 minutes. After the focus group I listened to the recording making notes of what was said, I read over the notes highlighting possible areas of interest. I then used an online transcription tool to produce a basic transcript before relistening to the recording multiple times in order to complete a more accurate one of the highlighted areas whilst adding to the notes of sections which had not been transcribed. I followed the transcription conventions as described in 3.9 to undertake a simple form of Conversation Analysis with the aim of providing a clearer picture of possible group dynamics as well as how ideas were developed collaboratively through interaction.

6. 3 Data Analysis

I have once again employed template analysis as the main form of data analysis for the tutor focus group, the classroom observation and partly for the recording of learner discussions for the same reasons as stated in 4.3. This time however, my initial thoughts after the completing of a detailed transcription of the data were drawn from a broader range of literature as I reread sections 2.7 to 2.9 of my literature review making a note of what I considered to be key ideas and not necessarily a priori themes, with these in mind I turned my attention to the transcript. I highlighted extracts which I considered relevant to my research, making written notes to clarify what I thought they exemplified. These were then grouped together to from codes consisting of more specific sub-themes, a copy of the coding template can be seen in Appendix H. Furthermore, by this stage of my research I had a clearer understanding of dialogic

discourse and a greater sensitivity regarding the subtleties of spoken interaction. I therefore, present longer extracts of talk from both the teacher focus group and classroom audio-recordings than in Chapter 4. Short illustrative extracts have been selected based on a consideration of which appeared to present the clearest example of the themes formed out of my interpretation of data. However, as in both Chapter 4 and 5 longer extracts are made available, in this instance in Appendix I, to help provide a fuller picture of the interaction which took place.

6.4 What is a discussion

Before presenting the findings I would like to provide some clarification regarding the meaning of the word discussion as used in the focus group. It is not until 15 minutes in that I ask tutors what they mean when they talk about discussions, this is after we have already considered how often and why they have discussions along with the subjects discussed and thoughts about their roles as tutors while they take place. When I posed this question they had already been using the word discussion interchangeably with the word conversation and did in fact continue to do so throughout the rest of the focus group. For tutors discussions appeared to entail an exchange of opinions between a group of people, which could include pair work, small group work or a whole class discussion. T1 in particularly emphasised the need for some form of difference in opinions held for there to be a discussion declaring, 'so I think I see a discussion spark when someone goes I don't agree'. Generally, however, there seemed to be some form consensus around a discussion being an exchange of opinions on a range of topics with examples given as wide ranging to include how to cook onions and gender roles. Sometimes tutors did label such interactions as conversations, which I therefore also take to mean discussions.

6.4.1 Discussions as a multifunctional teaching and learning device

This theme relates to the number of different purposes a discussion can have according to the tutors, with each of the reasons identified forming a sub-theme. One of the first reasons given as to why tutors carry out discussions is to practice the language which they have been focusing on, a point expanded on later to include pronunciation. There is also perhaps the more popular viewpoint that discussions can serve as a springboard for future learning as expressed in the excerpt below.

5 Errm and then seeing what they were talking about, and then trying to just add vocabulary or add grammar, so they could then discuss it in more detail.
R Yeah
5 And make
4 Yeah because you can pick up language they're using.
5 yeah
4 Oh maybe can we need to focus on the next class. Because it seems more relevant than what I'm planning for them they're giving me language to work.

(Extract from F.G.3)

According to the above tutors are listening to discussions so they can identify learners' interests and learning needs, in order to help them better express themselves, an aspect of discussion work which I return to further on.

A broader view expressed is that discussions offer an interesting learning opportunity for both tutors and learners, illustrated by the excerpt below which is a response to my question about why tutors have discussions in their classes.

2 Taken I mean you know one it's just interesting.
R yeah
2 A very basic human level.
1 Yeah
2 it's very interesting to have conversations, especially with those that maybe come from a different background from yourself

(Extract from F.G.3)

ESOL classrooms are inhabited by people from diverse backgrounds and as stated above it can sometimes simply be that tutors and learners are satisfying their curiosity by finding out about different experiences. T1 and T2 both consider that at the end of a discussion participants can potentially leave with a broader perspective on the topic discussed. T2 declares, 'I think it gets to the point of ahh people have seen a new way of you know seeing something' and T1 states, 'You kind of learn something new. There's a kind of discovery.' These views accentuate how discussions can not only support language acquisition and practice but also the development of a more generalised form of knowledge about the world in which participants live.

Discussions serve another broader purpose, that of building a productive learning community within the classroom. T3 talks about how she uses discussions at the start of a course so learners get to know each other, bond and create a more informal

atmosphere. This is a priority for T3 in order to counter views of teaching and learning which learners may arrive with,

> 'because so many of them are coming with baggage from their education. When teacher just tells you x y z, and there's maybe (xxxx) or whatever it is. So it's really nice to foster that sort of thing.'
> (Extract from F.G.4)

T2 puts this another way when stating 'it also makes the kind of power maybe the power balance in the class a bit more even'. In this sub-theme discussions are a way of indicating to learners that the tutor is not the sole possessor of knowledge in the classroom, that learners' own ideas and opinions are of value to. A proposition explored in more detail in two further themes relating to the positioning of tutors and learners.

There are also indications of the belief that discussions have a role to play in the development of voice as learners attempt to express themselves in English. For example, T4 describes how in the context of classroom discussions she tells learners 'you have to make use of the space' that learners should not be afraid 'to try out ideas' stating that it's a 'safe place to do that'. A point expanded upon by T5 who also refers to the classroom as a safe space, where learners can 'try things out' with the aim as stated above to engage in language practise, but also 'to feel more confident for then transferring that outside'. T3 is similarly concerned with the need for learners to express themselves, but adds an extra element to this idea by allowing learners where possible to have these discussions in other languages stating that, 'translanguaging gives people the freedom to be able to to take turns and just express themselves'. Her reasoning for this is that the classes she teaches have learners with a range of speaking abilities in English and that lower-level learners 'find it very difficult sometimes to really get to the meat of what they want to say'. The ideas and opinions expressed in T3's class are then used to form the starting point for written work.

The findings above suggest that these teachers view their role as developing not only learners' ability to function on an everyday level in English, but to better express their thoughts and feelings by engaging in classroom discussions. There is a recognition, as in the focus group concerning multilingualism, by tutors that learners arrive in the classroom with a range of experiences which inform their outlook and that they should

seek to engage with them to not only develop language skills but to develop a deeper understanding of the world around them. Classroom discussions from the teachers' point of view allow them to do both.

6.4.2 Natural, organic discussions versus unnatural, 'boxed-in' discussions

As referred to above there was an opinion that discussions in ESOL classes would just naturally occur as teachers and learners satisfy their interest in the experiences of others. That when this particularly diverse group of people meet an exchange of opinions on a range of subjects happens automatically. This idea concerning the natural occurrence of discussions is one which was returned to numerous times over the course of the focus group.

At the very beginning of the discussion when I enquire if tutors have discussions in their classes T4 states 'sometimes more organically, it's not really planned'. Further on T4 relates a story of how in one of her classes the simple act of drawing up a rota of who was going to bring in tea, coffee and biscuits at break time led to a full-blown discussion on gender roles.

2 And we started to make up this, you know, err kind of timetable of how it's going to go.
One of the guys was, I'll pay for biscuits, but I'm a man, I'm not going to make tea.
And low and behold,
[that just kick started it
3 [Laughter
2 I was like I've been waiting for this for you guys to finally have a discussion.
This is way more interesting than what's your likes and dislikes.
And it just went for it, we stayed with it for the whole lesson.
But we actually set it up then we set the tables up, and we had a real discussion of what everyone thought and yeah very passionate.
(Extract from F.G.5)

According to the tutor learners were invested in this topic and had plenty to say, an opportunity she had been waiting for, valued and one which apparently occurred naturally.

T1 similarly reflects on the benefits of naturally occurring discussions when he talks about teaching next door to a volunteer-led conversation club for speakers of other languages. He declared that 'they have better conversations than I, than we do' and a little further on, 'there's no structure, she just let's them speak'. T1 then reflects 'they're the best conversations are the ones that are not planned' and tells of the success he had when they attempted to emulate this approach, undertaking a discussion on gardening. It obviously should be noted that an ESOL class and a conversation club serve different purposes and that the assistant running the club is not a trained teacher and does not share the same responsibilities as an ESOL tutor. Also overhearing parts of a discussion through a classroom wall does not lead to an accurate evaluation its quality. However, these two examples highlight the reported benefits of being able to respond contingently to learners so that their voices can be heard. An opportunity I would say, which was valued by all the participants in the focus group.

When thinking about how discussions end in tutors' classes the theme of naturalness returns again with T1 declaring, 'I think I try to let it fizzle out' because 'you can get something from there you can learn something form it.' T2 echoes this point saying 'depends sometimes it comes to a natural end', although they continue to state that sometimes 'you do have to kind of take control'. Discussions can occur naturally and end naturally and even when they have been instigated by the tutor learners are apparently able to take control to make it their own.

2 I think a lot of the time, you know you kind of start the topic but it err often goes off from one of the things
R errm
2 they've said, and then it can be quite far away from where it started.
R Yeah
2 So then that it's kind of turned into their topic, I guess.
(Extract from F.G.2)

One possible way which is mentioned is learners' ability to bring the focus of discussions to what is referred to as 'their countries', the places they have migrated from. In Chapter 5 learners were also able to focus the discussions on their present situations in the UK. From this perspective classroom discussions can indeed open up space for learners to express themselves, change the course of the lesson whilst tutors listen out for and look to exploit potential talking points which crop up during class time to achieve this.

Despite the valuing of naturally occurring discussions when questioned tutors also talked about teaching discussion skills, to make the process of discussions explicit. T3 provides the example of giving learners an object which they have to be holding if they want to speak, the reason for this being 'it sort of slows it down, makes them a little bit more intentional' whilst encouraging them to think about the other participants in the discussion. There is also a realisation that there is a cultural element to discussions,

5 but there's cultural difference
4 yeah
5 like not looking someone in the eye.
And it's sort of encouraging people to look, look in the eye and acknowledge that someone is speaking.
So you breaking down those cultural, cultural barriers.

Tutors are aware that for effective discussions to take place time needs to be spent considering and practicing discussion skills.

The teaching of discussion skills was raised at various points during the focus group and every time it was Skills for Life exams were also mentioned, which were seen as limiting as illustrated in the excerpt below.

4 I found it quite hard to teach discussion skills,
R yeah
4 preparing them and then it's just feels a bit dunno
5 unnatural
4 unnatural contrived
5 yeah
4 And it's okay to use these, these phrases exactly
5 Yeah
4 I think because I'm thinking of the exam, I'm preparing them for the exam and so it feels very boxed in.
(Extract from F.G.7)

The tutors' main frame of reference for teaching discussion skills was consistently the Skills for Life exams, it also appeared to be their main motivation for doing so as well. T2's thoughts on teaching discussion skills including body language and turn taking were all given with reference to exams. T5 appears to describe a process similar to Mercer's (2000, p.38) description of the negotiation of ground rules for talk where criteria for having good discussions are created, but undertaken so learners can observe and evaluate each other within the context of the exam.

5 Errm they would come up with the a list
R Yeah
5 of criteria themselves of what makes a good discussion.

> Have the tick. Okay right. Now listen to these two for exam prep, and tick off.
> if you aww really good errm examples of discussion techniques and and feedback to to those pair at the end,
> that that worked really really well, because it brings things it makes things really conscious or conscious of these things.

As previously stated, discussions are used and valued a great deal by these tutors for reasons beyond functional language learning, some of which could be labelled as being dialogical in nature. However, when it comes to considering discussion skills, which teachers know they need to include in their lessons, their minds shift to focus on the exam. As I began to consider in 5.7 and declared by teachers themselves above, exam style discussion tasks can seem 'unnatural' limiting opportunities for learners to genuinely interact with each other. This is not meant as a criticism of these teachers, as I hoped to have made clear in my first two chapters tutors in government-funded provision have to continually find a balance between the needs of learners and official requirements, which do not necessarily align. As the learning provider is reliant upon exam success for funding it is understandable that teachers focus is at times dominated by the exam. As a consequence, what appears to be an essential part of classroom discourse is mainly considered within the constraints of an exam environment.

6.4.3 Positions taken up by tutors during discussions

In 5.5 I examined the different positions taken up by learners and myself during a class discussion using the work of Vitanova (2013) and Harré and Brown (1990) to arrive at a dialogical understanding of the interaction. In these final two themes drawn from the focus group on classroom discussions I return once again to this notion of positioning and consider the different positions tutors report to adopt over the course of classroom discussions.

The tutors described taking up a supportive and encouraging role to foster a classroom environment in which discussions can take place. This can be seen above when T3 says how she uses discussions to create a more informal atmosphere, hoping to signal that in their new class the tutor will not have all the answers and that learners' opinions and ideas will matter too. This is further reinforced in T3's class when learners are

given the opportunity to have discussions in other languages where possible, so they can better express themselves. T1 listens out for differences in opinions to turn into discussions, which T2 also demonstrates she does with the example of the gender roles discussion, while T4 reflects on how discussions can change the direction of future learning. Through these acts I believe teachers are signalling to learners that they are being listened to and that their views and opinions matter. From this perspective teachers are playing a supportive role to aid learners in better expressing themselves.

At times however, tutors claim to adopt a more managerial role where they take control of classroom discourse. This overlaps with their supportive role and it is not always possible to tell the two apart, for example when T1 describes how in their classroom 'some people find it difficult sp speaking across tables, or in a class as a whole'. Consequently, they plan a range of discussion activities with groups of various sizes, increasing opportunities for all learners to be able to speak. Here the teacher is deciding how learners will interact with each other to allow for better discussions. In a much clearer managerial role teachers talk about how they step in when they think things are becoming too heated. T2 states that the course of action in such situations is,

> 'reminding everyone that you know, well, you know, everyone's allowed to have their own opinion needs to stay respectful, and errm everyone's equal',

although T2 continues to say that this happens very rarely. T3 also gives an example of where she brought a discussion to a close because she thought it was inappropriate as it related to a volatile political situation and could have upset a learner.

Tutors made repeated references to the classroom as a safe space, in fact the example from T3 above came about as she considered 'safe discussions' and discussions which were 'not so safe'. I have also previously referenced T4's labelling of the classroom as a safe space as she encourages learners to try things out in English in the classroom which they may not have the confidence to do outside. Tutors feel responsible for creating a positive learning environment in which learners feel comfortable and able to participate and wonder what they could have done differently

when things go wrong. This point is highlighted by T5's retelling of an incident in one of their classes,

5 And it was about a learner didn't feel respected in the class by another learner.
We had the lady highly educated from Dhaka,
R yeah
5 and the lady from Sylhet who hadn't had any schooling,
and she felt like the other learner was belittling her.
Unknown mmmm
5 To the point they were screaming at each other.
R gosh
5 And I had to get the centre to come and help me intervene.
It was Yeah. So it's like, I don't know. I don't know. Yeah.
(Extract from F.G.6)

At the end of this retelling T5 reflects,

'And then you reflect back as teacher going. Did I make that situation happen? Or would it have just happened anyway.'

Here inequalities and tensions from outside became apparent as learners tried to express themselves in the classroom, with the result that for however brief a moment the classroom was not a safe space for some of its inhabitants which left the tutor feeling in some way responsible. Following this T4 also shared a similar story, although this time the tension arose because learners were using other languages in a classroom where one learner did not share any other language besides English. This particular learner became upset as 'she just felt she couldn't get her voice heard'. Both of these tutors expressed the difficulties of managing discussions with lower level ESOL learners with T4 saying that when tensions do arise she reminds learners that they are all part of one community and that despite differences they must learn to work together.

4 Err Yes, so it's try to draw them, get them back to like thinking, well, what are we as a group as a community of people errm thinking about, we're this is us together
R Yeah
4 Err and me included with you guys,
R Yeah Yeah
4 I'm not separate so how can we (.) not make everything happy, and just real,
but also acknowledge that there are differences here,
and it's difficult to learn?

R yeah yeah
4 I think that's yeah it's still hard.

T4 completes their reflections by stating,

4 But they're also adults you're like, well you've got to be responsible for resolving
5 Yeah true
4 things, because I'm not your parent.
5 &R Yeah
4 But then I feel sometimes, like I'm becoming their parents.

(Extract from F.G.6)

There is a real tension here between tutors feeling responsible for creating a comfortable classroom environment where all can participate and recognising that they are also dealing with adult learners who must to some degree share the burden of resolving issues in the classroom.

As well as stepping in to manage discussions tutors can also take a step back when things are going well and the discussion is flowing and does not need managing. Tutors are therefore able to adopt other positions when conditions are right with two of the tutors repositioning themselves as learners.

2 Errr a lot of the time, they're talking about things that teacher doesn't know about?
So they err have you know the focus
1 Yeah
2 at that point
err Personally I find it really interesting.
So it does change.
They're the one teaching me.
1 Yeah
2 And also the others in the class something
1 I think it's generally interesting, I find it interesting.
Some of the things that they come up with, you know,
Errm (.) some of them actually know more than not saying that it's a surprise,
But some of them do know a lot.
R yeah
1 But they don't say it, because maybe the opportunity doesn't come up.
R yep.
1 So I I've certainly learned from a lot, some of them in my class especially my E3, sorry, my um my E 3s that you have L1

(Extract from F.G.3)

This is similar to the stance I found myself adopting during the whole class discussion examined in Chapter 5. In that instance learners made the topic their own, became the experts on the content and required very little assistance in managing the discourse.

6.4.4 Positions open to learners in discussions

For this theme I draw upon much of the data considered in the above section. It is also a theme I return to again in the second half of this chapter, providing as far as I am able to the learners' perspective. From the tutors' viewpoint discussions open up space for learners to become more than a learner. As teachers can become learners so learners can become teachers when they share their diverse experiences and knowledge. Topics mentioned in the discussion where this became possible include work and knowledge of other countries.

2 I mean, recently COVID comes up a lot
R Yeah
2 And it often moves into a kind of conver conversation about how their countries are dealing with it
what's the situation in their country,
whether that's the vaccine cases, lockdowns, errm
every country obviously has dealt with it very differently that has led to quite a big debate.

When learners take up other positions the potential for the creation of learning opportunities for all increase, as I hope to have demonstrated in the previous chapter and as the tutors can be seen to claim in this chapter. In this more powerful position learners can direct the classroom discourse and change the course of the lesson. However, on occasion this can challenge the harmony of the classroom and to borrow a phrase from Pratt (1991) the idea of the classroom as a 'safe house' as it comes to reflect the 'contact zone' of the outside world. This I believe was most clearly demonstrated in T5's retelling of an instance when a discussion 'went wrong' reviewed in 6.3.3. Here a learner from Sylhet with no previous educational experience felt they were being disrespected by another learner from Dhakka who is described as 'highly educated'. The level of tension caused was so great that outside intervention was needed to resolve the immediate situation. Such tensions may arise in classes where learners are given fewer opportunities to speak out and opening up space for learners

to direct the discourse and express themselves may increase the frequency of such events. Teachers do feel a sense of responsibility towards creating a learning environment in which learners feel safe and as I stated near the end of the focus group ESOL tutors do teach some vulnerable learners. However, as was expressed over the course of the discussion these learners are adults and in my opinion adults who after the lesson leave the classroom and enter the outside world with no ESOL tutor attempting to keep things safe.

6.5 The planned intervention

To investigate exploratory talk in the classroom I decided to plan and teach a series of lessons where I would adopt some of the key principles of this approach. The T-SEDA website provides a wealth of resources for teacher-led enquiry into educational dialogue. I used this to not only inform part of my literature review, but also to structure the sessions I planned. My main emphasis was on gathering learners' existing views on classroom discussions, the consideration and establishing of ground rules for better exploratory discussions, while teaching the necessary language forms required to actively participate in discussions.

Unfortunately, this part of my project did not go to plan due to problems recruiting learners. It took place near the end of the academic year when many were focusing on passing their exams and quite probably tired after a challenging year filled with uncertainty due to COVID-19. For this reason, I decided to run a supplementary class where learners were presented with an opportunity for additional speaking practice. I issued an open invitation to Entry Level 2 and Entry Level 3 ESOL learners throughout the institute and managed to recruit a small number. Their attendance was erratic and different learners came and went over the course of the 5 weeks, with only one learner starting and completing the series of lessons. This significantly impacted on the data collected and as a result my analysis and findings, so in order to understand this better a more in-depth discussion of the context now follows.

6.5.1 The context

I decided to work with Entry Level 2 and 3 learners as I wanted to recruit those who would be able to participate in discussions using English and benefit from the opportunity of extra speaking practice. To begin with in May 2021 I sent out a simple

PowerPoint presentation to teachers of the selected classes to promote the possibility of attending an additional free class where the focus would be on taking part in discussions. I also ran a brief information session where I discussed what would happen in the project and went through the information sheet and consent form. After this process I had 4 or 5 learners who agreed to take part in the sessions and to be audio recorded. The short course was to be 5 weeks in length with sessions lasting between 60-90 minutes. Here is the initial course outline:

Week 1	Recording of classroom discourse prior to intervention.
Week 2	Negotiating and practise implementing ground rules for talk. Focus on expressing ideas and inviting others to do so.
Week 3	Focus on challenging, reasoning and making it explicit. (Review and build on previous session.)
Week 4	Focus on co-ordination of ideas. (Review and build on previous sessions.)
Week 5	Reflect on process of dialogue. Review of project.

Due to problems with attendance significant changes had to be made to the nature of this short intervention. For example, the maximum number of attendees was three, which meant there was little or no difference between whole class discussion and independent group work. Also, as only one learner from the first session actually attended the second and subsequent sessions the idea of collecting baseline data did not work out, new learners were joining the short course for the first three weeks. As the sessions progressed I realised that I would not be able to monitor with much accuracy learners' progress regarding the adoption of aspects of exploratory talk. Instead, I began to consider the possibility of engaging with learners in talk regarding the purpose of classroom discussions and the establishment of ground rules for an effective exploratory discussion. My focus, therefore, shifted to mainly consider what may be thought of as the first steps in exploratory talk, that of negotiating ground rules. Here is the revised plan of work along with the data collected over the course of the project and a list of participants.

Week	Plan of work	Data Collected
Week 1 16.06.21	What is a discussion? What makes a good discussion? Deciding on ground rules for discussion.	Classroom observation Audio recording
Week 2 23.06.21	Review what is a discussion and ground rules. Give and ask for opinions. Explain opinions. Discuss aspects of language learning.	Classroom observation Audio recording
Week 3 30.06.21	Review of ground rules. Supporting others in discussions. Discussion of picture code from 'Our Languages'	Classroom Observation Audio recording
Week 4 07.07.21	Discuss advantages and disadvantages of life in London in preparation for next week.	Copies of notes made for students during discussion.
Week 5 14.07.21	Developing others' ideas. What happens if someone dominates the discussion? Discuss 'London is a good place to live. Do you agree or disagree?' Review of discussion programme.	Classroom observation Audio recording (Failed to record)

Participant	Country of Origin
L1	Venezuela
L2	Kyrgyzstan
L3	Bangladesh
L4	Bangladesh
L5	Brazil

6.6 Data analysis of classroom intervention

A form of template analysis as described in 4.3 was undertaken with the data collected. There were recordings from the first three classroom sessions and observation notes from all the sessions apart from week 4, where only 2 learners attended and the session lasted for just 30 minutes. However, I did keep copies of notes I made during

this session on flipchart paper, recording learner ideas on areas for discussion regarding life in London for the next session. Out of the numerous recordings from the 3 sessions I selected two to be transcribed, both from session 2 as I considered one to provide the clearest representation of learners' views and opinions of the purpose and potential of classroom discussions and the other a succinct example of 2 brief discussions by these learners on language learning. I began by rereading the classroom observation notes twice listing ideas and concepts which I thought were being expressed. Out of this list I began to group similar ideas together and developed a list of themes and subthemes. The transcriptions were then read through at least twice with the already developed template in mind. The transcriptions were from recordings of the observed lessons and I believe as a result no new themes emerged but some of the subthemes became more nuanced and clearer as more detail emerged.

6.7 The findings

The findings are presented here using the three main themes which emerged from an analysis of the data. These are the potential for discussion, barriers to fruitful discussions and overcoming barriers, the last two themes consist of what may be considered by Brooks and King (no date) as two parallel themes around the role of learners and the role of the teacher. A template of the coding scheme can be found in Appendix J.[16] After I present these themes, illustrated with extracts from transcriptions of classroom talk and observations, I conclude with a brief overview of the findings presented in this chapter. I have not used the names of participants, but have assigned them numbers to help preserve their anonymity.

6.7.1 The purpose and potential of discussions

The first two sessions began by asking learners how they would define a discussion along with what they considered a good discussion to be. In both sessions L1 was quick to contribute that for him discussions were an opportunity to find out about others' perceptions of the world. This was developed further in session two when he stated:

1 And try err, I don't know, I want to say maybe try to understand their opinion of the other err

[16] A longer extract of classroom talk can be found in Appendix L.

R I like that

1 Err people you know.

R yeah

1 Coz sometimes people what I'm saying why you are saying that and maybe it's you learn a different way or other behaviour from each other, whatever.

(Extract from E.T.1)

For Learner 1 then, discussions had the potential to deepen an individual's understanding of how others saw the world.

The other learners present agreed with the idea that discussions involved the exchange of opinions and ideas. However, for L2 and L4 discussions were something that ended in an agreement or a decision, although after some consideration they did modify their positions, with Learner 2 in session 1 declaring that it may not always be possible to come to an agreement. After I asked whether in a good discussion, 'do you try to agree or do you try to understand', L4 responded ' because any decision first you try to understand everything after you decide what do you think.' During these sessions I was focused solely on dialogic style discussions, failing to highlight different types of discussions carried out for different purposes. As this thesis focuses on a dialogic approach I feel it is acceptable to concentrate on dialogical exchanges, but I should have perhaps made it clear that different types of discussion are possible and of value.

The potential for discussions to broaden perspectives and allow learners the opportunity to begin a basic level of theorising can be found in the classroom observation notes where learners discuss the same picture code as used in the previous chapter. Here I describe how learners shared their experiences regarding problems of communicating in English. All learners had experienced some significant challenges in the UK and L4 began to compare their experiences of communicating in Italy, where they were not fluent in Italian, and in English in the UK, declaring that people were much more helpful in Italy. L1 and L5 built upon this idea, questioning whether they would experience the same problems outside London. L5 then suggested that the issue could be related to life in big cities stating that she had come from another big city where she experienced the same problems. Through sharing ideas, opinions and their own experiences learners were beginning to develop a theory

as to why they might have experienced problems communicating in English. I am not stating that they were developing a rigorous theoretical concept, but the discussion provided an opportunity to develop their thinking and express their ideas on a topic relevant to their lives.

I also noted in my observations during the second session examples of some of the 'good vocabulary' used by learners whilst discussing whether they agree if it is easier to learn a language when you are a child. The phrases I highlighted are 'sharp memory' and 'adults are more self-conscious'. When reading through the transcripts of the classroom discussion I was also struck by the complexity of the idea L1 was trying to communicate in following passage:

1 Err I think it is to understand because it's only my opinion is because we need, if we know err why the things happen. why the the people get their their opinion or position. I think it's enough to try to understand what that they want. So this is my point. So try to understand is because we need to know where the problem or the perception come from. This is not just for discussion for everything.
(Extract from E.T.1)

Returning to the teacher focus group T2 states how she values the opportunity to go beyond the constraints of exam style discussions when she expresses her excitement at setting up a discussion on gender roles instigated by learners. This she proclaims, 'is way more interesting than what's your likes and dislikes', a not infrequent discussion topic in Entry Level 2 exams. As Cooke and Roberts et al (2007a, p.53) state lower level also need to be able to express themselves beyond 'short utterances'. Classroom discussions present an opportunity for teachers and learners to go beyond the constraints of the curriculum to engage in complex topics and draw on their full linguistic repertoire including vocabulary and forms which may be considered beyond their level. This, however, is not without problems as I discuss below.

6.7.2 Barriers to fruitful discussions

Participating in discussions can be freeing for some learners, but for others they can be a challenging experience as they search for language to express themselves or struggle to follow and understand other contributors. The classroom observation from the first session reports L2 as stating 'that she quite often doesn't take part in discussions because she doesn't understand or doesn't feel confident about speaking

English, she doesn't want to make mistakes.' Later in session two L2 reveals, half seriously perhaps, that sometimes in discussions she would just say 'I agree' when she didn't understand what was being said. L2's mother tongue is not common in ESOL classes in the area of London where the research took place, therefore she cannot rely on the support of those who may share another language with her. In such instances it is doubtful how much such a learner would gain from a discussion. However, in the following theme there is some evidence of how this barrier could possibly be overcome.

Another barrier relating to fruitful discussions is the domination of discussions by individual learners. I report numerous occasions of this happening in my classroom observations. When this occurs in the final session it is combined with another issue of discussions becoming disputational in nature as participants reach a stalemate and continually repeat the same views.

> 'L5 felt very passionately about this and was given extended turns explaining why she thought it should be free. However, it got to the point where she was repeating herself and L1 had several failed attempts to interrupt her.' (Classroom Observation, 14.07.21)

Although it could be argued that the repetition and what I describe as 'extended turns' present L5 with the opportunity to have her voice heard, it led to the disengagement of L1 and failed to move the discussion on. This I believe emphasises the quality of the discussion reported in the previous chapter when Amira persisted in telling her story, but other learners were also able to have their voices heard, a point I return to in the next chapter. At the end of this discussion on the charging of university fees I took the opportunity to consider what to do if a discussion appears to have reached a stalemate. In the process of doing this L5 reflected on the fact that L1's background, both learners are originally from South America, explained his attitude towards the charging of university tuition fees, demonstrating learner's ability to comprehend why people see the world differently. This was not brought up during the discussion, but only when learners were asked to reflect on the discussion afterwards. Unlike in Chapter 4 where I highlight an example of one learner orientating the discussion towards another this did not happen here. Maybe this would have been too difficult or inappropriate, as one of the learners' who is from Venezuela often expresses despair regarding its present situation. The outcome was that I presented learners with the

phrases 'Let's agree to disagree', a phrase which L1 said should be included in the ground rules. The fact that I discussed the issue of learners dominating in at least three of the sessions only for it to become a problem in the last discussion of the short course, highlights the importance of continually reviewing the processes needed for good discussions.

Some of my actions as a tutor could be seen as inhibiting the discussion process or failing to maximise the potential for a dialogic exchange to take place. For example, as described above L2 has problems participating in a discussion, demonstrated when in one discussion she made an opening statement with an explanation before saying 'help me' as she was unable to continue. In my observation notes I describe how when reviewing this particular discussion, I gave what I considered to be an unsatisfactory response, suggesting that L2 could have dealt with this situation by asking someone else what they thought (Classroom Observation, 23.06.21). It is perhaps one way of dealing with the problem but does not offer a solution for how this learner could express themselves. In the discussion which followed L1 and L4 actually deal with L2's struggles giving her time and encouraging her to some extent to develop her ideas, demonstrating once again that learners too are able to manage discussions, perhaps with greater sensitivity after being given time to reflect on the purpose and process of discussions.

In another instance when reviewing the transcript on the discussion of whether children should learn their parents' mother tongue I noticed that L2 and L4 had started to move the discussion on to consider the issue of writing rather than just speaking.

```
1    this is good to them but you know the children sometimes they
     don't know but it's important is important to know (xxxx)
2    they know only speaking language you know not writing
1    [Writing I think
4    [(xxxx)
     also important
2    yes
4    they visit my Bangladesh they visited they know everything is
     very good but this country very difficult because I we are
     family 6 people and together (xxxx) very difficult but want to
     more Bangladesh
2    you're Bangladesh writing is very difficult
4    yeah
```

It is at this moment that I brought the discussion to an end and am left to wonder how I could have developed it further. It would be impossible to notice and pursue every new direction which emerged from classroom talk, but this does perhaps illustrate the necessity of attentively listening out for developments not envisaged by the tutor to avoid fewer missed opportunities.

6.7.3 Overcoming barriers to discussion

Classroom discussions can be both fruitful and challenging. The responsibility for their fruitfulness and dealing with their challenges lies with both tutors and learners. This is demonstrated in the parallel themes of overcoming barriers to discussion, the roles of learners and the roles of the tutor. As outlined above tutors and learners can both limit the fruitfulness of discussions, for example through the domination of one person or failure to exploit key moments where new ideas are being developed. However, together they also hold the key to resolving such issues.

Firstly, tutors and learners can support each other by pooling their combined linguistic repertoires to support those who are struggling to express themselves. When in the first session learners were considering possible ground rules for a good discussion they agreed the benefits of being able to translate ideas if you shared a language with someone else. In the third session this was expanded upon by a learner who stated that it did not even have to be the same language as sometimes it was possible to do it with separately named languages, such as the possibility of Spanish and Portuguese speakers supporting each other. This is what I had previously discovered happening in the class described in Chapter 4 where a learner was communicating with her classmates in a language other than her mother tongue or English when she needed support. In response to my question concerning what would happen if neither of these were possible L1 answered that there were a number of online translation tools.

During the second session we undertook two brief discussions, one on whether it was easier to learn languages as a child and the other on the importance of children learning their mother tongue. As previously discussed in the first discussion L2 struggled to express herself, asked for help and then ended her turn. When they had finished we reflected upon this together, which is how some of the ideas above were

developed. I think it is then interesting to see what happened in the following discussion regarding the importance of learning your parents' mother tongue.

R So err it's important for children to learn their parent's m mother tongue.
Do you agree or disagree and why.
1 (xxxx) What do you think?
2 Yeah mother err
the children must err understand
1 erhuh
2 his mother yeah?
1 erhuh
2 and err (.) mm I can't explain it because of my
1 yes just try just try no just try
it's no problem just try
4 learning
1 just try
4 so no self conscious (laugh) you try no problem
2 If if I know err Russian language
1 erhuh
2 I of course I will err teach errm my children to understand me to understand what I am saying
4 yeah yeah
2 I'm doing of course I teach Russian language
1 okay
2 because because in my country err is twotwo languages yeah two languages
1 okay
2 two languages using
1 Okay
2 ours
1 erhuh
2 Kyrgis and Russian. This is necessary
1 okay
2 to know.
and if if the school they starting English French or err German
1 okay
2 but err necessary languages is two

Here it is possible to see how L1 and L4 encourage L2 to continue speaking and how she is then able to develop her idea that although children may learn English, French or German at school it is important for them to also know Kyrgis and Russian, their parents' mother tongue. It is also L2 who further on raises the issue of writing when

she comments that it may be common to learn to speak your parents' mother tongue, it is not however common to learn to write it. L2 was able to express herself to a certain degree with the support of her two classmates. Opening up space not just for discussion but to be able to reflect on the process of discussion can potentially enable tutors and learners to work together sharing the responsibility for the quality of discussions and developing the necessary skills.

The final point relating to this theme is that of codes, which can support learners in identifying and exploring an issue along with a further opportunity to share and reflect upon their own related experiences. In this research I made repeated use of the picture code reproduced in Chapter 5 (see figure 1), available online along with other materials promoting a participatory approach to exploring languages. Here are my observation notes from when I used it with the group of learners discussed in this chapter.

> Learners got into the discussion quite easily and I noticed that at least two of them made a point of asking others in the group what they thought. Learner 1 maybe dominated the discussion, but I need to check with the recording. However, all learners did definitely contribute, gave extended answers and explained their thinking. Learners also gave different points of view offering different interpretations interpretations of the picture.
>
> (Classroom Observations, 30.06.21)

The picture code provided an initial focus for the discussion, but one which was open, allowing them to express different ideas and perspectives. It focused learners' thinking without being overly restrictive, opening up space for different interpretations and perspectives. This is evidenced in the number of different discussions and retelling of events this picture prompted over the course of my thesis, including being discriminated against at work, the need to show deference to those with more power, masking a person's own deficiencies through responding negatively to requests for help and the complexities of multilingual communication in an area of London. From the same starting point an array of voices concerning related, but distinctly personal issues, were heard in the classroom. Learners were able to make the discussions their own, positioning themselves as experts concerning the problem of communicating as an ESOL learner in London.

6.8 Overview of findings

Discussions are key to opening up classroom space. These may be planned or occur spontaneously, but one element required for the success of both appears to depend on the opportunity for learners to 'make them their own', in other words being able to relate what they are discussing to their lives. This could include discussions about past and present experiences, relating to places where they have previously lived or to their lives now in the UK.

Unfortunately, due to difficulties with recruitment and attendance I am unable to answer RQ2 with specific reference to exploratory talk. However, the work I was able to complete around establishing grounds rules for talk, as described by Mercer (2000), highlighted the possible benefits of engaging with ESOL learners to consider the process of discussions and utilising this knowledge to reflect upon the quality of discussions undertaken. There were early indications that time spent doing so can increase learners' awareness of the responsibility they must share to have successful discussions and I would have liked the opportunity to pursue this further. However, I can claim with some confidence that the recurrence of problems with some learners dominating discussions, demonstrates that such a process would need to be ongoing.

Data from the teachers' focus group suggest that at present tutors do not spend time establishing ground rules for discussions beyond the processes required to pass the SFL examinations. The focus on meeting exam requirements where learners need to demonstrate their ability to use specific language forms whilst discussing topics which may have little meaning to them, feels like an opportunity is being missed to develop skills required for dialogic discussions. Consequently, for space to be opened up for all I would argue that discussion skills must be developed beyond the requirements of SFL examinations. In such a situation learners and teachers could develop the necessary skills such as listening attentively, supporting and drawing in others as well as building on what they say to generate a deeper knowledge and understanding, as I believe was demonstrated in Chapter 5.

7.Discussion

The main focus of this thesis is on developing a dialogical approach to ESOL teaching and learning with the specific purpose of supporting learners to develop a voice through critical discussions and acts of self-formation. I consider this work to contribute to the evolving field of ESOL pedagogy with my original contribution centring around developing a Bakhtinian perspective of dialogue applicable to the ESOL classroom, realising the potential for dialogic exchanges to support learners in meaningful and necessary acts of self-formation as well as the collective generation of relevant knowledge. I use this chapter to examine this claim in detail drawing on my literature review and the three previous chapters where I presented my findings.

7.1 Dialogue: beyond Freire

As I demonstrated in Chapter 1 and Chapter 2 there is an already established interest in dialogic pedagogies in ESOL teaching and learning as well as relevant and recent research. This work is largely framed around that of Paulo Freire, and I believe has illustrated the effectiveness and potential of such an approach. I would also argue that Bryers, Cooke and Winstanley (2014b) have begun to answer critics who consider teaching and learning based on Freire instrumental or too unwieldy. In their work concerned with integration they illustrated the potential for a Freirian-based approach to reach nuanced conclusions which accommodate the diversity of life in twenty-first century London and the multiple alliances formed by its inhabitants. Over the course of my thesis, however, I have not only been influenced by the work of Freire, but perhaps more significantly by that of Bakhtin (1981, 1984, 1986) and those interested in his particular understanding of dialogue, such as Wegerif (2020), Alexander (2017) and Vitanova (2005, 2013), amongst others. Considering dialogic pedagogies through a Bakhtinian lens has allowed me to arrive at enhanced understandings of educational dialogue and its potential. It has also emphasised the value of studying classroom discourse in greater detail and its role in the positioning of teachers and learners along with the generation of knowledge. I now continue to discuss these points in greater detail both in this section and those which follow.

Throughout Chapter 1 and especially in 2.3 I reflect on the limiting and often authoritative nature of official versions of language, nationality and citizenship. The

impact of these, which have become part of popular everyday discourses, are felt in the ESOL classroom through a range of policies concerned with education and migration. Furthermore, the AECC (2001), whose competence-based criteria must be demonstrated by learners to access funding, dominates what is officially recognised as achievement in adult language learning. Despite this, teachers in the adult ESOL classroom are relatively free regarding how these policies are enacted and achievement is arrived at, as has been previously highlighted. In such a space, employing ideas taken from Bakhtin (1981, 1984, 1986), dialogic pedagogies can act as a centrifugal force, pulling educational spaces away from the centripetal and monologic forces of official versions of education. In official spaces the world has already been named for teachers and learners, however in a dialogic space the world is there for them to name as they consider each other's experiences and perspectives. This was demonstrated on a number of occasions during my research, for example in Chapter 5 a group of learners engage in a complex discussion concerned with the multilingual realities of their lives, challenging a monolingual focus on life in the UK. Furthermore, in Chapter 6 learners consider the possible challenges of communicating in large, busy urban environments, perhaps at the start of developing their own ideas around the social nature of language use and the role of context, something missing in the AEEC (see Roberts et al. 2004, p.15).

As discussed, I utilised the same materials taken from the 'Our Languages' project, although adapted and not used uniformly. Initially I considered this to be a weakness as I failed to significantly build upon them as my research developed. However, after some reflection, I began to see the value in this approach as it emphasises the heteroglossic nature of the ESOL classroom, illustrating that meaning is dependent upon context along with the history and perspectives of participants. This can be viewed in the discussions based around the picture code depicting a challenging encounter using English (see figure1). Each group appeared to focus on different challenges of speaking English, but with a consistent theme emerging of problems accessing healthcare in the UK. For example, an utterance from the first group expressed the idea that people from the Bangladeshi community were rude, something I failed to challenge. The second group discussed how when people gain in power at work they may expect others to show more respect when communicating with them (Classroom Observation, 23.03.21). On a second occasion the same group

discuss in detail issues of communication for those within the Bengali community. Finally, the third group included ideas of cultural differences comparing interacting in the UK and Italy and in large urban spaces. The same picture code led to four different dialogues where participants brought their diverse histories to bear upon the meaning making which ensued. Considering these four dialogues through a heteroglossic lens, described by Blackledge and Creese (2014, p.10) as bringing 'into focus the complexity and mobility of contemporary societies', emphasises the social and cultural richness of the ESOL classroom and the potential vastness of new understandings. It would be impossible to expect a teacher to be in possession of such a large and varied amount of knowledge with its potential to enhance understandings of social interaction for all. Appreciating the heteroglossic nature of reality makes it essential to listen to and engage with the voices of ESOL learners.

The knowledge and understanding developed through engaging with learners' experiences of language use and learning was not universal. I believe this does not devalue its importance or usefulness viewing it instead as part of an ongoing project concerned with the development of local knowledge. Canagarajah (2005, p.4) describes local knowledge as

> 'context-bound, community specific, and non-systematic because it is generated ground-up through social practice in everyday life'.

Engaging with and developing this type of knowledge is necessary as Canagarajah (2005, p.5) states it 'constitutes the perspectives and practices of the disempowered'. The knowledge which was generated in the classrooms reported in this thesis aligns with this definition. During the course of my research learners related and reflected on their experiences, highlighting the diversity and complexity of their lives in contrast to official versions of life in the UK. Furthermore, what was said was not simply accepted, but critiqued as others contributed their thoughts and experiences from different perspectives, the best demonstration of this being found in Chapter 5. Even when focusing on local settings these are still filled with more general expectations and beliefs which can cut across contexts, meaning that knowledge formed locally is not done so in isolation from wider society. For example, in Chapter 5 Sadia spoke of the difficulty she experienced communicating with a receptionist who had previously had no problems understanding her. Once Sadia revealed that the receptionist had been promoted between visits another learner observed that it was not uncommon for those

who had more power to expect others to show deference in the language they use and perhaps Saida had not done this (see Classroom Observation, 23.03.21 in Appendix G). Here learners were explicitly aware of this everyday universal expectation and were able to name it and understand its ramifications.

A heteroglossic understanding of reality and its implications for meaning making goes hand in hand with an appreciation of local constructions of knowledge grounded in everyday experiences. Canagarajah (2005), for example is aware of the presence and power of official and authoritative discourse but sees the potential to enter into a dialogue with these on a local level through a constant critique and democratisation of knowledge. This continual and challenging process has the potential to be liberatory as it places learners' voices and experiences at the centre of a dialogical approach to teaching and learning. It could perhaps, as Skidmore and Murakami (2016b, p.1) argue in relation to their work, compliment a Freirian version of dialogue, bringing as it does a heightened sensitivity to the superdiversity of the ESOL classroom. As discussed in 2.8 a Bakhtinian version of dialogue views reality as a dialogical construction leading to a questioning of the possibility of merging individual perspectives into one single perspective. This is seemingly opposed to Freire's (1996, pp.96-98) use of dialectics to synthesise knowledge and understanding to view reality in its 'totality'. Bringing a Bakhtinian version of dialogue into the classroom would not necessitate, I believe, the abandonment of working with others to arrive at fuller picture of the world, but perhaps instead allow for a degree of acceptance regarding the differences or contradictions which may exist locally or between individuals. It would bring about, I argue, a sensitivity towards the heteroglossic nature of life in diverse areas, consequently enabling multiple voices to be heard, recognised and considered. As Canagarajah (2005, p.20) states 'universal knowledge will not lead to conversation', presumably as it forces some to the margins, as discussed by Burbules (2007).

To reflect on the above in more detail within the context of the ESOL classroom I return once again to Chapter 5. Amira's story evoked a large amount of sympathy along with the recognition that she had been badly treated. Over the course of the discussion one group of learners put forward the idea that the GP was perhaps trying to save face by not engaging in Bengali, a language she may not have felt comfortable communicating in. This view did not appear to be accepted by all, especially by Amira herself who

seemed to still be trying to come to terms with the fact that her and her family had initially been denied access to medical care. Maybe if the discussion had continued we would have reached an agreement as to the causes of the situation, but I believe it was just as possible that this would not have been the case. Wegerif et al.'s (2020, p.10) reading of Bakhtin promotes the idea that the essence of dialogue is in the ability to hold different ideas in tension with each other, illuminating the issue under examination. I know from my own perspective I left the classroom certain in the belief that Amira had been discriminated against, whilst also being uncertain exactly why this had happened, my head filled with a range of possible reasons, which had become clearer over the course of the discussion.

In superdiverse multilingual spaces, where research is limited and meaning can be dependent upon context and the histories of participants, the acceptance of difference is perhaps essential when in engaging in dialogue, ensuring that a greater range of learners' voices can be heard. In 5.5.1 and 5.6.1 I consider the value of Amira having the opportunity to speak and respond to her experiences. Trying to synthesise different perspectives on this situation may have been counter-productive regarding the initial opening up of space. It is a topic which would have been worthy of future discussion and perhaps some agreement could have then been reached. However, considering it through a heteroglossic lens emphasises the value of this discussion as it stands, where meaning was generated from different perspectives and multiple voices were heard and recognised. I believe Chapter 5 serves as an example of the pluralistic type of knowledge valued by Canagarajah (2005, p.20), where individuals were able to join together in 'their shared humanity' regarding Amira's treatment, but with their own perspectives, hopefully enhanced by engaging with others, as to why this had happened. There was a feeling of solidarity as learners shared stories of challenging encounters and discrimination, aiding acts of self-formation, but without the loss of individual voices.

I have also found that the notion of heteroglossia along with an appreciation of knowledge grounded in local everyday experiences to be helpful when attempting to understand the contradictions which emerge during discussions of classroom practise with both teachers and learners. As discussed in 2.6 the English only rule has powerful ideological roots which have become largely obscured due to its adoption as

a common sense approach to teaching and learning English. It is a rule still enforced to varying degrees in many localities despite an increasing amount of evidence against it. I firmly believe that the ideological origins of the English only rule need to be clearly stated along with its implications regarding the silencing of those forced to the margins, namely multilinguals. However, considering the specifics of the context in which the discussions about English only took place between both teachers and learners deepens our understanding of the issue. It also, I suggest, informs us of a possible way forward to a point where learners multilingual repertoires can be better accommodated in the ESOL classroom.

In 4.4.4 I highlight the contradictory positions taken up by teachers when discussing the use of other languages in the classroom, where they viewed as both a potentially exclusionary and inclusive practice.

> 'if you don't allow them to speak their first language therefore they end up spending the whole two hours saying nothing, trying to struggling with all these ideas.' (T5)
>
> ' I've found that some people just getting excluded.....'
> (T4 when explaining why he has had to enforce the English only rule in his class)

These are just two examples of teachers grappling with this issue basing their opinions on their own experiences. Two teachers, one in Chapter 4 and another in Chapter 6, reflect on classes where there were one or two learners who did not share a language other than English with anyone else, leading to tension and or feelings of exclusion when other languages were used. The three groups of leaners who I also discussed this issue with arrived at different conclusions. The second group where everyone was able to communicate with each other in either, English, Bengali or Sylheti, saw no problems with the use of other languages in class. However, the first class where four of the learners did not share a first language with anyone else and was more linguistically diverse, seemed more reluctant to accept the use of other languages, despite the apparent contradiction that most of them used other languages during class time. In the different classrooms, including those previously inhabited by the teachers in the focus group, the use of languages other than English could lead to both inclusion and exclusion. My findings are not that dissimilar to those of Cooke, Bryers and Winstanley (2018) whose critical analysis of the English only rule with

learners served as a template for my own approach. As result of my research I therefore propose that each classroom needs to be viewed as unique where discussions on the use of other languages are ongoing, sensitive to the diverse range of voices and language resources present, a proposition I will return to in Chapter 8. Furthermore, I argue for a development of new a type of Community of Practice where learners and their linguistic repertoires are not automatically positioned on the periphery, but enter already possessing a level of legitimacy.

The above discussions concerning the English only rule illustrates the tensions and contradictions which emerge when engaging multiple perspectives on this issue. As Wegerif et al. (2020, p.10) suggests, considering these ideas together has been illuminating, despite being unable to arrive at a conclusive answer. It indicates the problem of approaching this issue in a binary fashion, expecting there to be a clear-cut answer that can be universally applied to classrooms everywhere. Instead, it highlights a possible way forward by continuing the critical investigation of this issue, challenging the privileging of a monologic perspective and the negative impact this can have on multilingual learners, whilst also being sensitive to the specifics of context and the histories of participants. As teachers and leaners negotiate their different perspectives on this issue and challenge each other a potential way forward could be negotiated relative to each context, an outcome I return to in more detail in my concluding chapter.

7.2 The ESOL classroom: more than a rehearsal site

All ESOL classes funded by the government will be shaped by the same policies, funding requirements and inspection regimes. Despite this each classroom also has the potential to be a unique site of learning, partly structured by the histories and perspectives of those who inhabit them. Institutions, departments and teachers will interpret these requirements differently and find multiple ways to enact them. Furthermore, in a classroom where a dialogical approach is adopted the teacher seeks to orientate themselves towards the diverse experiences of learners, using these to plan and inform learning. From such a perspective the classroom is no longer a rehearsal site, but a site for the generation of knowledge, a place to speak out and develop alternative identities to those offered to migrants in official discourses of migration and language learning.

At various points the classrooms I was working and researching in did become something more than a rehearsal site. The moments which particularly spring to mind include the first group discussing the languages they encountered on the way to class and the second and third groups' discussions of the picture code. In the first instance learners could be seen as engaging in a form of linguistic ethnography, while during discussions of the picture code they were analysing a number of challenging encounters. Experiences and knowledge were shared, analysed and developed with leaners taking the lead at various stages. The classroom became a place to learn about the local interaction order, develop knowledge about the social nature of language and the possibilities and challenges learners faced when communicating. In this section I therefore feel it is important to consider the implications of this and its potential impact on teachers and learners.

Throughout my thesis, either in the literature I have referred to or in the contributions of research participants, the classroom has been imagined, presented or referred to in a number of different ways. For example, Pratt (1991) considers transforming the classroom into a contact zone, reflecting the heterogenous nature of life outside the academy and the experiences of learners. Canagarajah (1997) utilises Pratt's (1991) notion of safe houses where power is shared and relationships based upon trust are formed as learners develop both mainstream academic discourses and alternative forms of knowledge. In Chapter 6 T4 describes the classroom as a 'safe place' to try out ideas which could then be transferred to the outside. In the same focus group however, teachers recall instances where the classroom was not a safe place as tensions from the outside world came into the classroom.

5 And it was about a learner didn't feel respected in the class by another learner.
We had the lady highly educated from Dhaka,
R yeah
5 and the lady from Sylhet who hadn't had any schooling,
and she felt like the other learner was belittling her.
? mmmm
5 To the point they were screaming at each other.
R gosh
5 And I had to get the centre to come and help me intervene.
It was Yeah. So it's like, I don't know. I don't know. Yeah.

As classrooms become something more than they are traditionally conceived to be, and teachers work with learners to present them with a world which they recognise, roles, relationships and identities can be transformed. In Chapter 5 I observe myself gradually moving to the periphery of the discussion as I have little to contribute and am not required to manage the discourse to any great extent. If we were to imagine this classroom as a Community of Practice, based upon the work of Wenger (2008), I am the novice as learners introduce me to the complexities of interacting in the Bangladeshi community. The taking up of different roles and positions in this instance opens up the classroom discourse, allowing for dialogue to occur and new knowledge and perspectives to emerge. In this instance I believe the classroom became part of the 'contact zone' as learners' different histories were actively brought in and became the subject of the lesson. At the same time, I would argue that this classroom became something of a safe house. This can be evidenced by learners taking it upon themselves to manage the discussion, the demonstration of trust in each other as they shared personal and painful stories along with expressions of sympathy and constructive challenges. I present this as a powerful example of the potential for the classroom to become a dialogic space where learners can find 'their feet in a new language' (Mercer, 2000, p.25) and work together to understand the world better. However, at other points in my research including discussions with other teachers, attempts to imagine the classroom as more than a place to acquire and practise language did not work as well.

As the extract above from the teachers focus group highlights when learners bring their different perspectives and histories into the classroom there is potential for this to lead to tension. When this does occur, which as reported in the focus group is rare, the classroom becomes a contact zone, with perhaps the quickest way to make it into a 'safe house' once more is through asserting vertical power relations as the teacher takes control. Furthermore, T4 and the manager in the second focus group both reflected on the difficulties of managing discussions with lower level ESOL learners, who have fewer linguistic resources to draw upon. T3 also recognises the difficulty of discussions with such learners and reports that she has begun to set time aside for learners to have discussions using other languages they share, with those who do not share a language other than English working in a small group with T3. The classroom-based research I completed was undertaken with mainly higher-level learners,

assessed to be around Level 1, only the group from the third intervention contained learners below this level. This highlights one of the limitations of my research which I return to below in Chapter 8.

In Chapter 6, where I investigate exploratory talk with a small group of learners, a further problem emerges. Here some discussions were either dominated by one individual or became disputational in nature with the same points being repeated. I began to explore the possibility of engaging learners in meta-talk about discussions, along with the establishment of 'ground rules for talk'. There seemed to be some emerging signs of the potential of an approach based upon the T-Seda educational research, but the research I undertook regarding this was rather limited due to a number of issues discussed in 6.5 and makes it impossible to make any substantial claims. However, the fact that learners demonstrated an ability to engage in meta-talk and consider the rationale behind classroom discussions suggests that this is an area of work which needs to be continued. Further weight is added to this recommendation when considering teachers' reflections on 'successful discussions'. For example, T2 talks about a spontaneous discussion concerned with gender roles in one of her classes declaring, 'I was like I've been waiting for this for you guys to finally have a discussion'. T1 also states 'the best conversations are the ones that are not planned'. This suggests that perhaps teachers are waiting for a 'magic moment' when everything falls into place and something special happens in the classroom. I am not denying that such instances occur, but that perhaps teachers could be more pro-active in the teaching of discussion skills. Alexander (2017) also asserts that for learners to engage in dialogue they need to develop a repertoire of talk. In 6.4.2 I also report that a substantial amount of discussion work in the ESOL classroom appears to use Skills for Life exams as a frame of reference, which are assessed against the AECC. As I illustrate below, in what may be labelled as dialogic discussions what takes place is inadequately defined by the AECC.

The idea of the classroom as more than a rehearsal site has been taken from the work of Bryers, Winstanley and Cooke (2014b, p.32) who make this claim during their project with learners around the theme of integration. They state that over the course of the study the classroom became something more, as learners engaged in 'identity work' and resisted negative discourses. I make a similar claim, but wish to develop

this idea further drawing on the work of others with a perhaps more individualist approach. In section 2.10 I consider recent arguments put forward by Ball (2019) concerning Foucault's later work on self-care and its implications for educational spaces. Ball (2019) suggests that to counter restrictive regimes of power learners and teachers should work together to understand themselves better, reflect on how they are currently situated and imagine alternative futures. For Ball (2019) education then becomes concerned with self-formation, as opposed to reproducing existing regimes of power. Before doing so or perhaps at the same time, I would argue, that as Vitanova (2005, p.146) states migrant language learners may need to deal with the painful experience of losing their voice. I believe this pain can be heard in Amira's spoken turn in Chapter 5.

Amira yes errr like this errm situation I I was suffer (.) from this. one time when I came in the UK. newly. so err in September 2019 I err went to the to my GP and asked for help to register my gp er to register my err health (.) GP register. but errm she was in Bengali. Sylheti Bengali. but I asked in err that errm (.) I can't err speak in lang in err English language properly and I can't understand the proper language. because I could underst I could understand about reading and writing.

Ball (2019) describes how through a process of self-formation learners are able to form new subjectivities, the detail of which I consider below. Using the work of Vitanova (2005 and 2013) and Pavlenko (2007) discussed in 5.6 and my own findings I would extend the power of the classroom as a site of self-formation by arguing that in some cases the experience can be even more profound. In discourses of citizenship and migration migrants whose first language is not English become objectified as problems to be dealt with, responsible for a lack of social cohesion. These discourses have gained in power and popularity with little or no opportunity for those objectified to respond or present their own perspectives. For some then the ESOL classroom can become a site for dealing with the pain of objectification whilst developing a new subjectivity in solidarity with others who may have had similar experiences. To move from being treated as objects with no voice, to subjects with their own unique perspectives on issues which effect their lives. This seems to be a powerful example of self-care and self-formation, reimagining the ESOL classroom not simply as a site

for acquiring a language but as somewhere for learners to recognise themselves as thoughtful individuals, capable of purposeful action.

Bourdieu's (1977) sociological critique of language offers, I believe, a further perspective on the potential benefits of opening up space for learners to engage in dialogue. His critique calls for a shift in focus from linguistic competency based upon 'grammaticalness', to one of acceptability based upon power relations and 'symbolic capital' (Bourdieu, 1997, p.646). From such a viewpoint if the social and cultural resources learners bring into the classroom are better valued, they can expect the right to 'impose reception', which not only includes being heard but also being believed and respected. The learners in Chapter 5, Amira especially, display their right to impose reception throughout the discussion, their symbolic capital becomes in fact greater than mine. As they name the world they live in there is greater scope for them to impose reception and increase their symbolic capital. In a monologic class where the world is already named and the language required for successful communication is predetermined, learners social and linguistic resources are not valued and they are expected to listen with limited opportunities for their voices to be heard.

Creating a space where learners social and cultural resources are valued, as demonstrated in Chapter 5 and to some extent in Chapter 6, allows learners to answer back. Amira's narrative highlights the impossible challenge she faced when trying to 'impose reception' at the GP. In this situation she is expected to listen and obey, an expectation she is not restrained by in the classroom discussion, illustrated in 5.5.1. Considering this alternative perspective adds weight to arguments for the classroom to become a sight of self-formation, although in my research I must admit to be lacking in the broader creative scope suggested by Foucault where he calls for us 'to create ourselves as a work of art' (Foucault, 1991, p.351).

Viewing the classroom as more than a rehearsal site or as a place for the acquisition of knowledge reconfigures the relationships between teachers and learners and amongst learners themselves. The concepts of self-care and self-formation place learners at the centre of classroom discourse, once again acting as a centrifugal force. A focus on dialogue seen through a Bakhtinian lens with its greater emphasis on individual perspectives allows learners' distinct voices to be better heard and

understood in diverse spaces. I believe I was able to achieve this using work based on Freire (1996) which provided a substantial framework for critical analysis combined with an autobiographical focus informed by Bakhtin (see Pavlenko, 2007 and Vitanova, 2005, 2013). As stated above this not only opens up space for dialogue, but actively encourages learners to become something more than an ESOL learner, making greater contributions to lessons. At times this can be challenging when the classroom becomes a contact zone or when learners have yet to develop the necessary skills to engage in dialogue with others in English. However, I believe I have been able to demonstrate that this is possible and of significant value.

7.3 Understanding classroom interaction: looking at classroom dialogue

As I discussed in 2.7 and at various other stages throughout this thesis spoken interaction lies at the heart of dialogic pedagogies. It is through a collective examination of different experiences and perspectives usually achieved through talk that knowledge and understanding are achieved. Mercer (2010, p.10) admits that this process can be multi-modal, but views speaking as the 'prime cultural tool of the classroom'. Alexander (2008, 2017) appears to be of the same opinion with his emphasis on the need for both teachers and learners to develop a repertoire of talk.

From my own research initiating dialogue with learners as genuine interlocutors, where discussions are not used simply as a tool for abstract language practice, has the potential to be powerful in and of itself, setting the tone for future classroom discourse. For example, T3 explains how classroom discussions are necessary to help counter traditional views of education some learners may bring into the classroom with them,

> 'because so many of them are coming with baggage from their education.
> When teacher just tells you x y z, and there's maybe (xxxx) or whatever it is.
> So it's really nice to foster that sort of thing.'

The importance of classroom discussions and the valuing of learners' opinions is further signalled by this teacher as she sets time aside for learners to discuss relevant issues in other languages they may have greater fluency in. In the same focus group on discussions T2 highlights a further example of learners being positioned as genuine interlocutors as she recalls abandoning her planned lesson to pursue a spontaneous discussion regarding gender roles.

'I was like I've been waiting for this for you guys to finally have a discussion. This is way more interesting than what's your dislikes and dislikes. And it just went for it, we stayed with it for the whole lesson. But we actually set it up then we set the tables up, and we had a real discussion of what everyone thought and yeah very passionate.' (T2)

In this example what learners have to say on the topic is seen to be of greater interest and value than what was originally planned. In my own classroom-based research, across all three interventions, I ask learners to report and reflect on their own experiences and perspectives, making them the focus of teaching and learning, signalling that they are to be considered as genuine interlocutors in the classroom. Through dialogic exchanges, often taking the form of classroom-based discussions, there is greater scope for individuals to become something more than an ESOL learner and as a result increase the potential for learner led contributions.

As classroom talk is central to a dialogic approach its analysis, including the transcription process, needs to be carefully considered. Skidmore and Murakami (2016b) and Mercer (2010) reflect on different approaches to analysing classroom talk, with both valuing CA for its ability to highlight some of the complexities of social interaction as participants work together to think collectively. As Skidmore and Murakami (2016a, p. 222) claim insights into how this is achieved could support the development of strategies enabling teachers to adopt a dialogic approach. Through employing a simplified version of CA I have therefore aimed to develop insights into how ESOL learners and teachers can work together dialogically in spoken interaction. I consider this to be further enhanced by my decision to utilise an autobiographical lens informed by the work of Bakhtin (Pavlenko 2007 and Vitanova 2005, 2013) and ideas of social positioning in talk (Harré and Brown, 1990) to bring in broader social and cultural elements into my analysis of talk as well. A process perhaps not too dissimilar to that of Roberts et al. (2004, p.17) described in 2.4, although they do not provide the specifics of their method.

By undertaking both a detailed and a wider sociological approach to the analysis of classroom talk I believe I have been able to magnify the value of engaging in genuine dialogue. Such an approach increases an awareness and understanding of the role of classroom discourse in opening up space for dialogue, as well as maintaining a

sensitivity to individual voices. Furthermore, some of the exchanges I review below and in other sections of my thesis, may on the surface appear to contribute little to the overall dialogue, but when examined up close reveal how the intricacies of talk such as hesitations, interruptions and repetitions contribute to the work of meaning making.

Analysing classroom discourse using the approaches I outline above and in 5.4 ensures that learners' distinct voices can be heard and that the polyphonic nature of classroom discourse can be realised. As discussed in 2.8 the notion of polyphony, taken from the work of Bakhtin (1984), is concerned with recognising the distinct nature of individual voices and consciousness. Looking beyond the content of what was said, to include a consideration of who was speaking and how they expressed themselves over the course of data analysis allows the polyphonic nature of the discourse to remain intact. At the most basic level in 5.5.3 I am able to trace how individual learners moved the discussion on through providing their own unique perspectives. By employing a further concept of Bakhtin (1984), that of double voicing, I could reflect on learners' different perspectives regarding Amira's situation in both 5.6.1 and 5.6.2. The range of diversity found in the ESOL classroom and beyond is a constant theme in Chapter 2 along with the concept of developing a voice. Above in 7.1 I argue for a more nuanced understanding of dialogue based on the work of Bakhtin and in 7.2 I claim that the ESOL classroom should be seen as an important site for self-formation. To achieve both of these I contend that it is necessary to recognise ESOL learners as distinct individuals with their own unique perspectives. My approach to data analysis in Chapter 5 has allowed me to do so, highlighting the diversity to be found in what may initially appear to be a homogenous group. Being able to do so has added further weight to the claims I make above regarding the benefits of the particular dialogic approach I have adopted and how individuals can position themselves during classroom discourse to reveal the multiple facets of their identity, supported by learners working together collectively.

In 5.5.2 I consider how I stand on the periphery of the discourse, I could in fact extend this further to say I have become a novice and the learners are in the process of inducting me into the realities of multilingual communication. As this discussion develops more of the learners take up different positions enabling them to direct the

discourse and claim space to talk. One of the most powerful examples of this involves Sofia talking about her experiences at her son's school.

Sofia my son. my son's school. then last fff time then there were parents meeting. then when they registered the time. there are (xxxx) interpreter bengali. then (.) that time yeah. I said yes. but last two time their records show that I need bengali. then when first went do you need bengali I said no. I can now. then there when they (.) heard my language then my son teacher oh you know (xxxx). my son also his she's teacher he's (.) bengali but she can't speak bengali.=

Here, as previously discussed, Sofia is not only positioning herself as a mother interested in her son's education, but as a highly competent multilingual. She no longer requires a translator and appears to have now developed a larger communicative repertoire to draw on than her son's teacher. Positioning herself in such a manner allows her to contribute an extended turn to the discussion and an opportunity to undertake an act of self-formation. As I recorded in my observation notes at the start of my second intervention learners seemed unsure of the linguistic abilities (Classroom Observation, 23.03.21). The above quote from Sofia, taken from the end of the intervention, shows the development of a more positive attitude towards her linguistic skills and a realisation that at least in the classroom she has greater 'symbolic capital' than originally imagined and has a right to be heard.

In 6.7.1 I consider a discussion between three learners prompted by the problem posing picture, showing a challenging encounter (see figure 1). I note how leaners are able to draw on their experiences of living in different countries and other large cities to begin developing a basic theory of communication. Reflecting on this discussion further it brought to mind the work of Norton (2000) on language learning and identity regarding a group of female migrants in Canada. In one chapter Norton (2000) considers Eva who had migrated from Poland and was working in a fast-food restaurant. Eva struggled to communicate with her co-workers and was given most of the menial jobs to perform at work. Gradually her situation improved as she repositioned herself as a cosmopolitan European able to provide detailed information about desirable destinations to her Canadian co-workers, consequently gaining larger symbolic capital and a right to impose reception (Norton, 2000, p.61-74). In the classroom an autobiographical focus along with a dialogic stance adopted by myself

as the teacher, encouraged learners take up alternative positions beyond that of an ESOL learner enabling them to increase their symbolic capital.

Norton's (2000) idea of learner investment in the language learning process, briefly discussed in 2.6, could also contribute to an enhanced understanding of classroom discourse. Her concept of investment refers to learners' overall commitment to the language learning process, I would like to extend this further and apply it to participation in dialogic exchanges in the classroom. In both this chapter and Chapter 5 I have been able to illustrate the extent to which learners participated in the problem-posing discussion, going beyond traditional roles expected of learners to manage the discourse themselves and leading to the co-construction of knowledge. Learners' experiences, multiple aspects of their identity and opinions, along with an opportunity for them to narrate the progress they had made, were at the heart of this discussion. Perhaps this ensured their investment in the classroom discourse and contributed to the quality of dialogic exchanges which took place. I do not wish to overclaim or to set aside the point made in 5.2 regarding the close bonds which had been formed amongst this group of learners who at the time of the recording were essentially friends. Their friendships and the degree of trust this must have led to clearly is a contributing factor to the success of this discussion, but there are potentially a number of other factors which also impacted on it including their investment in taking part due to the reasons outlined above. Maybe it is the potential for learners to bring in different aspects of their identities, relay their experiences and the progress they have made or their aspirations which creates those 'magic moments' discussed above.

The use of a simplified version of Conversation Analysis in both Chapters 5 and 6 provides a valuable insight into how new knowledge and understandings are co-constructed via what Skidmore and Murakami (2016a, p.235) call the 'local dynamic of interaction'. Through this detailed analysis I am able to illustrate how learners not only actively participated in the discussion, but how they were at times managing the discourse themselves. For example, in the extract below Salima can be seen to be validating Happy's contribution to the discussion, encouraging her to develop what she wants to say.

```
Happy   it's like discrimination. (  )
T       it's kind of a discrimination?
```

```
Happy   yeah.
T       yeah? but why are you saying it's discrimination.
Happy   she likes she only likes Sylheti person.=
Salima  yeah=
Happy   not like (xxxx) person=
Salima  yeah. yeah=
Happy   Amira is
        [(xxxxx)=
Amira   [yeah i heard about err =
```

I use an extended excerpt in 6.6.3, reproduced below, to also demonstrate two learners working together to encourage another learner to continue trying to get her point across.

```
R    So err it's important for children to learn their parent's m
     mother tongue.
     Do you agree or disagree and why.
1    (xxxx) What do you think?
2    Yeah mother err
     the children must err understand
1    erhuh
2    his mother yeah?
1    erhuh
2    and err (.) mm I can't explain it because of my
1    yes just try just try no just try
     it's no problem just try
4    learning
1    just try
4    so no self-conscious (laugh) you try no problem
2    If if I know err Russian language
1    erhuh
2    I of course I will err teach errm my children to understand
     me to understand what I am saying
4    yeah yeah
2    I'm doing of course I teach Russian language
1    okay
2    because because in my country err is twotwo languages yeah
     two languages
1    okay
2    two languages using
1    Okay
2    ours
1    erhuh
2    Kyrgis and Russian. This is necessary
1    okay
2    to know.
     and if if the school they starting English French or err
     German
1    okay
2    but err necessary languages is two
```

A content-based analysis of these two excerpts would possibly contribute either little or nothing to my thesis. However, a detailed analysis which records hesitations,

sounds of interjections such as 'erhuh' and occasions when different speakers' turns latch onto each other, provides a useful insight into the nature of classroom interaction and how understanding and new knowledge can be arrived at in what may initially appear to be meaningless acts. As Skidmore and Murakami (2016a, p.235) argue Conversation Analysis allows for a 'higher level of resolution' when studying classroom talk, especially I believe when considering the collective act of engaging in dialogue.

Finally, the close examination of classroom talk I have undertaken highlights the limitations of the AECC. If the discussion in Chapter 5 were to be assessed against the ESOL core curriculum these are the main criteria which would be used and are in fact applied during Skills for Life examinations.

Engage in discussion. Sd/L1	
Basic Skills Standards level descriptor	Component skill and knowledge and understanding
1. follow and contribute to discussions on a range of straightforward topics	1a. take part in social interaction
	1b. take part in more formal interactions
	1c. express likes, dislikes, feelings, hopes, etc.
2. make contributions relevant to the situation and the subject	2a. express views and opinions
	2b. give advice, persuade, warn, etc.
	2.c plan action with other people
3. respect the turn-taking rights of others during discussions.	3a. involve other people in a discussion
4. use appropriate phrases for interruption	
Listen and respond Lr/L1	
6. follow and contribute to discussions on a range of straightforward topics	6.a listen for gist in a discussion
	6c. follow and participate in a discussion

Taken from AECC (2001)

The above includes some of the key components required for a successful discussion to take place. However, as Roberts et al. (2004, p.15) state the AECC does not recognise 'the social and pragmatic knowledge' required for effective communication. There was indeed a lot more taking place over the course of the spoken interaction discussed in Chapter 5. For example, some learners signalled their validation of what others said through verbal interjections or took brief pauses to possibly slow down the pace and prepare for what they wanted to say next. Furthermore, there were several instances where learners were not simply responding to the ideas of others but developing them too, drawing on real life examples to justify their opinions and at times contest what others had said. One learner also took on the role of managing the discussion, telling others to be quiet at one point, and finally at the end Amira uses humour to make a point, challenge established power relations and perhaps bring to an end the retelling of a difficult experience. Overall, these features contributed to the co-construction of knowledge along with a deeper understanding of the matter being discussed and achieved through dialogue.

Being able to highlight some of the features which occur during dialogical exchanges, beyond those listed in the AECC could be used to better inform tutors of their wider features. I argue that doing so is necessary for the promotion of a dialogic approach due to the potential for the AECC and Skills for Life examinations to shape ESOL tutors outlook regarding classroom discussions at present. Amongst the findings from the teaching focus group I consider how talk of the teaching of discussion skills was often framed around exam preparation, as the example below illustrates.

```
5    Errm they would come up with the a list
R    Yeah
5    of criteria themselves of what makes a good discussion.
     Have the tick. Okay right. Now listen to these two for exam
     prep, and tick off.
     if you aww really good errm examples of discussion techniques
     and and feedback to to those pair at the end,
     that that worked really really well, because it brings things
     it makes things really conscious or conscious of these
     things.
```

As stated in 6.4.2 it is understandable why this would happen as for many tutors exam success is essential for securing funding for their employers. However, in a classroom which looks to support ESOL learners in self-formation through engaging in dialogue such a framework for classroom discussions is not sufficient. Teachers must look

beyond the AECC to help develop a broader frame of reference with learners for genuine dialogue. I believe such a framework to not be incompatible with SFL examinations as all the components from the AECC listed above were achieved in the discussion in Chapter 5.

In this section I have sought to demonstrate the essential nature of classroom dialogue when looking to adopt a dialogic approach. This, I believe, warrants a closer examination of classroom talk attempting to represent some of the minute detail of interaction along with the wider social aspects of talk relayed not only in the content of what is said, but a consideration of who is speaking and from what position along with how they do so. Over the course of my thesis I have not been able to find such an examination regarding ESOL teaching and learning and as a result consider this to be one of the key contributions of my work. Doing so has allowed me to highlight the polyphonic nature of discourse, identifying the presence of distinct individual voices during possible acts of self-formation. Through this process I am also able to reflect the diversity of the ESOL classroom in my findings. Finally, I believe, this work could be used to draw teachers' attention to the rich nature of classroom discourse and the many facets of successful dialogue beyond the components present in the AECC.

7.4 Pedagogy as professional vision

As stated above the main focus of this thesis has been on developing a dialogical approach to ESOL teaching and learning, supporting learners to develop a voice through critical discussions and acts of self-formation. In my opinion such an approach is of great value to those who inhabit the ESOL classroom, however, there may be times where a different way of teaching and learning could be more appropriate. Both Nystrand et al. (1997) and Alexander (2017) state a desire to see the end of educational approaches presented as dichotomous choices. Alexander (2017) argues for teachers to develop a repertoire of talk, allowing them to adopt multiple stances in the classroom. Furthermore, in the context of language learning Nystrand et al. (1997, p.72) claim that what may initially appear to be a restrictive classroom practice such as drilling, still has a place when seeking to engage learners in dialogue if it allows them to develop the language needed to participate. I continue to discuss this in more detail below before outlining a possible professional vision which could be adopted by

ESOL teachers to support them in making informed choices as they negotiate competing demands in the classroom.

Firstly, there may be times when the classroom becomes an unsafe contact zone where learners feel under threat, disrespected or increasingly uncomfortable with the direction of classroom discourse. Here, the classroom is no longer the safe contact zone which I describe in 7.2 and one possible way to restore some sense of safety is for the teacher to reassert control. In one of the NRDC case studies Hodge (2004 et al.) describe how a teacher of a group of asylum seekers keeps 'the outside' outside.

> 'So, for the first months of this class the students engage in tasks with little reference to the rest of their lives, and Wendy approaches themes such as 'family' with extreme caution.....' (Hodge et al. 2004, p.32).

Over the course of my own research a number of teachers recounted occasions when their classrooms became uncomfortable or unsafe for some of its inhabitants. There is the example I use at the beginning of 7.2 and in 4.4.3 a teacher reports how he was made to feel uncomfortable and excluded by two leaners who were constantly talking in another language,

> 'and there was a lot of tension in the that classroom for the whole year'.

In the example taken from the NRDC case study the teacher is working with vulnerable asylum seekers and in 7.2 the learner could also be considered vulnerable as she had been denied access to education as a child. There will be times when learners need to be challenged and moments of uncomfortableness may lead to positive outcomes. However, as it is not uncommon for the ESOL classroom to contain vulnerable learners there will also be instances when teachers may need to keep or retake control of the discourse allowing learners to successfully settle into classroom life or to provide respite during challenging discussions.

Context will obviously play an important role in teachers deciding the most appropriate approach, this will not simply depend on the place and the people involved, but also on timing. As in the NRDC case-study discussed here, the first few months of a class may not be the best time to launch a fully dialogical approach for a number of reasons. Learners could be newly arrived in the UK, getting their first taste of education and be wary of other members of the class who they have not met before. In my review of the discussion in Chapter 5 I reflect on the relationships of trust that had built between

learners over an extended period of time. I do not think it is insignificant that this discussion happened a few weeks before the end of the academic year and it would be unrealistic to expect a discussion of this quality to take place near the beginning of the year. Furthermore, Auerbach (1992, p. 88) states that for teachers and learners 'traditional roles' can often feel the safest and there is a need to mix what may be considered new and innovative measures with the familiar. Bryers, Winstanley and Cooke (2014a, p.45) also note that during the discussion-focused project the completion of grammar exercises acted as a necessary breathing space from engaging in dialogue on challenging issues. I wonder whether the learners from my first intervention in Chapter 4, which was carried out in November during the first teaching term, would have expressed the same negative attitude towards the use of languages other than English nearer the end of the academic year. As discussed in 2.6 and above in the chapter, the rule of English only is still supported by a considerable number of teachers and learners and maybe nearer the beginning of the year with a new teacher they were keen to be seen as upholding traditional approaches.

I believe a balanced dialogical approach can be partly achieved through careful planning, but that it must also include teachers responding contingently to learners' needs, responses and classroom interactions, as well as considering all of the above. T2 in 6.4.2 took the decision to do so when what initially started as organising a refreshment rota for class breaks became a full-blown discussion on gender roles. I also note in 5.7 how a misunderstanding concerning the topic of discussion led to an interesting exchange about relationships between fathers and daughters along with societal and cultural expectations concerning 'acceptable female behaviour'. These unplanned moments provided an opportunity for learners to share their perspectives of the world, reflect on their experiences, exchange views and perhaps develop their thinking on a range of subjects including gender issues. To have shut these down would have been a missed opportunity to engage in relevant discussions, where learners' voices could be heard, acknowledged, possibly challenged and built upon.

Teachers clearly have a number of choices to make when they enter the ESOL classroom. They have to meet and or negotiate a range of official, institutional and funding requirements to ensure classes can continue. They also have to work with a

diverse range of learners whose needs do not neatly align with official demands and will arrive in the classroom with their own ideas regarding what should take place. The ESOL teacher is at the nexus of sometimes competing demands, which must be negotiated. As I have suggested the best approach may be one based upon balance and contingency, with teachers able to respond to opportunities and problems as they arise.

The NRDC report on effective ESOL teaching and learning argued that teachers needed to develop a 'professional vision', allowing them to be 'critical of demands that undermine their professional practice', reflect upon their own practice whilst developing a knowledge of their leaners to inform the choices they make in the classroom (Baynham et al., 2007, p.63). Cooke and Simpson (2008, pp.44-45) reflect on this further, arguing that teachers should develop a 'principled pragmatism' which includes in-depth and up to date subject knowledge orientated towards a particular set of learners. Both Baynham et al. (2007) and Cooke and Simpson (2009) make use of Godwin's (2004, p.606) notion of 'professional vision'. This is a practise-based theory of the 'discursive practices' of members of specific professions and how they 'shape events in the domain of professional scrutiny they focus their attention upon'. There are three practices Godwin (2004) investigates which are, coding schemes, the highlighting of what is considered to be the most vital information along with graphic representations. In their findings Baynham et al. (2007, p.40) report,

> 'Teachers with the clearest professional vision are able, in Godwin's terms, to code, categorise and critically highlight issues in a complex field. The development of professional visions seems to involve developing insights that go beyond 'the classroom scene' into the college system and wider context in which ESOL teaching and learning is embedded.'

At present, I would argue, officially shaped discourses concerned with ESOL teaching and learning, and the meeting of related official demands, can dominate 'professional vision' in certain important areas. For example, in Chapter 6 teachers' talk of developing discussion skills in class were framed around the AECC, a coding system which fails to recognise the social and cultural nature of language. Since the NRDC report was published there has also been even further government intervention in debates of citizenship, with the official naming of what are considered to be 'British

Values' and the mandating that they must be taught in educational settings (OFSTED, 2015).

I argue that teachers in fact need to go beyond a development of professional discursive practices as at present these can be framed by official discourses, failing to reflect the reality of classroom life. That they too, like ESOL learners, need to engage in acts of self-formation, as Ball (2019) suggests, questioning the everyday and routine and imagining other possibilities for being. As discussed in 2.7 teaching in the UK is officially promoted as technical and scientific, devoid of values and disconnected from wider society. There is a danger I believe that the development of professional discursive practices without first questioning what may have become 'common sense' approaches to teaching and learning could lead to a professional vision expressed in technical and functional terms. Therefore, a starting point, as suggested by Alexander's (2004, p.11) definition of pedagogy, could be to ask what purpose is ESOL teaching directed towards and I would add who is it for. This could then to lead to a period of dialogue between teachers themselves and teachers and learners, to inform a broader outlook beyond the technical based on a dialogical approach. I have presented what I consider to be a strong argument for the development of voice as a possible guiding principle and have demonstrated how this could be enacted in the ESOL classroom.

7.5 Overview of Discussion

In this chapter I have discussed the findings presented in the three previous chapters interrogating them further using key ideas taken from my literature review. This has led to the highlighting of four larger themes which I offer as my specific contributions to the development of knowledge in the field of ESOL teaching and learning. The first of these four themes builds on Freire's idea of dialogue by applying key concepts taken from Bakhtin, allowing for a sensitivity towards the emerging and distinct voices of ESOL learners. A result of this is the potential for the ESOL classroom to become a site of self-formation, where the space opened up through an appreciation of the polyphonic nature of dialogue can be utilised for learners to claim space to talk and position themselves differently than in a traditional classroom environment. I have been able to demonstrate the possibility of this through a relatively in-depth analysis of classroom talk, looking firstly at the intricacies and nuances of spoken interaction

and then secondly through analysing the same talk using ideas of social positioning and Bakhtin's notion of double-voicedness. By conducting my analysis in this way it is possible to observe how learners work collectively to develop understandings based on their own experiences by both supporting and challenging each other. Simultaneously, it can observed that they are also speaking as socially and historically situated individuals with unique lives and perspectives beyond the classroom. Finally, I have asked whether the key concepts discussed here such as dialogue and self-formation are not also appropriate for discussions of professional vision within the ESOL teaching community, in a bid to move discussions of pedagogy away from narrow and technical interpretations.

I now move on to my conclude my thesis where I return to my initial research questions and draw out some specific recommendations based upon my discussions in this chapter. I also evaluate my research reflecting on what I consider its limitations to be as well as outlining questions it has raised and possible areas for further research.

8. Conclusion

In this concluding chapter I begin by returning to my original research questions, providing a brief overview of my answers to them and highlighting specific sections of my thesis where more extensive answers can be found.

Overarching research question:

How can a dialogic perspective inform pedagogy for the ESOL classroom?

Sub questions:

RQ1. What are the implications of the current multilingual turn in theories of language learning for dialogical pedagogy? (Answered in 2.4-2.6, chapter 4)

RQ2. How can teachers and learners challenge established classroom discourse patterns to engage in dialogue? (Answered in 2.6, 2.8, chapters 5 and 6, 7.2 and 7.3)

RQ3. What happens when space is opened for dialogic interaction? (chapters 4- 7)

Firstly, I consider that the adoption of a dialogic perspective in the ESOL classroom must involve an acknowledgement of it as a multilingual space and consider the use of languages other than English. If learners are denied access to their full linguistic repertoires this has the potential to place serious limitations on their ability to engage as 'fully-fledged conversants' (Nystrand et al. 1997 p.73), a reality acknowledged by teachers at the research site. However, as became apparent through my engagement with learners on this matter it is not an issue which can be resolved straightforwardly. This I believe is due to a number of reasons, firstly the English only rule is still viewed by many as a common-sense approach to teaching and learning English. Furthermore, the complexities of life in superdiverse areas means that not everyone will share aspects of their linguistic repertoire besides English with others in the classroom leading to concerns about exclusion. Finally, there is an understandable wish to make the most of limited opportunities they have to engage in English practice. A recognition of ESOL classrooms as unique contexts where decisions around interactive practices are negotiated anew with each set of learners seems the way forward, especially as research in this area is still in its early stages.

Bryers, Winstanley and Cooke (2014a, 2014b) have developed the work of Paulo Freire (1996) and provide significant evidence that it can be employed in the ESOL

classroom as an effective way of engaging learners in meaningful dialogue. They remain faithful to Freire's (Shor and Freire, 1987) demand that it is not simply to be viewed as a teaching tool, but as an epistemological stance to be taken up for the development of critical knowledge. Evidence of this can be found in their work regarding a discussion of integration with two groups of ESOL learners who were able to come to their own understanding of the view and plan meaningful action (Bryers, Cooke and Winstanley, 2014b). I view my research as building upon this, using the work of Bakhtin (1981, 1984 and 1986) and others in the field of linguistics and education, who have been significantly influenced by him. In some instances this work goes beyond adopting an epistemological stance grounded in dialogue, but goes one step further by informing an ontological outlook. Such an outlook makes it essential to create spaces for individual voices to be heard, recognised and valued, with less emphasise on synthesising different perspectives. I believe this to be of significant value due its potential therapeutic quality as learners deal with the pain of the loss of voice as they adapt to a new linguistic environment and develop their own unique perspectives of the world around them. The classroom could then, as Ball (2019) suggests, become a space for self-formation, where learners work collectively to undertake identity work challenging each other to see the world differently, whilst also maintaining aspects of solidarity as they reflect on the challenges they face. I consider Chapter 5 and to some extent Chapter 6 to show examples of this occurring. I feel there is greater creative potential to be explored here, as suggested by Foucault's (1991) own outlook and Wegerif's (2020, p.39) call for exploratory talk to not simply include explicit reasoning, but to become more playful, possibly through the use of metaphor.

8.1 Evaluation of the research

The claims which I make are based upon a small-scale case study undertaken intermittently over a three-year period at the same site. My methodological outlook was guided by key principles taken from Exploratory Practice with the aim of reaching some form of in-depth understanding of classroom life in regard to a dialogical approach. To evaluate my research, I return to the literature I engaged with in Chapter 3 discussing both its strengths and limitations.

As discussed in 3.5 practitioner research is open to questions regarding its validity and rigour. Both Burns (2005) and Checkland and Howell (1998) suggest that to counter this the research undertaken should be recoverable, providing enough detail to allow others to assess the quality of the research and the plausibility of the claims made. I aim to have achieved this through providing a detailed account of my research along with extended examples of classroom talk and observations made available in my appendices. I have also tried to keep my claims relatively small whilst grounding them in the work of others, using their work as a foundation to develop further knowledge in relation to dialogic teaching and learning in the ESOL classroom. Furthermore, by adopting a reflexive and detailed approach I hope to have made my research extendable, a concept described by Van Wynsberghe and Khan (2007, p.84) as allowing those who read research to have their understanding transformed or for it to resonate with their own experiences. Data was also collected from different perspectives, including from both teachers and learners, as well as both first-hand observations from the classroom and an opportunity for teachers to expand and reflect on their practices in a focus group.

I now return to the principles of Exploratory Practice as discussed in 3.5.2 and reproduced below.

Exploratory Practice as a set of principles

1. Quality of life first.
2. Work for understanding classroom life.
3. Long-lasting profound change, beyond the technical.
4. Involve everyone.
5. Work for mutual development.
6. Research not to interrupt classroom practice.
7. Understanding as a continual exercise.

Allwright, 2003, pp.128-130.

I have situated my research as a response to the problematic positioning of ESOL learners in mainstream discourses, focused on the idea of directing ESOL and teaching towards the development of voice. The aim of which is to further participatory pedagogies through advancing an understanding of dialogic interaction to inform ongoing work in this area. Research into multilingual aspects of learners' lives was integrated into teaching and learning, so as not to interrupt classroom practice, although this was not always compatible when preparing learners for external qualifications. Furthermore, I believe I have shown the potential for the ESOL

classroom to become considered as a site for self-formation, addressing the overarching principle of Exploratory Practice concerned with quality of life. This was achieved by learners reflecting upon past experiences, supporting each other and in some instances positively revaluating their linguistic abilities. However, I realise that this aspect of my research requires further investigation involving working closer with learners to better include their perspectives on this matter as they reflect on any connections they are able to make between work on self-formation in the classroom and their lives outside.

It is in relation to Exploratory Practice that I, however, find limitations to my research, as I believe there were missed opportunities to further involve learners in the research process. Although learner voices can be heard in my research and hopefully the inclusion of extended transcriptions of classroom talk adds to this further, I recognise their absence in respect of an evaluation of my approach and the conclusions I have drawn. I had initially intended to include this in my research, but for practical reasons and restraints, some due to the COVID-19 pandemic I was not able to. Perhaps with better planning I could have in fact pursued some of the suggestions made by Duckworth and Atkins (2019, pp.132-133) where teachers and learners worked on data analysis together to form a 'shared interpretation'. This they achieved by presenting emerging themes to learners in simplified language as well as providing them with copies of transcripts to annotate. They comment that it was a challenging and problematic process with not all participants contributing, but one which did aid their final analysis. More importantly they state it added an ethical and moral value to their work. I believe I would have found this even more problematic and challenging process than they did, due to not only language issues but the fact that learners only attended class twice a week along with the restrictions already in place due to the need to meet official and bureaucratic demands. However, it is something I consider worthy of future investigation as a further and necessary opportunity to hear learners' voices as they contribute to debates on teaching and learning.

8.2 Recommendations

In this section I consider some of the recommendations based on discussions in these final two chapters. They are aimed mainly at the ESOL classroom, where my research

is situated, but I believe could also be transferrable to other areas of education, especially those working with multilingual learners.

1. Pursuing any form of participatory or dialogic pedagogical approach in the classroom must include a consideration and exploration of learners' multilingual repertoires. By doing so teachers can support ESOL learners in valuing their existing linguistic knowledge and repositioning themselves as competent multilinguals. Cooke, Bryers and Winstanley (2018) have already developed suitable materials to help teachers pursue this in their classrooms. Discussions of multilingualism can be generative on a number of levels, allowing for the development of language, providing an opportunity for learners to reflect on a range of experiences both positive and challenging in order to arrive at new knowledge and understanding, whilst informing teachers of the multilingual reality of learners' lives. However, I do not believe it is possible to promote a universal approach to this for a number of reasons highlighted in the previous chapter. Teachers and learners instead need to engage in an ongoing dialogue concerning their own attitudes as well as the perceived positives and negatives of the use of other languages, negotiating what they consider acceptable use to be. Such a process I believe would challenge and problematise monolingual representations of everyday life and education and allow for teachers and learners to re-evaluate their own linguistic repertoires in a new light.

2.Migrant language learners and the challenges they face have been referred to in a number of different ways in the literature discussed. This includes Mercer (2000, p.25) highlighting the difficulties faced by those 'finding their feet in a new language', Vitanova (2005, p.146) considering migrants coming to terms with the painful loss of voice and Baynham (2006, p.38) highlighting the need for ESOL learners to learn how to speak out. These views have informed my decision to explore and promote the importance of the ESOL classroom becoming a place for the development of voice. The work of Freire (1996) and those influenced by him such as Auerbach (1992) and Bryers, Winstanley and Cooke (2014a, 2014b) have successfully demonstrated the value of learners working collectively to critically reflect on these everyday experiences. Based on my own research I would also argue that teachers need to remain open to individual perspectives and the unique experiences learners bring into the class with them. This I believe could be achieved through the recognition that not

every discussion needs to lead to a consensus along with the simple appreciation of the opportunity to engage with different perspectives and deepen understanding. Furthermore, an autobiographical focus through collective and individual work has the potential to help learners develop a sense of self and their place in the world. This could support learners who may be dealing or struggling with the painful loss of voice, come to terms with this amongst sympathetic listeners before moving on to explore in the words of Ball (2019) new ways of being.

As I commented at the end of Chapter 5 the focus of the discussion examined was on developing understanding without reaching the action stage present in participatory pedagogies after engaging in dialogue. I also recorded in a number of classroom observations how I struggled to conclude discussions which were not aiming for consensus. I have found a possible solution to this in the work of Mercer (2000, p.25) who stresses the importance of 'building the contextual foundations' for classroom talk promoting the frequent use of reviews and recaps as part of this process. Perhaps then discussions that do not end in consensus could instead end with a review outlining different perspectives and the reasonings behind them, leading to the development of a broad understanding of the outlooks of those who inhabit the classroom.

3. Employing different methods of data analysis can support an interpretation of classroom talk, including both the intricacies of the immediate interaction and a broader social aspect. I believe I have been able to highlight the benefits of such an approach in my research (see Chapter 5) as it helped me to understand and illustrate the opportunities classroom discourse offers for the opening up of space and the repositioning of learners. Such opportunities I believe are made possible through valuing the collective and at times messy nature of talk in building new knowledge and understanding as well as recognising that learners' talk forms part of an ongoing dialogue with the wider world.

Teachers who engaged in my research similarly value opportunities to engage in periods of extended spoken interaction with their learners. However, their understanding of discussion work appears to be framed by the AECC and understandably focused on achieving exam success. This I argue is a narrow and

functional view, limiting opportunities to engage in genuine dialogue as it does not recognise the social aspects of talk and the potential for the transformative nature of dialogue. I recommend that teachers are encouraged to review the purpose of classroom discussions, approaching it through a dialogic lens informed by both to Freire and Bakhtin. Additionally, the T-SEDA project offers materials and a framework for teachers to investigate the possibility of engaging in exploratory talk with their leaners, starting with developing ground rules for talk and supporting a critical reflection of progress made regarding engaging in dialogue. An additional suggestion is to present teachers and possibly learners with recordings or detailed transcriptions of classroom discussions, such as those presented in my research for their own evaluation and analysis as well as reflecting on an analysis provided by others.

4. In relation to the above I also feel it is necessary to review and rewrite the AECC. It is now over 20 years old and even a few years after its publication those such as Roberts et al. (2004) were already highlighting its limitations. The language components of which it compromises, as has been previously stated, are decontextualised and fail to recognise the social and pragmatic nature of language and communication. In 7.3 I compare a section of the curriculum with the linguistic skills learners utilised during dialogic interaction, demonstrating how it fails to capture the richness of their spoken communication. Furthermore, if we consider the impact information technology has had on the way we communicate since 2000, the argument for a new curriculum becomes even stronger.

5. Finally the work I have undertaken has mainly been with higher level ESOL learners as the first two groups I engaged with were both Level 1. The discussion in Chapter 5 highlights these learners' abilities to engage in complex discussions about life in the UK in English. However, as Cooke and Roberts. (2007a, p.53) report lower-level learners also need to be able to express themselves through extended turns. Research should therefore be undertaken with learners at the earlier stages of English language learning to help them in the development of voice. As noted in the focus group on classroom discussions teachers struggle to engage these learners in meaningful talk. Further investigation of the potential to open up discursive space for these learners through utilising their full linguistic repertoires is perhaps the next stage for translanguaging research within the ESOL community.

8.3 Reflections on undertaking the thesis

As I conclude my thesis I wish to offer a final reflection regarding the demands, challenges and positives of completing a thesis in the ESOL classroom as a teacher/researcher. By doing so I hope to present some guidance for those contemplating undertaking their own research as well as providing a final evaluation of my research journey. The standout issues I reflect upon are the tensions and considerations which arise from being both an insider and an outsider in the research setting, adopting an ethical approach to working with ESOL learners and the messy reality of classroom-based research.

Throughout my research I have adopted a dialogic stance, realising my own unique perspective of the world and that of those who I engage with, along with the possibility for the modification of these perspectives through interaction. I return once more to the work of Wegerif et al. (2020, pp.23-24) which recognises that during the research process participants and researchers alike are always looking both inside and outside with the resulting tension 'generative of meaning and understanding'. Through my familiarity with the research setting and most of the participants I had possession of valuable insights into what took place. However, as an outsider I was also able to take a step back from the research, adopting a degree of objectivity, able to see alternative interpretations or the possible impact of the specific context on what had happened. For example, in Chapter 5 it could be argued that my role as an insider leads to learners being comfortable in sharing challenging experiences, whereas as an outsider I imagine how another teacher instigating the discussion may have resulted in a different type of interaction. I agree with Wegerif et al. (2020) in that I find this tension to be generative in nature as long as it is recognised and reflected upon.

All researchers have a responsibility for research participants, but I would argue that as a teacher/researcher in an ESOL classroom the responsibility is even greater. As I discussed in 3.10 researchers must consider the power dynamics and potential language barriers when seeking to gain informed consent from ESOL learners. Giving learners time to reflect and consult with others regarding their participation is essential, but once consent is gained I believe it is also necessary to continue to be pro-active regarding the adoption of an ethical approach. This addresses immediate ethical concerns as well as signifying to learners that their thoughts and feelings are of

significance and that they are agentive beings. ESOL learners' voices are rarely heard in matters that directly impact their lives and as a result they should be encouraged to take an active role in the research process to begin to address this and better inform both policy and practice.

Such an ethical approach which centres around learner participation must also be open to learners disrupting the research process. In 5.7 a learner seeks out help to complete the Census and takes time away from the planned activities. It would have been unethical to ignore her request for help and any teacher/researcher needs to accept that such disruptions will occur and that classroom-based research will always be 'messy'. Research that seeks to connect the classroom in the state-funded sector to the real word will also have to find a balance between meaningful work and problematic official demands, such as completing ILPs and satisfaction surveys written in inaccessible language. This too can add to the 'messiness' of the research process, but also reflects the reality of classroom life, a consideration of which can add to calls for change.

Finally, perhaps the most significant event which impacted on this research was COVID-19. When I began in 2018 it would have been impossible to predict such an event happening. It led to a pause in the research process, limiting the amount of data I was able to collect, whilst enabling me to reflect upon the work I had completed so far. However, I was able to work around this and still finish my research, highlighting the value of adopting a flexible approach and recognising that the completed process may look very different from what was initially envisioned, but can still be of significance.

8.4 Concluding thoughts

In this thesis I argue that a dialogic approach based upon the work of Freire and Bakhtin has the potential to inform an ESOL pedagogy which supports a dynamic relationship between life both inside and outside the classroom. At the centre of this is the idea that teachers and learners work together to develop their unique voices in a supportive and collaborative environment, helping to inform a response to restrictive and negative discourses of migration, citizenship and language.

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Appendix A

Coding template for first tutor focus group

1. **Tutor opinions on language and language learning**
   - 1.1 link between language and culture
   - 1.2 languages and cultures as national entities
   - 1.3 inevitability of other languages being used
     - 1.3.1 managing other languages
     - 1.3.2 risk-taking when using other languages
   - 1.4 contingent use of other languages

2. **Positives of using other languages**
   - 2.1 allowing everyone to participate
     - 2.1.2 opening up space
   - 2.2. other languages as a resource
     - 2.2.1 scaffolding
     - 2.2.2 efficient learning

3. **Problems when using other languages**
   - 3.1 exclusionary
   - 3.2 slow down acquisition of English
     - 3.2.1 delay fluency
     - 3.2.2 cause confusion and complications
     - 3.2.3 limited opportunities to access English outside of the classroom

Appendix B Transcripts, extracts from first tutor focus group

M.F.G.1

1	….the language is also is reflecting your culture a lot and this is is just how because language is a cultural structure in itself. So you cannot really (xxxxx) my culture is ok I'm absorbing something from where I live here but I'm never going to have that switch because in the moment when I want to say something very instinctive I instinctively draw from my own country my own language my way of thinking=
2	=yes=
1	=my idiom. my words. The switch is never gonna happen because didn't I learnt English when when I was an adult already =
Uknown	mm=
1	I could read or write already when you when you are a child
4	Sorry I d=
1	ou can switch between 5, 6, 7 languages=
4	=he switch you was talking about it happens at home. For example if you go home at school you speak English you go home you speak your own language automatically when you open the door and speak to your mum=
Uknown	yes=
4	automatically you say it in your in my case like (name of language) or (name of language) and other people that's the switch that happe=
Rachel	ok=
1	but that's the tricky one because I say to my mum it's ok it's ok on the phone. I speak (name of language) and then I say it's ok=
4	yeah=
Multiple speakers	(xxxxxxxx)=
1	thinking I've culturally changed=
Rachel	so when you are mixing what is going on in your head. what are you thinking?
1	Nothing [(xxxx)
Multiple speakers	[(xxxx)
Rachel	It just comes out.
1	it comes out ok instead of (speaks different language).

M.F.G.2

4	It's impossible they just naturally end up speaking their language=
Rachel	yeah=

4 which issss not a problem but
[(xxxxx)
6 [or or the learners
[are really tired because you have sings=
Multiple speakers [yeah yeah=
6 again it depends on the level especially if it's pre-entry entry 1=
3 yeah=
6 that that person you know then
[shuts down=
3 [shuts down=
6 doesn't speak at all doesn't

M.F.G.3

1 Strong feeling and opinion I'm very positive about it I don't ban the use of any other language in the classroom I (.) also tend to encourage them. to help each other in their own language and try and involve me in the process =
2 tsss=
1 so repeat the words that they think they are key words and I try and repeat it with them (.)and to and to find out and to be honest! to find out what their ma mathematical language misconception might be. I have no other ways to check their learning especially if they are let's say lower not very confident at speaking English. I cannot maybe assess (xxxxx) what their issues are if there is an issue with the language or with the concept and often it's (.) somewhere there in the middle it's a language issue it's a translation issue and a concept eerrrm lack of some foundation=
Rachel huhummm=
1 according to the level of the class this (.) can take this is a bit of a risk there because according to their level of maths for example they might be translating they might be misunderstanding there misinterpreting and translating their own (.) way so I don't have 100% control of what goes on=
Rachel yeah=
1 for example I've never understood maybe here Marcus will help you go gor or gone when I do the 100 square it's a square the word for square in err beginner's level maths classes in beginners English they translate it for each other gor g-o-r=

M.F.G.4

5 outside of that I think it's just quite naturally happens that they just communicate certain things=
Rachel yeah=

5 quickly between themselves
[if they share a language
Multiple speakers [yes
5 like certain concepts and things and that's fine. I don't want to step on that. it it's obviously (.) a ridiculous conversation about something completely different then you might go errrr what you guys=
Rachel yeah yeah yeah=
5 but there's no ruling either way and just what kinda happens naturally in the classrooms for them to be able to solve the problem I'm giving them is all well and good I think=
Unknown yeah=
Unknown yeah

M.F.G.5

3 I think with theeee with another like because I speak errrr (name of language)=
Rachel yeah=
3 and I speak (name of language) so errrr I use language as a resource. so I can go round and listen to if they are talking about a certain topic like the topic in in at hand then I I let it go. I don't mind. but soon as they start wondering off talking about what they are going to cook errrr=
6 yes=
3 then I know whether to step in and errr I think grouping learners into sometimes it helps like different languages or like Somali learners helping each other or certain topics I know errr it is not nice too. but if you think they can help each other out then it's not there's no harm in doing that. and most Somali learners can speak (name of language) so I tend to go and help them out if they need that help with the the (name of language) but I I think with the levels I'm very strict with the like I I'm very strict you know with that they should speak English throughout the whole session <u>but</u> (.) like I said I use it as a resource. if I if I can't make them understand and one of the learners has understood it in their own language why not use that particular learner to explain that concept in their own language=
1 yes yes=
3 or that information. you know I think I mean you you play it by ear. you see when you need to step in or you need to gather learners and sometimes you can't doesn't matter how much you explain it in English=

M.F.G.6

4 for example with the language I do the ESOL and the literacy sometimes or functional skills English but it's different because with the language you are more flexible you can say=

3 absolutely=

4 err you know what's the time in different way. you can ask in different way so they have the reeeaaally because it's only language based so they can afford to say it with minimum language they can't (.) probably (.) directly translate it to from their language or whatever (.) they could muster at that particular time (.) so it is really useful I I I'm for it it's positive. it's engaging the student making them making them think participate in albeit in only their first language but at least they are doing something because if you don't allow them to speak errr their first language therefore they end up spending the whole two hours saying nothing trying to struggling with all these ideas=

6 yeah=

4 =thoughts in their head then by the time they finish they will be exhausted mentally and disappointed in their own in themselves but if you allow that freedom to erm (.) it's really good so it will really make them happy because they are they said something they feel they participated. and they will get something much better out of it rather than

[no

6 [is it

dependent though on on the level so if you've got like a pre-entry class E1=

4 yeah=

6 if you go into

[Entry 3

4 [absolutely

Appendix C

Coding template for first classroom-based research

1. Multilingual identities
- 1.1 Power of language ideologies
- 1.2. Linguicism and prejudice

2. Classroom practices
- 2.1 Common sense attitudes/approaches to language learning.
- 2.2 Role of the teacher
  - 2.2.1 expectations
  - 2.2.2 challenges of responding in real-time
- 2.3 Dialogic interaction
  - 2.3.1 challenges
- 2.4 Scaffolding
  - 2.4.1 utilising other languages
  - 2.4.2 classroom artefacts

Appendix D - Sample of classroom observations (Intervention 1)

Observation date 12.11.19 made 60 -90 mins after class with aid of brief field notes
Activity
5 – 10 minutes discussion in groups of 3s and a 2 about which languages in certain scenarios and places.
Some groups spend a considerable longer amount of time thinking about home – describing how they communicate with their family and other participants in the group seemed very interested.
All learners said they mixed different languages at home (this was returned to later at greater length).
The pair finished early so I went to chat to them about some of the points and we focused on languages they used in the classroom (maybe I should have let them choose 1 for themselves). One learner said the spoke Bengali and break time as it was way for them. Together they agreed that they probably used English 90% of the time in lessons, with the other member of the pair stating that she would use Bengali (think her main language is in fact Hindi) for explanations during class. One of the final comments from the pair was that speaking English made her happy.
When this was addressed as a whole class said the comment I wrote down came from the learner from Afghanistan that they were there to learn English in response to what languages they use in class. She doesn't share a main language but is able to communicate in Bengali.
Discussion – it's easier to learn a language when you're young. It's harder when you're an adult. Do you agree? Why?
At this stage there were more learners in the class so learners worked in groups of 3's (a better number I think). This seemed to generate quite a lot of interest and went on for longer than discussion above, learners were quite forthcoming with their own opinions. Some very good points were made and learners were producing new vocabulary items to share with each other. This included the tensions which exist in an adult's life leading them to be preoccupied when studying a language (focusing on their responsibilities when they are in class for example. This particular point was expressed repeatedly by 1 in particular learner (F) at different stages of the lesson especially with reference to a younger learner in the class who she claimed could focus on learning English as he did not have responsibilities, namely children. He disagreed, saying that he did have responsibilities. I think this debate could have gone on for a while between these learners, but I stopped it, wanting to move on to the next activity. Should I have done?
A further interesting point on the side of it's harder for adults came about when one of the learners said it was down to 'mindset', an interesting use of vocabulary I thought, which when I asked him to expand on he stated was to do with concentration, that children had greater powers of concentration and can pay more.
A point against was made quite eloquently by another learner, the first to disagree after the class seemingly came to a unanimous agreement about the above statement. He claimed that adults were more focused than children because their motivation was clearer, giving the example that he couldn't see the point of learning English at school when he was a child, whereas now he has something clearer to aim at, a specific goal, which spurs him on. Another learner was then quick to support him in this assertion.
At the end of the group work I hold a whole class discussion where the points I have outlined above were made. In my field notes I wrote that I needed to reflect on this

discussion as I felt I was good at monitoring this whole class discussion, bringing in a number of different voices and getting learners to build up on other people's idea. I suppose I felt this was one of the better group discussions I have directed as there was evidence of accumulation and that learners were listening to each other. (shame I didn't record it). However, my final field notes were I needed to find a way to bring this discussion to a meaningful conclusion, it's a shame that I didn't get to build on it more as there were some really good ideas from the learners). Also I wrote down that I needed to stop being protective with reference to the disagreement at the end regarding responsibilities. I remember saying that we don't have to agree.

Vocabulary activity

Language focused activity went down well, with all learners taking notes, even the one that doesn't usually. For me the most interesting point came with mother tongue and the difficulty we had defining that, although the initial definition given by one of the learners was 'my own language'. There is something really powerful about this ownership of language which I feel stops learners really 'getting to grips' with English'. For example it implies that they don't own English, this language belongs to someone else, ergo they don't get to decide the rules or what happens with it.
Another interesting point was discussing multilingualism which I described as being able to speak three or more languages. Learners made the comparison with multiculturalism and (name withheld) being a multicultural place. Although one learner disagreed saying that she felt it was a mainly Bengali area, in response I suggested that I would look for them to find out the ethnicity of the council. Maybe I should have got them to find out for themselves, I am not the font of all knowledge. If I want them to be more independent this is what they need to do, then maybe I wouldn't be some dominant in the classroom.
Overheard one group talking about language in the break.

Listening activity

I like the idea of interviewing others (need to reflect on this more). Problems with the recording meant I lost momentum.
Sparked some discussion with one learner also reflecting that he wasn't sure he could write that well in his mother tongue anymore, which was interesting. May be this helps reinforce the idea that languages aren't permanent. The languages we use are in flux (like our identities).
Discussion about mother tongue wasn't very intensive, everyone agreed. Can I expand on this more?

Discussion with a chairperson

The group was down to 7 at this point, an odd number to split into a discussion with a chair person. Therefore we returned to the initial discussion about learning language when you're a child and an adult, as this seemed to garner more interest. Good quote I think from the learner who originally agreed above 'If you need to learn then you have to learn'.
I initiated and took the lead in a discussion on being a chair person. Initial response was that it was related to a business. We set out ground rules (return to photograph). We tried this and I sat away from the group. M. took good control and grew into his role, although he went around the group one at a time which felt a bit false (if you were sitting at the end maybe you wouldn't bother listening to the beginning and I feel that listening is what some of these students need to do so they can cumulate, I think they might be anxious about producing their own ideas, rather than listening, need to ask them about this – don't guess). In real life we have to respond (this seems to be at the heart of Alex's repertoire). By the 3rd / 4th learners they were

interrupting each other and asking to contribute further. Quieter learners still not contribute as much but I think the groups number was too big. Will try again next lesson.
Progress may be slow and it won't be easy. Need to focus on 1 or 2 things not whole repertoire, should I decide what to focus on?

Observation date 25.11.19 made 60 -90 mins after class with aid of brief field notes
Attendance 9
Activity

Questions about metacognitive process of learning and using English. Taken from Using the Mother Tongue.

It took a while for learners to begin discussing this, there was silence for the first few minutes. These were difficult questions and learners probably just need a few minutes to understand and think about the answers. It felt odd, as I teacher I want an instantaneous reaction, but if I'm going to / want to get learners involved in more complex ideas and discussion then they will need this processing time. Outcomes from this discussion seemed pretty similar to my pilot study 18 months previously, which was with a Level 1 class too. (I need to go back and compare the answers). The main point which was similar was that when they were trying something new in class (inc. looking at vocabulary), they would use other languages to help them (find a definition). All of them said that they used their mother tongue to help them in class at some stage , this was at about 30% and below in most cases. There was also a split when we started to talk about writing in English with some saying they were thinking in English when they wrote and at least one other learner that they more often than not thought in their mother tongue when it came to writing.

The most interesting thing that came out of this discussion for me was that the 8 students that speak Bengali in the class said that in their general everyday life they think in Bengali (except when working in English speaking spaces). The one learner who speaks Deri though stated that when she leaves home she thinks in English as everything around her is in English, example given was advertising on the bus. (Further exploration needed).

Exploratory practise – complete sentences using connectives to give opinions about using English.

The focus of this exercise quickly became on using the connectives, this was relatively new for some of the learners and was challenging. The language they produced at this stage was more to demonstrate how to use the new language than expressing their own opinions. It would be hard to say which ones though. Exploratory practise using classroom style activities can only be used once the language in question is established. What are the implications for this (pretty obvious, but I require time to expand on it).

Planning language autobiography

Making notes to support speaking is difficult for learners. They say that when they are taking notes they need to use keywords, but most of them write in sentences. How can I help them to make notes to support their speaking, this is a requirement in formal situations surely? For some learners this was really difficult, even though they had been given an example of a language autobiography, which we had discussed and prompt questions to help them think of relevant situation. Is it because they are not interested in the subject? Or this process needs to be broken down more? How can learners speak more formerly without writing a text out in full previously?

Observation date 02.12.19 made 1 hour after class with aid of brief field notes
Attendance 10
Activity
Discussing questions as warmer – re multilingual in the local community.
Responses were much the same as in the previous lesson. (name withheld) is a multilingual area and learners like living in a multilingual area. One learner said even though she doesn't understand Bengali she is still able to learn about different cultures just by observing people (way they dress, food they eat). A multilingual community seemed to be viewed as a learning opportunity. However, all learners agreed that opportunities to practise English in (name withheld) was a clear problem and that maybe if they lived in a different area they would learn English faster. One learner admitted that he lived in a different borough but came to (name withheld) as fewer people shared his language and this would force him use English more. Another learner talked about how she previously lived outside of London where few people shared her language and therefore she learned English quicker, it forced to learn English more. There seemed to be a consensus that if you're not forced to use English you won't learn as quick. (?) Check up next lesson. What does this mean for translanguaging.
Talking about picture (code) see lesson materials.
I hadn't done this exact activity before, although I knew about and had taken part in it in it at various training events. However, learners seemed to be up for discussing the picture. I was a bit panicked as they didn't seem to get the idea I was trying to depict in the code, although someone did eventually say that they person was cross because they weren't speaking in English. Also the other alternatives were completely plausible and in some instances raised another real issue such as problems/tensions around accessing healthcare. When feeding back one learner actually talked about an incident when the receptionist refused to help her because she was Bengali – I elicited that this was an instance of racism. A comment made by another learner I considered to be problematic as they stated that Asian people are rude, British people aren't. This was something that I failed to explore. If I am going to be drawing on learners' experiences then I have to be prepared to deal with instances such as this and think about how I am going to respond (to be reflected on below). Most learners did in fact have a story to share about a time a similar experience happened to them, it was this story sharing activity where we noticed a common theme around health. As we were drawing to break one learner asked me if I had ever had a similar experience. I responded yes I had, but I couldn't remember exactly as I was in Spain such a long time ago. Another learning point – if I am going to ask learners to share I need to be prepared to share myself, should I wait to be asked though.
2nd Conditional brain shower
Finally following the Our Languages lesson I used the second conditional (which we revised at the beginning of the session), to think about how they would respond in different situations (2nd conditional to give advice). These sentences were in fact quite complex and I anticipated that learners would really struggle or refuse to take part as it demanded a lot of them. Even though I don't feel that I set up this activity well all learners produced 2nd conditional ideas with a bit of support and spent 3-5 mins on each problem. There was a sense (perhaps only to me) that the lesson was running smoothly with good pace, as I tried to tailor it to them, but this is something I need to think about re the literature that I have read.

Also learners spend around 5 minutes thinking about these issues not the 15 suggested in the material. Maybe they could have spent longer if I had set up the activity better? Or maybe it's also a case of learners getting used to this kind of critical thinking activity where they come up with more of the ideas. Will this get better over time. The final statement in my field notes was – Does this feel like a different way of teaching (more onus on them). I have been protecting them.

Appendix E Transcripts, extracts of classroom talk (Intervention 2)

C.D.1

Sadia	Rachel=
Unknown	[laughter=
Speaker	[(xxxxx)
Rachel	go Amira. and (.) go on Amira.
Amira	yes errr like this errm situation I I was suffer (.) from this. one time when I came in the UK. newly. so err in September 2019 i err went to the to my GP and asked for help to register my GP er to register my err health (.) GP GP register. but errm she was in Bengali. Sylhetti Bengali. but I asked in err that errm (.) I can't err speak in lang in err English language properly and I can't understand the proper language. because I could underst I could understand about reading and writing.
Rachel	yeah
Amira	and I err wasn't used to in English in our country. so that's why when we came in the uk new errm err I was just confused about English language because err somebody mm tells speak fluently. somebody tells err quickly. and somebody said errm some err story. so err when she speaks slowly I can understand. but when err she speaking fluently then I can't understand.=
Rachel	hmm=
Amira	so that's why I asked for help in Bengali. but errr she didn't help me. even she didn't talk to me about that. she just tell me that I can't understand Bengali and I can't err speak in Bengali. sorry. sorry for that. but after that next to me he was a Bengali people. he was err a Bengali err brother=
Unknown	Sylhetti =
Rachel	good =
Amira	yes Sylhetti people. so err she speaks in Bengali with him but not to me. so I asked. why not to me? but err why err you err talk err talk in English err to err other people. why not to me=
Rachel	yep =
Amira	then she she tell me that [I can't understand your first language. so I I tell her that I understand Sylhetti. langauge. I understand everything]=
Unkown	[unclear talk, possibly discussing this issue?]=
Salima	yeah=
Amira	you can try! you can try to speak! in Ben Bengali but you didn't try.
multiple speakers	(xxxxxxx!)

Rachel ok. so what do you want to say
Farzana some people born here some people=
ms [yeah (xxxxxxxxxx)]
Farzana [they didn't understand word of (xxxx) bengali]=
ms [(xxxxx)
Happy [like our children Rachel.]=
Amira I can't speak I wasn't speaking err real language. I wasn't speaking err English. but I just didn't understand the real err English.
unknown yeah
Farzana [some people (xxxx)]=
Amira [I just didn't]=
Farzana i i know most of people=
Happy [like our children
Multiple [(xxxxxx)
[(xxxxx)
Rachel [so if you were born here=
Multiple yeah
Farzana I understand like Sylheti. not Dhakka language=
Amira I know I know
[I know I know
Farzana [mix Bengali
mix Bengali they didn't understand=
Happy they didn't understand anything
[somtimes I err=
Amira [but I just asked=
Happy I'm watching tv like Bengali like err=
Sadia any drama=
Happy err drama then you (.) my children ask me. oh what language did you see. err it's like other language.
[other country's language=
Amira [yes yes=
Happy but they didn't understand=
Amira but I I talked to her that err you don't need to speak in be you don't err need to speak in Bengali everything. but something what I err don't understand please could you speak in Bengali please.
Rachel so you wanted her to try.
Amira yeah. I didn't I didn't ask err even I tell her that I won't speak in Bengali I I err I err speak in English language but you speak in Bengali I can understand. because it's about GP register. It's not err something=
Rachel complicated=
Amira yeah=
Salima yeah=
Amira it was something comp complicated and I was err just new. so even I asked for int an interpreter translator but she didn't err she didn't help about that=

Rachel help you with that. ok. but you may you're saying there is a reason=
Farzana interpreter is booked before you go to the GP. because they didn't give you interpreter like all the time=
Amira she didn't help me about anything!
Multiple (xxxxxxx)
[(xxxxxxxxxxxxx)
Amira [still now when I got to gp.
then she she eer she know me because I complained about her.=
Rachel yeah=
Amira she know me. and she didn't err want to she don't want to speak with me (.) still now.
Farzana she she is a rude bitch=
Multiple (xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx)
Happy we are agree with amira.
Multiple (xxxxxxxxxxxxx)
Farzana [(xxxxxxx)
Amira [when errr I was in school there was Sylheti people (xxxxxx) people different different district but I I could understand everything]=
Jahanara SHHH=
Amira [I read and I speak and I any language in our country=
ms [(xxxxxxx)=
Rachel you still feel very angry about this 1. I can tell. yeah. fair enough.

C.D.2

Sadia Rachel I don't give any err problem about it. because you know my daughters they don't also understand some Bengali. even they don't understand also Sylheti language. some some word they know. but the majority they don't know. but you know some problem with one lawyer i went over there with lawyer =
Rachel yeah=
Sadia my some problem. so I talked to you are you are Bengali you so you can help why do I need an interpreter. so she told me like one day she helped one lady and she told her I don't understand. some questions coming. she told oh I don't understand. then got a lawyer get a problem with a court. you know? some people don't want to err involve with this.
T okay. it's a choice=
Sadia you know it's err some people got a problem that's why.
T okay. it's a personal problem=
Salima [a personal problem

Sadia [a personal problem
maybe she got errr some=
Happy but you say like nicely.
but I don't under=
Amira [no you (xxxx)=
Happy [(xxxxx)
but just don't be rude.
Amira you could just try!

C.D.3

Happy it's like discrimination. (.)
Rachel it's kind of a discrimination?
Happy yeah.
Rachel yeah? but <u>why</u> are you saying it's discrimination.
Happy she likes she only likes Sylheti person.=
Salima yeah=
Happy not like (xxxx) person=
Salima yeah. yeah=
Happy Amira is
[(xxxxx)=
Amira [yeah I heard about err]=
Jahanara I think (xxxxxx)
Happy sometimes I feel
[shy Rachel.
Amira [sometimes
Bengali people jealous=
Salima yeah=
Amira with each other. somtimes. because not errr equal
everyone.
Rachel ok.=
Salima not equal
Sadia Rachel everyone
[(xxxxxxx)
ms [(xxxxx)
Rachel it's it's normal.
[it's not just bengali people. it's everyone. yeah.
yeah.
Multiple [(xxxxx)
(xxxxxxxx)=
Jahanara i'm sylhetti person (xxx). some sylhetti some
sylhetti born in this country. if I I'm sylhetti as
well.=
Rachel yeah=
Jahanara if I talk with errr them. they like to really
really errr pronounces really hard and=
Happy yeah =
Jahanara so so modernist so stylish=
Rachel yeah=
Salima yeah=

Jahanara like that. but (.) if they can they can talk with nicely. and we hope you can understand.=
Rachel yeah. yeah. yeah.=
Jahanara so they didn't do that (xxxx)
[they didn't do that=
Rachel [it's not a reason=
Salima yeah=
Jahanara they are trying modelling stylish so that way they speak
[(xxxxx)
Farzana [they put you down other people=
Rachel go on
Farzana so they they like put you down.
Rachel yeah.

C.D.4

Happy not the not the children. like err my doctor is great ormond street doctor.
Rachel yeah=
Happy he was an English man. so sometimes my husband wasn't at home. so he called me for my daughter. so I need sometimes talk err I errr I need to interpreter. he told me ohh I talk with you you don't need interpreter. tell me whatver you can. but interpreter is a problem. because I can interpreter. he can errr err she you like (.) talk english with doctor.=
Rachel yeah=
Happy so it's like three person talking it's like long errr (xxxx) you can talk whatever you can.
[(xxxxxx)
Amira [(xxxx)
can understand our language
[so so
Multiple yeah=
Rachel you get on with doctor. you like that doctor.
Happy I definitely=
Rachel you do=
Salima yeah=
Farzana some doctor are helpful.=
Multiple (xxxxxx)
Farzana they say you speak err
[I can understand.
Happy [I can understand.
you speak. you just speak.
Rachel yeah=
Happy I can understand.
Rachel yeah=

Amira after hear that err situation. about that situation. and err about that what happened in the GP. my husband say. don't worry about that. don't worry about that. i think she has a fight with her husband. don't=

Multiple [(laughter)

Rachel [ok. so your husband is kind of saying=

Sofia my son. my son's school. then last fff time then there were parents meeting. then when they registered the time. there are (xxxx) interpreter Bengali. then (.) that time yeah. I said yes. but last two time their records show that I need Bengali. then when first went do you need Bengali I said no. I can now. then there when they (.) heard my language then my son teacher oh you know (xxxx). my son also his she's teacher he's (.) Bengali but she can't speak Bengali.=

Happy yeah=

Sofia she understand but she can't understand Bengali=

Salima [yeah=

Rachel [oh=

Happy she understand. but
[she can't speak.

Jahanara [she can't speak.

Happy [(xxxx)

Amira [(xxxx)

Happy so last time
[I told her]

Rachel [ahhhh]

Happy can I speak err in Bengali. she told me like. you can speak in Bengali. I can understand but when I give answer err I can speak English. so
[(xxxx)

Multiple [(xxxx)

Happy I speak with her. so she told me like you speak. next time you speak with me in English because I understand your english=

Rachel yeah. yeah. yeah.=

Happy it's good!

Multiple [(xxxx)

Rachel [at this level now you can express
[what you want to.

Happy [and she is really nice.
she is really nice because=

Salima yeah yeah.

Happy she told me if you practice your english. whatever you want.
[how can improve your english=

Sofia [yeah (.) yeah.=

Happy she's really nice. she's completely different. completely different.

Appendix F Language learner autobiographies

Fatima

My personal language journey

I was born in Morocco, where the traditional language is Berber. This language isn't taught and has never been written. At a young age, I spoke my mother tongue. Around the house when I was growing up, I picked up words and phrases from adults who spoke mother tongue, so that was my first language.

At the age of six, I started school. At school I didn't understand because everyone was speaking different languages I had never heard. It was Arabic and French so I had to learn those languages. The mother tongue I had learned at home was not allowed. I could now only use it as street language! I soon discovered that Arabic and French were the official languages and were used everywhere, in administrative documents, law, offices, newspapers, shops, signs, letters and social media.

At the university, I was subjected to another surprise. They taught all subjects in French and all students had to speak French fluently. This was very hard for too many students. When I applied to study fashion, I had to pass a French test to be accepted. In Morocco education is strange and difficult because it is a multilingual country.

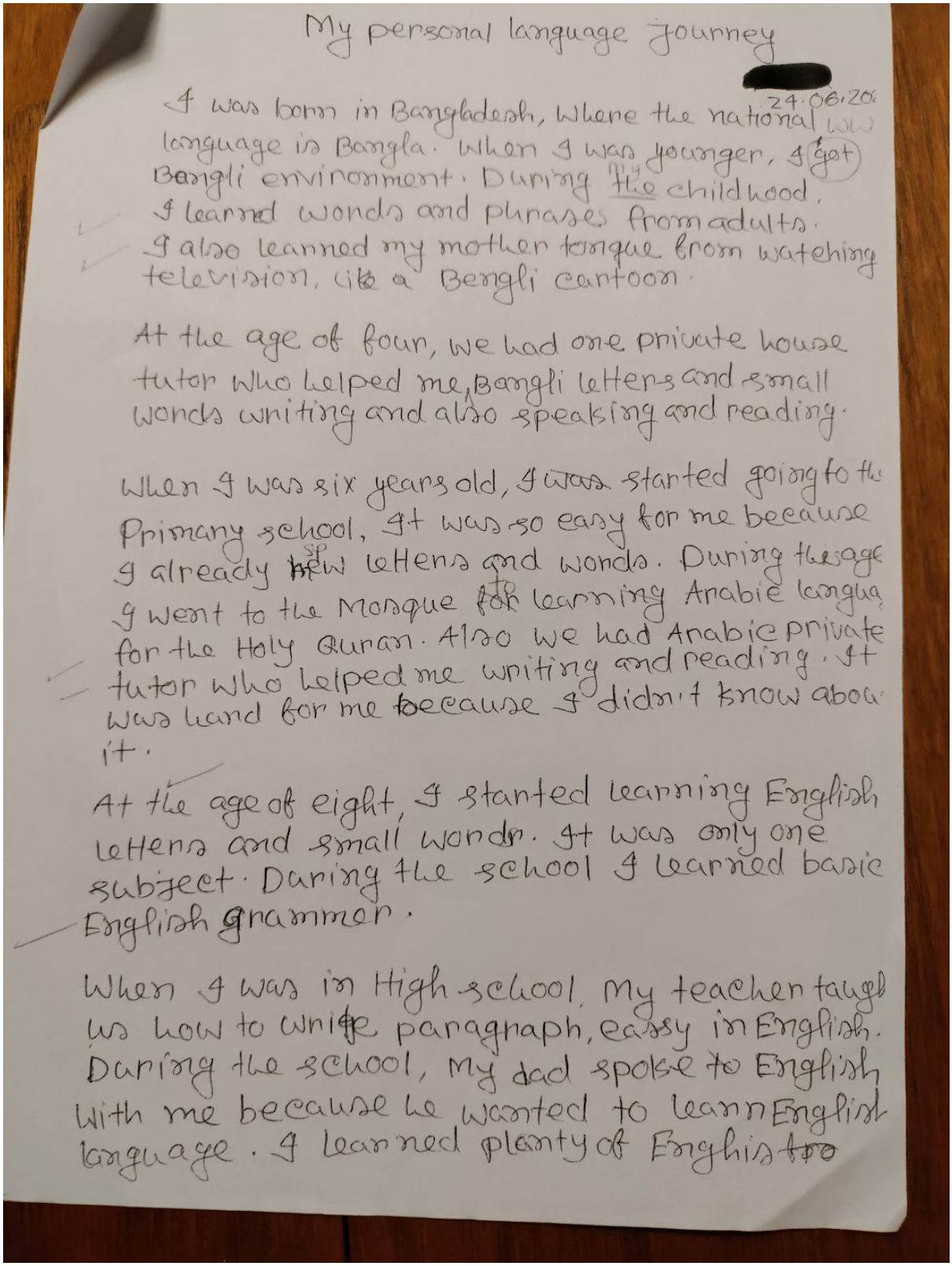
When I came to London I knew a little bit of English but my speaking and listening was not good. When I finished secondary school and started college there was an option to choose a third language. I chose English because it is used a lot in Morocco. This was my first experience with the language which later was to become my daily language!

My first experience of using English with people in London was a struggle. Immediately after coming to London, I got pregnant. During my ninth month of pregnancy I had to see a nurse and doctor. First, I tried to struggle and then I asked for an interpreter. I used an interpreter twice and then I started helping myself. I used to ask my doctor to write down all the information that she wanted to explain and then I took it home to read again. I used to translate many words to understand exactly what my doctor meant. That helped me a lot to practise English and I learned a lot.

After two years, I started studying English. At the college I didn't have any problem with teachers and friends because my English was better. My daughter started nursery and it was very easy for me to communicate with nursery staff and other parents. Now I feel confident to use English in my life in the UK and very comfortable. I'm still learning because I want to improve my writing and have a higher level certificate to look for a good job.

Taken from: https://ourlanguages.co.uk/resources/#selves and given to learners.

Sadia's language autobiography



My personal language journey

[redacted] 24.08.20

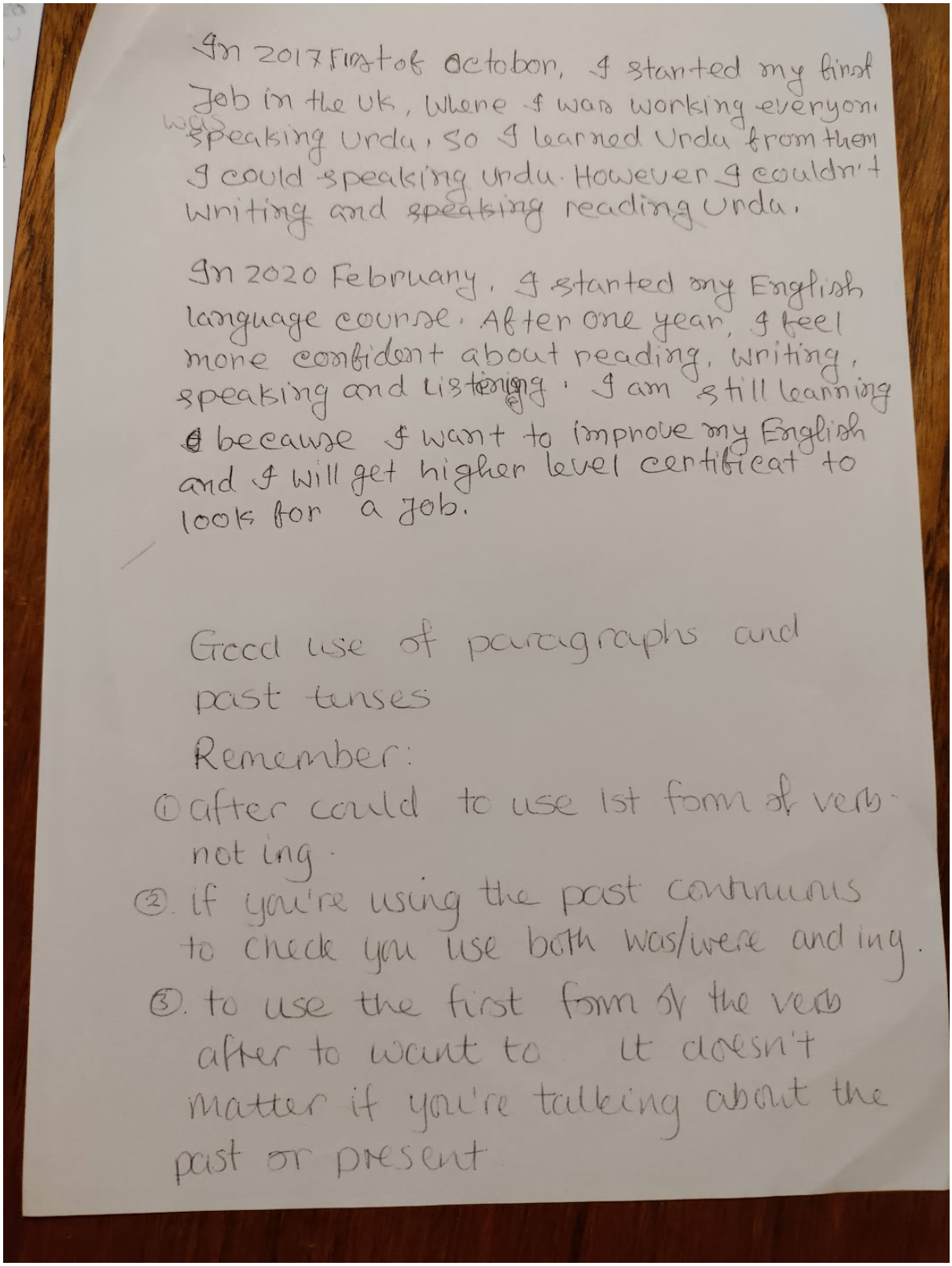
I was born in Bangladesh, where the national language is Bangla. When I was younger, I got Bangli environment. During my childhood, I learned words and phrases from adults. I also learned my mother tongue from watching television, like a Bengli cartoon.

At the age of four, we had one private house tutor who helped me, Bangli letters and small words writing and also speaking and reading.

When I was six years old, I started going to the Primary school, It was so easy for me because I already knew letters and words. During this age I went to the Mosque to learning Arabic langua for the Holy Quran. Also we had Arabic private tutor who helped me writing and reading. It was hard for me because I didn't know abou it.

At the age of eight, I stanted learning English letters and small words. It was only one subject. During the school I learned basic English grammer.

When I was in High school, My teacher taugh us how to write paragraph, easy in English. During the school, My dad spoke to English with me because he wanted to learn English language. I learned plenty of Enghis too



In 2017 First of October, I started my first job in the UK, where I was working everyone was speaking Urdu, so I learned Urdu from them I could speaking Urdu. However I couldn't writing and speaking reading Urdu.

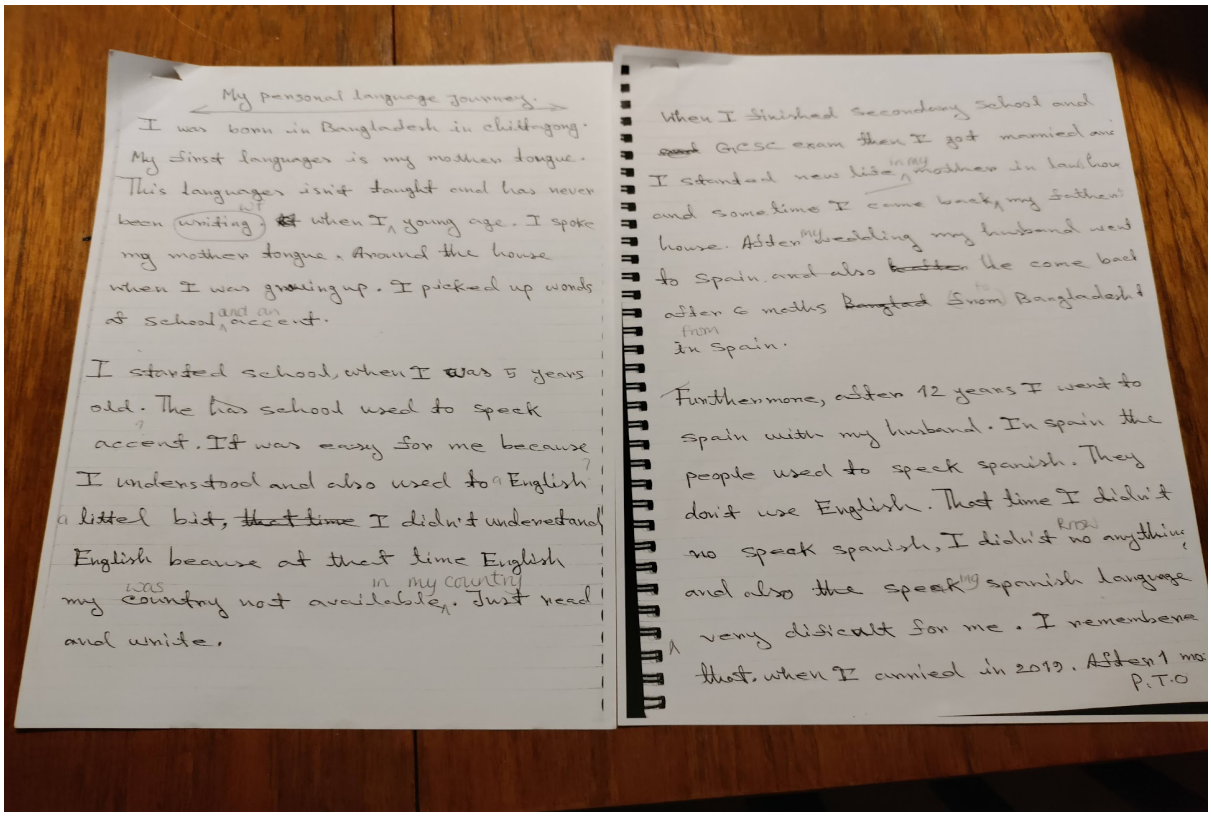
In 2020 February, I started my English language course. After one year, I feel more confident about reading, writing, speaking and listening. I am still learning because I want to improve my English and I will get higher level certificat to looks for a job.

Good use of paragraphs and past tenses

Remember:

1. after could to use 1st form of verb not ing.
2. if you're using the past continuous to check you use both was/were and ing.
3. to use the first form of the verb after to want to it doesn't matter if you're talking about the past or present

Salima's language autobiography



My personal language journey.

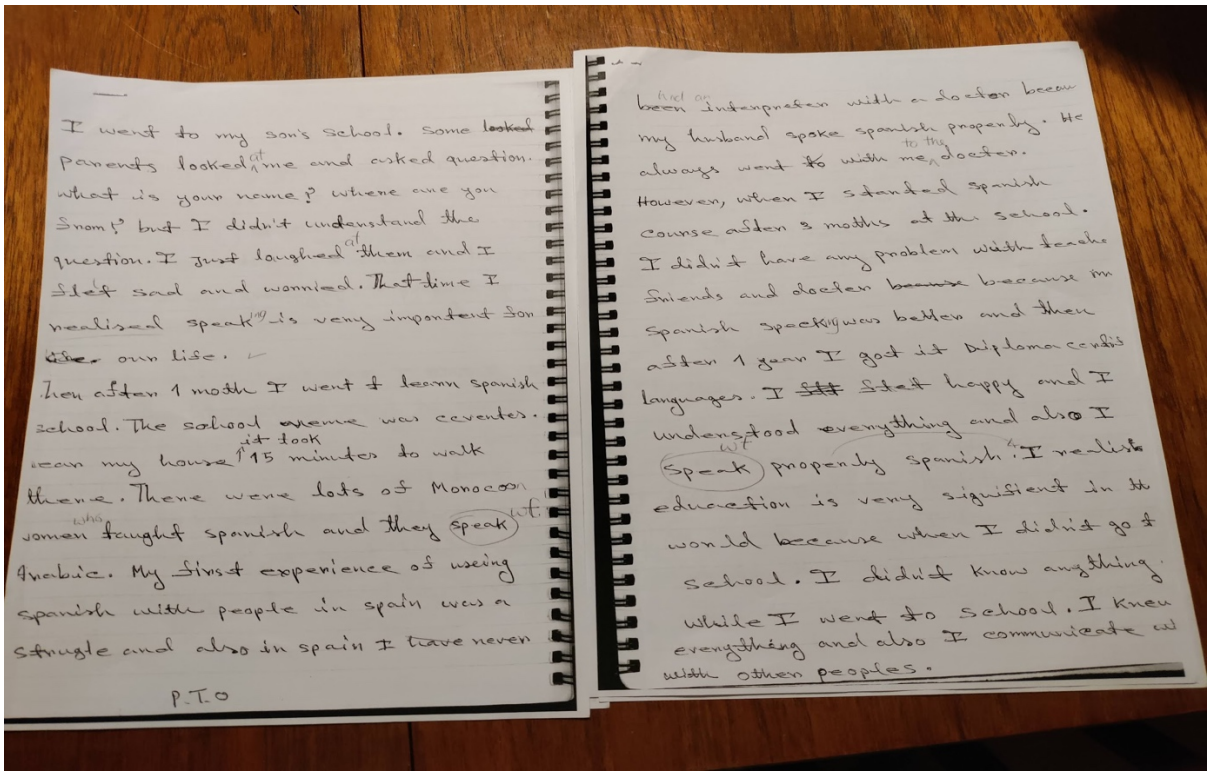
I was born in Bangladesh in chittagong. My first languages is my mother tongue. This languages isn't taught and has never been (writing) when I young age. I spoke my mother tongue. Around the house when I was growing up. I picked up words of school and accent.

I started school, when I was 5 years old. The kids school used to speak accent. It was easy for me because I understood and also used to English a little bit, that time I didn't understand English because at that time English my country was not available. Just read and write.

When I finished secondary school and GCSC exam then I got married and I started new life in my mother in law house and sometime I come back my Setheni house. After my wedding my husband went to Spain and also he come back after 6 moths from Bangladesh in Spain.

Furthermore, after 12 years I went to Spain with my husband. In spain the people used to speak spanish. They don't use English. That time I didn't no speak spanish, I didn't know no anything and also the speak my spanish language very dificult for me. I remembere that, when I married in 2019. After 1 mo

P.T.O



I went to my son's school. Some parents looked at me and asked question. what is your name? where are you from? but I didn't understand the question. I just laughed at them and I felt sad and worried. That time I realised speak my is very important for our life.

Then after 1 moth I went to learn spanish school. The school where was ceventes. from my house it took 15 minutes to walk there. There were lots of Monocon women who taught spanish and they speak wit Arabic. My first experience of useing spanish with people in spain was a struggle and also in spain I have never been interpreter with a doctor because my husband spoke spanish properly. He always went to with me to the doctor. However, when I started spanish course after 3 moths at the school. I didn't have any problem with teache friends and doctor because because my Spanish speaking was better and then after 1 year I got it diploma certis languages. I felt happy and I understood everything and also I speak wit properly spanish. I realise education is very significant in the world because when I didn't go t school. I didn't know anything. While I went to school. I knew everything and also I communicate wi with other peoples.

P.T.O

Appendix G Classroom Observations (Intervention 2)
Lesson Observation 04.03.21
6 out of 7 learners attended (1 absent)Class on Zoom, only a few connection issues (Wrote after class)

What was I aiming for in this session

In this lesson I planned to introduce the subject of languages and to heighten learners' awareness of the languages they know and use in everyday life, highlighting the range of their linguistic knowledge. I hoped that by doing this it would help to increase learners' confidence, supporting them in better valuing their skills as proficient mulitilinguals, challenging stereotypical images of adult migrant language learners as deficient. I also wanted to start to introduce them to contemporary and relevant sociolinguistic debates such as the difference between a language and a repertoire and the vocabulary needed to engage in such debates in English.

Responses to question 'How many languages do you know?' (wrote 2.5 hours after class)

In response to this question, which was undertaken as a whole class activity, most learners considered themselves as knowing approximately 4 languages. Many of them the same four languages; Bangali (Bangla), English, Hindi and Urdu, with one learner saying they also knew a little bit Italian, another a little bit French and a further student stating that they also knew Spanish. There was also some discussion about how most learners understood Hindi and Urdu, although there was some variation with one learner saying they could speak a little Hindi but not write. When I reviewed this later in the lesson learners agreed that they knew 3-4 languages, but I did not make this statement until after all learners had spoken. There was a learner who said they knew 'a little bit English', which I challenged stating that at Level 1 they were competent users of English highlighting the discussions we had just had before we started this activity about news stories ranging from the Budget to Shamima Begum, all in English.

Group talk about 'What languages can you……?'

Answers from above were further reinforced when learners were put in breakout rooms to discuss a range of questions regarding what languages they could speak in, read, used at home etc. I did not go into the rooms to monitor as we had already covered many of the points in the discussion above. During feedback from this in my field notes I wrote 'already build repertoire', as learners were aware of the specific language resources they possessed and how they were utilised, although I didn't ask for specifics, wish I had done.

Linguistic vocabulary

Learners were able to give their own definitions for all of the vocabulary items apart from dialect without any support. I probed a little bit, such as 'why do you think mother tongue is called mother tongue?' to which one learner responded because we learn from our mothers. (see print out of definitions on separate sheet). There was some confusion between dialect being confused with the word dialogue, the initial definition which I wrote up after some talk was, 'a regional form of a language, a style of language from a specific district. This was later expended on by one group in the next discussion.

Questions relating to vocabulary

The questions I tasked learners with discussing were:

1. What does it mean to **know** a language **properly**?
2. Is speaking a language the same as speaking a dialect? Why? Why not?
3. (I adapted the above to: Is a dialect the same as a language?)

4. Are you multilingual or bilingual?

I tried to expend a bit more on question 2 as I realised it was very comprehensible, which I think also conveys the complexity of the term dialect. Learners were sent into 2 breakout rooms to discuss these more and I gave them some time (possibly) 5 minutes free from my interference. When I joined 1 one group they were chatting away in Bengali about an issue not related to the topic and started laughing when they noticed I had joined their group and then explained that they had finished the questions, so I then decided to close the breakout rooms and get learners to discuss the questions as a class.
When the second group rejoined the main class, the group I hadn't joined, the first thing student 3 relayed was that they had had quite a discussion about dialect and language. Therefore, I decided to skip question 1 and go straight to discussing number two. All learners then to my knowledge (if not all at least 4) contributed to this discussion. They contextualised the discussion to Bangladesh with one learner reporting that there were 64 districts in Bangladesh each with its own dialect. Another student, student 3 suggested that the different dialects in Bangladesh all came from Bangla and were just different styles. Student 6 also made the comparison with a Scottish person that they would speak English but would be a different version of English. Nobody challenged these opinions and in fact more students join in to expand this discussion further seemingly making a link to language and culture as learners noted that the regions and districts of Bangladesh shared cultural difference. It again originally came from student 3, but others did join to provide further evidence that dialects were just a part of regional variation along with food and produce with student 2 talking about Chittagong.
When we moved onto question 4 the above still continued with student 6 starting a discussion about how Spanish and French people learned English quicker because these languages were connected. She used this as an example as to why students in the class were multilingual because the languages in India, Pakistan and Bangladesh were connected so it was easy to understand languages spoken in these 3 countries, along with many cultural similarities. I made link to Latin regarding English, Spanish and French. Student 5 said how here friend spoke Hindi which was why she could speak Hindi because she wanted to be able to communicate with her friend who she was still in touch with. Another learner (possibly student 7) talked about how at home she might go through a whole range of languages, how they 'joke about' with them which I rephrased as playing with. A further discussion centred around how learners had to use a mix of languages at home as their children did not speak Bangla, although some of them understood it.

Class observation 11.03.21 Learning languages in school as a child

I had planned this session to move onto the formal learning of languages still focusing on childhood. However, before we could get to this we talked about the Census as one learner had requested support with it and we returned frequently to the topic of employment in the first half of the session, this is a concern for at least 3 learners in the class and they discussed their experiences of finding voluntary work and those who had applied or successfully gained voluntary employment in school gave others advice. Student 5 repeated a point which is frequently made in this class that she doesn't feel ready to work, especially in a school as she doesn't speak English 'properly' or have the confidence to work in a school. Not all learners agreed with this. But I then pointed out that in TH, (and I should have said in a multicultural

city such as London) being bi and multilingual, such as they are is highly desirable and that they would be able to offer the school they worked in an extra skill. I highlighted times when I have to ask for the help and support of Bengali speaking colleagues so I can complete certain aspects of my job.

Next we reviewed the past perfect, which learners would possibly need for writing their narrative about learning languages as a child. We then also discussed the exam, which included outlining the timetable and the structure of the exam. Together this took about an hour. We then had a break for 10 minutes.

Upon return from the break we were able to follow the work I had planned about learning languages in school. I planned some 'consciousness-raising' activities looking at pictures of different educational settings with different aspects of teaching and learning going in. Learners were asked to describe what was happening and maybe put a name to the setting (e.g. primary, secondary) and perhaps teaching and learning approach e.g. online learning, group work. This was reviewed at the end with looking at specific vocabulary items such as group work, lecture. They would then move on to talk about their own experiences of learning and then focus specifically on language learning at school, before drawing up a plan of a narrative of childhood language learning to be completed for homework.

Talking about the pictures and vocabulary

Learners described the pictures and there were some instances where the produced vocabulary which I had not thought of such as collaborative learning. In picture two, which was a big classroom seated in rows, one learner described it as gentle and calm (see slide for specific language), I was surprised as I had envisioned that learners would say boring, but when prompted to expand on that that all learners seemed to be listening to the teacher and were quite focused. I then suggested that this would be quite a nice learning environment to be in. There was some discussion about independent learning as we looked at pictures of groups of learners seated around computers with no teacher visible. One learner questioned how this could be independent learning when they seemed to be working together, the response given by several learners was that it was independent as there was no teacher present. The only ones which needed to be explained were a university lecture, which one learner was able to describe as someone giving a speech and when we reached the vocabulary they needed some help with the description of rote learning. The rest of the vocabulary items learners were able to provide a definition for.

How do you like to learn? How did you learn? Discussion

I then divided learners into two groups and put them in breakout rooms to discuss these questions. I again did not join these rooms as so far learners have worked well in these groups and come back with something to say on the topic in hand. I think it is nice for them to have a space separate from me. When they returned, definitely after 5 minutes (still must remember to take a note of timings) we then began to discuss these two questions, at the end partly as we had already covered the ground, but as we were running out of time we also discussed experiences of learning languages at school which spread into learning languages now.

In response to the question 'How do you like to learn?'st 4 responded that generally she liked working in a group as this provided the opportunity to practice and improve speaking. St. 3 agreed and then added it was good to with teacher and that independent learning was also good, giving the example of how through independent learning she was able to expand her vocabulary. This involved looking up new words in the dictionary and writing a definition, writing it 10 times and making sentences with it. St. 1 said that lectures were nice, when you understood the

teacher and they explained things clearly (I realised that this was challenging my conception of lectures as only happening in a university), but realised after one said something along the lines that she liked my lectures that some of them were thinking about classes in college and school. This made think upon the reading I had done around dialogic talk in the classroom where lecture is stated as a popular teaching method across schools and to me it then made sense that lecture is part and parcel of ways of teaching outside university.
We then moved on to think about 'How did you learn at school?'. To this st 5 asid that she learnt through a variety of approaches; by rote, collaborative group work and lecture style. She expanded on learning by rote saying it was good to memorise things so you could learn quickly you can catch up. Learner 6 talked about practical learning citing an example of making carbon dioxide in a science lesson at school, she wasn't just told about it but she made it. I think it was st 4 who in connection of formal learning raised the importance of this learning continuing with parents and siblings it carried on outside of school.
There then began a discussion about the different benefits of learning through reading, writing, speaking and listening. Student 4 said that writing was helpful, as writing something down helped her to memorise something, as the debate moved on she changed her position to both reading and writing being important, which was part of a discussion about an individual approach to learning, that we probably learned differently. St. 4 said people are different, and that writing helped her to get things inside her brain along with reading words aloud. Student 6 said that reading was very importing that it was how you learned new words, improved spelling and increased understanding. L. 1 told us about her own research into language learning, with reference to her second request for us to do so reading aloud in class, as she felt it was important and was concerned about her pronunciation. She said she had done some research and found a recommendation about reading aloud and looking in the mirror so you can see your expression when reading. Due to time this didn't come to a clear conclusion beyond that people learn differently, although everybody benefits from reading, writing, speaking and listening. And we concluded with student 6 taking about how she can't study with music playing but her brother can. Learners appeared aware of what worked for them.

Planning narrative

Due to the fact that it was about 2:55 I led learners through planning for writing a narrative about language learning in childhood, without much learner input. We will hopefully see some results of this next lesson. I did tell learners they should review the work from Tuesday along with today's session.

First ESOL classes 18.03.21 7 students – st 5 joined 1 hours late

Aims

The aim of this session was to continue with thinking about joining a formal English class in the UK. This was building on from the previous session where we talked about memories of childhood and also considered the differences between learning English as a child and as an adult. There was also some focus on form, for example I remember + verb +ing and I have memories of + verb + ing. After discussing initial memories I wanted learners to think about some of the specifics of learning ESOL and especially collecting their thoughts about 'the English only debate'. We would then use the ideas this discussion generated to possibility try some writing in Bengali and then English using connectives. The second half of the class was to be exam focused with listening and then watching an example of the level 1 role play. I then intended the learners to carry out role play practise using the topic of using other languages in class.

Memories of joining an ESOL / English class for first time in the UK

Learners talk together in two breakout rooms for 5-7 minutes using the question prompts provided such as what they remember, their feelings and any surprises. When they returned we had a 10-15 minute discussion altogether where learners described their memories.

St began by saying how nervous she felt when she started in E1 at a different college. She remembered that there were 17 sts in the class. She talked about how well she knew Spanish, but not English. She also told us that when she past her Entry 1 exam she was given £50 by the college, which everyone was surprised about in the class. Then st 7. Added that she had been given £100 by the same college when she passed E1 in 2009. This caused much amusement to everyone, with learners jokingly asking why the Idea Store didn't do the same and could I talk to the manager about this. St 5. also made a serious point about that the money was to encourage students and that in a related way it help to pay the bus fare for some students that they may need to use to travel to class.

As a follow on st. 4 told how when she was studying Entry 1 at the Idea Store she had won a story writing competition and should have been awarded £50, but she never actually received it.

St. 5 whose first lesson was in 2019 with me talked about how nervous she was and how she remembered the initial assessment, which was partially done by me. She was wrongly placed and then moved into my Entry 3 class after 4 lessons. She said she was initially nervous, but that when everyone had introduced themselves she enjoyed herself and started to feel more independent and confident.

St 6 who started learning at the same time also remembered meeting me at initial assessments and was supposed to join my class, but couldn't get the time off work so ended up going to a different centre. It was her first experience of formally learning English in the UK, but the teacher was so welcoming that she felt at ease in the class pretty quicky.

St. 1 who started learning at the Idea Store remembered her first teacher and felt scared and had low confidence. She understood everything but couldn't say things correctly, that she had forgotten the English she had studied at school. This surprised me as I have known 1 for four years and she has always seemed very confident and willing to speak out in class.

St. 4 remembered going to English class at her daughter's school and was surprised at how many people were there. That the hall where they were was fill for the first session, so she had to stand up for one hour.
St 6. Added that she was very excited to go to English class, because she really wanted to learn English and learn about the culture and everything else. She also said she always felt confident. I think this relates back to her upbringing, see discussion from previous lesson, where she talked about her dad treating her equally, which she seemed to suggested filled her with a lot of confidence.
St 7. Concluded this activity by stating that when she joined the Idea Store she had started in Entry 2B with me and now she was back in my class and very happy.

Discussing the English only rule using a picture prompt for intro
I drew a very rough sketch of an ESOL classroom with two students and a teacher. In the sketch the teaching was telling the students to stop using Bengali or they had to pay a fine. I had used google translate to find the Bengali for 'I don't understand', written in Roman script. Learners confirmed that my translation is correct and pronounced it for me. And I asked them what was happening and the people in the picture might be feeling. I think it was 4 how said that someone had a headache, which I took as being the teacher, but she clarified that she meant the students because they don't understand. From this point we then launched into a discussion about the English only rule.
St. 7 reported that she had heard that fines for using other languages had at some point been implemented by a teacher from a near by learning provider. Another added that the same learning provider also took phones from students too. Student 4 and 1 both clearly stated that they thought using other languages enabled students to help and support each other. Where as 6 was concerned that they had limited opportunities to practise using English that they needed to make the most of the opportunity to practise in class.
St 4 who recounted how in Entry 1 the teacher had shouted at them like they were children if they used Bengali, with 1 coming up with the idea that teachers needed to be flexible. 4 also said that was her only experience of teachers strictly enforcing this rule in class that other teachers didn't enforce it. St 5 concluded with a story from another college where a teacher came into the room and sts were sitting with their feet up on the desk and asked them if this was their home.
I then put learners into breakout rooms (5-7 minutes) to think of 4-5 good things about using other languages and 4-5 problems this may cause. When they feedback I wrote their answers on a slide. Unlike with other groups they actually came up with more reasons for the benefits rather than the problems. The gist of the benefits were that it was especially important when you were beginning to learn English that you could get help and support in another language. It also saved time. What stuck out most for me was st 4. Idea that using other languages meant that you learned, understood and produced more if you could use other languages. They only came up with one problem, which was that of the need to practise English. I then proposed a second problem, which I have had in a few classes I teach in (name withheld), that of for example 5 students speaking Bengali and 1 student being a Cantonese speaker and how that learner had no one to help them in their language so that they might feel left out. This prompted 6 to say when she first joined a class there were a lot of Bengali, but only 1 student from Pakistan (so an Urdu speaker?) and even though st 6's mother tongue is Bengalis she can speak Urdu so the above learner was very happy to have someone who she could share a language with other than

English in the class. I think this highlights the fantastic repertoires learners and how useful these resources are. That we shouldn't look at the initial language/mother tongue picture in the class and think there is no way for people who share no mother tongue to not be supported.

Rest of the lesson was taken up with introduction to the Level 1 role play. Learners watched a video and answered questions highlighting the language they would need. They then asked questions about the role play and the exam in general. There was no time to undertake the final activity where learners conducted a role play around the English only rule.

Tuesday 23rd March – 5 learners (1, 3, 4, 6 and 7). 2-3 hours after session
Lesson aims – Languages outside the classroom
As we spent last lesson looking at the formal learning of English in the UK, I decided that this week we would think about language use outside of the classroom and planned the lesson accordingly. Although this had to be planned around learners giving presentations about someone they admire and a role play practise, necessary preparation for the mock exam on April 27th, learners will have a 3 week holiday before this. However, I did try and link the role play to theme of learning English and used the scenario of the council closing down after school clubs including those teaching mother tongue which learner 6 talked about in the previous session.
The plan was then to talk about languages heard and used in (name withheld) and whether (name withheld) was a multilingual neighbourhood and how they felt about this. After the first initial discussion learners were to look at a code, a picture of someone in an office experiencing communication difficulties, taken from the Our Languages materials. The questions around this theme were also taken from Our Languages which followed the problem posing format outlined by Auerbach, where learners move from description, pernalisation, to abstraction and possible solutions. This was to followed up with a language focus on the second conditional to help formalise any possible solutions which may have been arrived at. Finally before moving onto the role play learners were to be introduced to the concept of linguicism and given questions to reflect on this with the opportunity to write response in Bengali, for an experiment in translanguaging. However, only had time to complete the first part of the problem posing picture with questions about the consequences and solutions unanswered, but to be returned to next lesson.

General discussion about languages in (name withheld)
The first questions regarding the langauges they have used today elicited the same response from everyone; they had used two languages English and Bengali. In groups they then dug into this a bit deeper (see powerpoint presentation) where I also asked them to think about possible differences between life in lockdown and before lockdown. As usual they went into breakout rooms for about 5 minutes for this and then returned to the main room on Zoom to discuss their answers together.
3 started off by saying that as a result of lockdown she had been speaking more English because her children were at home, to which other learners appeared to agree. 3 stated that her son helped her and that he had proved to be very helpful and especially liked explaining things to his mum. 6 added that her children were constantly correcting her and asking her to improve her English, advising her to watch less Bengali dramas for example. 3 also added that her son told her that she knew standard English, but that he know more English, but that it was ok that she just know standard English.
In response to the question ‘what languages do you hear in (name withheld) the answer was mostly English and Bengali and that most people mixed languages, a gave the example of different languages across one single conversation which learners agreed was normal. 1 noted that before lockdown this was different as she would hear a lot of different languages including Somali, Chinese etc and 6 agreed with this statement too. 3 also added that she now also heard Somali in her Maths class, which she is also attending online.
1 said TH was multilingual and that she liked living in a multilingual area as it gave her the opportunity to learn about traditions from different cultures.

Problem posing picture

Despite my attempts to contextualise the picture in the context of multilingualism and language use there were various interpretations to the initial questions about this picture. These included, an office, the library, at work where two colleagues or a boss and employee were disagreeing. It was clear that there was a communication as the speech coming out of the woman's mouth said 'Didn't understand a work you said.' When I asked learners about what this meant I got two different answers one was that the man couldn't explain what he wanted, but also that she didn't understand him. Both or one of them may have problems expressing themselves in English.

For the questions where learners were asked to work in groups talking sharing any similar experiences they may have had or that someone they know might have had, thinking about why it happens as well as the consequence and possible changes that need to be made. As usual we were short on time and learners were discussing this for about 7-8 minutes (they will return to this again next lesson). They then came back to the main room to about this together.

3 volunteered that she really struggled with communicating in English when she first arrived. That when she travelled around she was not comfortable, she felt ashamed of her English. She knew what she wanted to say in her head but couldn't say it out loud, something I often hear from learners at all levels. I can't remember and I didn't write down which st made the next point, but they said that previously they had many interactions at the bank or over the phone and their experiences of commincation issues was varied, with some people being really kind and making an effort to understand. I think it was 4 who said that some people didn't want to understand even though they could. She also related how a doctor had asked her to talk directly to them and not through an interpreter as her English was good enough, the doctor made the effort to understand her. 6 told the story of how she had two different experiences of communicating with the same person at the dentist. She said she had spoken in English to a receptionist previously and had had no problems. However, when she returned to the dentist after this receptionist had been promoted to a management position she didn't understand, which confused 6 and another person from the dental practice was drawn into this conversation with 6 querying why this receptionist was saying she didn't understand her now. During these conversations I highlighted that this was a form of discrimination, especially when 4 was highlighting how it was almost a choice some people made to understand people, or that they understood people but decided to be difficult. I asked them why they thought the receptionist may have behaved the way she did to 6 and suggested it may have had something to do with power. 4 than ran with this idea outlining how when people had power if you spoke softly to them it made things easier, but the people with power didn't have to speak to them softly. That if you spoke to them too directly they may become upset. I added that this would often be a problem for people beginning to learn English as speaking softly/formally is not easy that some of the language functions needed to do this were difficult, such as modal verbs. Those at the earlier stages of learning were more likely phrase themselves more directly.

I found this so interesting and could have talked about it for learners for a long time, as they clearly had ideas on this topic and could express themselves really well. However, we needed to get on with the exam practice with only 40 minutes of the lesson left. So next lesson we will return to questions about linguicism, the consequences of it and possible solutions.

Classroom observation 17.06.21 – Language learning autobiographies
7 students attended Observation written up just over half an hour after the class.
Lesson context
Learners had just completed and passed their level 1 speaking and listening exam and I asked if they would attend a sessions where we returned to the language autobiography work that we had undertaken back in April, before the exams. Learners agreed and all of them attended. Much of the work we ended up doing was in fact a review of work we had done previously. There was an additional exercise involving a newspaper article where I young Spanish woman was verbally abused by a bus driver as she sat and spoke to her mum in Spanish over the phone. This story was taken from 2018? and was related to societal changes just after Brexit. There were then a series of questions, based on Auerbach's model for dialogic questioning for learners to discuss this incident and related issues. However, we were unable to do this due to time restraints and also as we had already spent a lot of time looking at another critical incidents which lead to a discussion of discrimination.
Review of language vocabulary
I instructed learners that I would be recording this discussion as they work in groups. I switched them on but didn't press record at first, eventually I did. However, in my estimation based on working with most of them for at least 18 months they didn't seem to mind the recorders being on and it didn't appear to me that they particularly modified their behaviour. After about 5 minutes I drew the activity to a close and started a whole class review of the vocabulary. The definitions did not differ greatly to those given before, however, as this was a face to face discussion learners were better to able to interact with each other. There were some disagreements about what was a second and what was an additional language. With at least one learner this time considering the difference between learning Sylheti and Bengali, stating that they Sylheti was their mother tongue and Bengali was their second language (check with recording). A subject which was returned to later. Interestingly this time dialect was initially defined by one learner as a language, which we discussed further, with some learners agreeing that every area in Bengladesh had own language. This was not unified agreement as some people said that Bengali was the main official language and dialects were a variety (I paraphrase, check recording).

Discussing picture code of critical incident
Learners had previously discussion this online. They came up with similar ideas, regarding where and who, an office. There was a hint at power relations with the idea that the woman was a manager and the man was a worker. One learner in her group discussion when thinking about the consequences started to talk about how this situation would lead to the man learning English, so this did not happen again. We discussed it as a group (recorded) and then learners discussed the extension questions where they were asked to think about this issue in their won personal contexts. One group seemed more committed to this than the other. When we discussed it as a whole group, I opened up the floor as I didn't want students to feel they had to relate a situation which may have been painful, I wanted it to be their choice.
A learner nominated another learner who was in the group, saying that she had a story to tell. This learner then related a story of how when she first arrived in the UK and her English skills were lower than now she had tried to register at the GP. I would say she described the situation very clearly and it was a strong memory for her. The problem was not that the GP/receptionist would not try and speak to her in

Bengali to help her when she asked, although she spoke to the next patient in Sylheti. This then led to a discussion about the differences between Bengali and Sylhetti and how for people born in the UK who have some knowledge of Sylheti may not be able to communicate in Sylhetti. Although there was some difference of opinion about this. Eventually though they appeared to be some consensus that may be the doctor wasn't a nice person. Although another learner brought up the idea of discrimination, of treating people different. Everyone agreed that if they would have been standing next to this particular learner on the day they would have tried to help her.
We then had a break and I decided not to do the bus story.

My personal language journey
I gave out the story and asked learners to read and think about the differences and similarities between their language journeys and Fatima's. Learners said they understood the story. As I got the impression we were all feeling tired and it was about 20 minutes before the end of the lesson I decided finish the activity by asking them to think of and talk about the challenges Fatima had experienced (should have also asked how she overcame them). I asked learners to feedback and I took notes on the flip chart. The challenges the mentioned were the differences between her mother tongue and the official language used in education, one learner actually stated that one of her challenges was living in a multilingual country, I wished I had pursued this further, is it only a problem because she didn't speak an official language. A further point was the problems she had when she came to the UK, specifically when she was pregnant. I asked learners if they could identify with her and they said yes. I then asked learners, aware that some of the learners were from Sylhet and Chittagong where 'official Bengali' was not spoken if they had had similar problems with their education. One learner answered that to start with writing was difficult, but it was only a little problem, but yes it was a little bit difficult to start with. We then identified the information contained in each paragraph and I set this as a task for learners to complete at home to write their own personal language journey. We didn't have time to talk about the language features and possible ideas they had for their own stories, maybe I could do this for the next lesson.

Appendix H Coding template for second tutor focus group

1. Discussions as a multi-functional learning device.
    - 1.1 language practice and development
    - 1.2 learning something new about the world
    - 1.3 building a fruitful and supportive learning community

2. Organic dissensions vs. boxed-in discussions
    - 2.1 the best discussions just happen
    - 2.2 discussion skills linked to the exams

3. Teacher roles in discussions
    - 3.1 develop discussion skills
    - 3.2 manager discussions
    - 3.3. becoming a learner

4. Learner positioning in discussions
    - 4.1 becoming experts
    - 4.2 new identities
    - 4.3 frustration

Appendix I Transcripts, extracts from second tutor focus group
F.G.1

3 It's a bit more difficult for me. But I, yeah, this is sort of a precursor to written work.
R Yeah.
4 Sometimes more organically, it's not really planned.
R So they happen organically, okay. Shah?
1 Yes, I think I always have to have at least one in a class, a big one, in each class,
R Oh cool.
1 just to kind of practice the words, the words we've learned.
R Erhuh okay, so anyone else? How often would you have a discussion in class?
2 Errmm I would say most lessons. Err often to gauge interest and to get the learners experiences of what we're doing.
R Yeah.
2 it's not even necessarily grammar or language based., it often about their experiences. And then we kind of go off that and build on that.
R Yeah and 3
3 Errm. Induction have a discussion around that. But it's usually a little bit further on in the year. Because as I say it's sort of the foundation though, so so they will discuss something and then they write sentences. We're talking quite simple sort of stuff. So then I would have to simplify what they've said.
R yeah
3 (xxxxx) do some wirtten work (xxxxx)
R Yeah
3 That's how I'm using it at the moment.
R so you said 4 that they might come about organically.
4 Yes
R Can you give me an example? or?
4 Errrm. Sorry just racking my brain.
R That's ok.
1 I think with the speaking classes, I always say what did you do at the weekend.
R Yep
1 And starts things off and I'll just build on that. Corrections and things on the board, particularly if they're a speaking class, then they would need to speak. I think err, reading and writing probably less so errr but speaking and listening, there has to be like conversations, not just on the tables.
R Yeah
1 But across I think is important. Some people are comfortable speaking on tables.
R Yeah

1 And some people find it difficult sp speaking across tables, or in a class as a whole.
R Yeah
1 So I think I try to do tables and classroom as well.
R Yeah. So you're talking about small group and whole class=
1 bigger group=
R Can you think of an example where maybe because you're saying, ohh I asked them what they did at the weekend?
1 Errrm
R And then it might turn into a discussion? Can you think of an example where that worked out really well? Or something? A quite good discussion, or what you thought might was an interesting=
1 =I think food is always important=
R =yeah.
1 =one person spoke about food. And I said, how did you cook it?
R yeah
1 Because I want them to give detail. And when she described they way she cooked it, others disagreed. And that sparked a err aerrmm conversation ,
R uhuhm
1 because they said, she said I cook my onions a certain way. My onions were caramelised and I chopped them up and blah, blah, blah, and the other tables like no, no, no, no that's not how you should have done it. You should have done it differently.=
3 (Laughter)
R =yeah=
1 And I kind of took a step back, and I didn't say anything, and I kind of let em. That was cutting onions was like a 15 minutes conversation.
3 [(Laughter)
R [wow
And so what was your role when that was going on?
1 I was kind of i didn't want err because I thought that if I, I didn't need to say anything. There was enough there. They were bouncing off each other talking to each other. So they didn't need my input to be honest with you=
R ok=
1 =so I take a step back.
R Yeah=
1 =so i took a step back
R So the shah talking about things happened organically. Just what did you do that weekend? What other what kinds of things do you discuss do you find yourself discussing in class with students. Maybe 2.
3 I would we would gain we just sort of do organically
3:50 (xxxx) thing, but sometimes when you're teaching

somebody how they might feel about whatever it is, youve been teaching, and have a discussion around that and why it's useful, that kind of thing. the other thing is we've been doing, errm we have E2 lower levels up to fluent. So we've had to do sort of translanguaging and using their own language as a sort of basic thing for them to to express themselves especially the lower levels, they find it very difficult sometimes to really get to the meat of what they want to say and then we convert it into English and then maybe do some written work

R So they are maybe going into small language groups

P yes
[yes

R [where
they share a language to discuss something

P Yes

R And then it will as a whole class you work together to bring it into English

P they bring it back
Yeah, no, no

R no

3 i might actually get them to where it depends on how many language groups

R yeah

3 but it's usually maybe two groups of three or four Bengali, one Somali and then another for English or people from other nationalities speakers of languages

F.G.2

2 And it often moves into a kind of conver conversation about how their countries are dealing with it
what's the situation in their country,
whether that's the vaccine cases, lockdowns, errm
every country obviously has dealt with it very differently that has led to quite a big debate.

R yeah

2 which is interesting.

R so you often end up err discussing err current affairs issues

2 [Yeah

R issues that are in the news

2 I think yeah, that was gonna be my next one.
Talking about news, what's going on.
But then again, it often going into different countries.
Sometimes it's a similar theme.
Sometimes it's individual news.

R Yeah

2 but err yeah

5 And their anxieties right around news topics form chatting to you lot
they often share their anxieties or how they're feeling
2 yeah
5 feeling about those topics.
2 Yeah I've just been I've thought of interesting recent actually,
during Black History Month i kind of I guess it was not so organic, cos I kind of asked them do you have anything like this in your country?
And that led to some very interesting err conversations about err yeah
different problems in their countries,
what they kind have versions of it, which was very very interesting.
R yeah
2 (xxx)
R so most of the time, would you say, are you deciding the topic,
or do they sometimes bring a topic that you that you haven't expected?
or you've not instigated?
That is probably the better word.
2 I think a lot of the time, you know you kind of start the topic but it err often goes off from one of the things
R errm
2 they've said , and then it can be quite far away from where it started.
R Yeah
2 So then that it's kind of turned into their topic, I guess.
R so they make it their own.
They kind of how they see it.
2 mmm
R They bring their own perspective and
2 Their view how they see it
Yeah. And kind of change where it's going
R Yeah.
2 Which is interesting
R That's cool.
Okay

F.G.3

R Why do you have discussions?
What is the point of having a err discussion in class?
2 Errr various points.
1 (xxxx)
2 Taken I mean you know one it's just interesting.
R yeah
2 A very basic human level.

1 Yeah
2 it's very interesting to have conversations, especially with those that maybe come from a different background from yourself.
Two, obviously, get a bit of you're saying a bit of language comes out.
1 Yeah.
2 Errm stuff to use then in the class.
Err and it also makes it makes the kind of power maybe the power balance in the class a bit more even if everyone, you know, everyone's got their own experiences, which are all interesting.
R Yeah
2 It's quite a nice thing to do. Again I (xxxx)
R Okay. So it. How how does it affect the power balance the structure?
Would you say.
2 Errr a lot of the time, they're talking about things that teacher doesn't know about?
So they err have you know the focus
1 Yeah
2 at that point
err Personally I find it really interesting.
So it does change.
They're the one teaching me.
1 Yeah
2 And also the others in the class something
R [Yeah.
3 [(xxxx)
R Anybody want to say anything?
Or add anything?
1 I think it's generally interesting, I find it interesting.
Some of the things that they come up with, you know, Errm (.) some of them actually know more than not saying that it's a surprise,
But some of them do know a lot.
R yeah
1 But they don't say it, because maybe the opportunity doesn't come up.
R yep
1 So I I've certainly learned from a lot, some of them in my class especially my E3, sorry, my um my E 3s that you have L1
(Student name)
R Yeah yeah
1 These people are very experienced, working in marketing for 20 years
R Yeah
1 you know so I learned so much from them and

so I think it's, I genuinely learn a lot from them as much as they learn from me.
R yeah
4 I try and tell my learners oh this is a chance. you have to speak English to really make use of the space.
R Yeah
4 To try out ideas.
Or like I really want you to try this out.
R Yeah.
4 Go for it. It's a err safe space to do that.
R So it yeah
5 I think that's a really good point.
Because, yeah, some of the
[talking to the students,
4 [especially the lower levels
5 like one of 2's students
if you don't mind me saying said he felt ashamed speaking English outside of the classroom.
so exactly that it's a safe space to try it, to try things out, (11:51)
to develop pronunciation to yeah practise the language and feel more confident for then transferring that outside.
R yeah
5 And, then like, I used to, like doing doing the sort of sort of reflect style
R yeah
5 discussions
Errm and then seeing what they were talking about, and then trying to just add vocabulary or add grammar, so they could then discuss it in more detail.
R Yeah
5 And make
4 Yeah because you can pick up language they're using.
5 yeah
4 Oh maybe can we need to focus on the next class.
Because it seems more relevant than what I'm planning for them
they're giving me language to work.

F.G.4

3 I just, I was just thinking errm
usually it was a a new class, when you don't know is, it's a it's a great way of people getting to know each other,
err a bit more about each other.
But the errm British values, I a little activity
R yeah
3 around British values.
and it always brings up freedom of speech.

And I usually prompt the discussion I say what's it like in your countries.
and that's it obviously a bit of an eye opener sometimes,
but also it's a really good way of them to get to know each other.
And errm their backgrounds and, and that's a good environment i think for learning, for learning and bonding together so that there's a more of a relaxed atmosphere

R Yeah

3 if you like informal atmosphere, so they feel more confident to learn,
because so many of them are coming with baggage from their education.
When teacher just tells you x y z, and there's maybe (xxxx) or whatever it is.
So it's really nice to foster that sort of thing. Err

F.G.5

2 I've also say, I don't know if anyone else has experienced this but sometimes speaking and listening classes, okay,
we know that in the exam, that they're, they're going to have some kind of discussion.
Sometimes when you're trying to set up like a practice discussions, because it's so it's not real,

5 Yeah

2 it doesn't get that much as I've had. It's actually the same topic twice.
But I'll talk about the recent experience.
One of my classes, errm used to be taught by another colleague on our team, and she used to have coffee and biscuits with them at lunchtime. And err (18:30)
so anyway, they've said to me teacher, (xxxx) tea, coffee biscuits. And I was like, okay, cool.
And we started to make up this, you know, err kind of timetable of how it's going to go.
One of the guys was, I'll pay for biscuits, but I'm a man, I'm not going to make tea.
And low and behold,
[that just kick started it

3 [Laughter

2 I was like I've been waiting for this for you guys to finally have a discussion.
This is way more interesting than what's your dislikes and dislikes.
And it just went for it, we stayed with it for the whole lesson.

But We actually set it up then we set the tables up, and we had a real discussion of what everyone thought and yeah very passionate.

F.G.6

2 reminding everyone that you know, well, you know, everyone's allowed to have their own opinion needs to stay respectful, and errm everyone's equal. So it's definitely like a line you know where it can't cross.

R yeah

2 you can have your own opinion, but not to the point if it's going to offend or hurt someone else. Errm stopping it ig I think it's going too far reminding them of that
I've never really had any issues with it.

R You've never had stop. Yeah.

5 I have

R yeah

5 in outreach, the worst situation I ever had. And it was about a learner didn't feel respected in the class by another learner.
We had the lady highly educated from Dhaka,

R yeah

5 and the lady from Sylhet who hadn't had any schooling,
and she felt like the other learner was belittling her.

Unknown mmmm

5 To the point they were screaming at each other.

R gosh

5 And I had to get the centre to come and help me intervene.
It was Yeah. So it's like, I don't know. I don't know. Yeah.

2 Wow

5 it went into that

R were you able to have
did it put you off having discussions with that group or

5 Yeah but obviously you still have to have discussions.

R Yeah

5 But really made me really really mindful of the kind of
I don't know.

4 dynamics

5 Yeah, it was. Yeah, it was. It was bad. I'm not wanting to exclude anyone or making anyone feel feel that way.

And then you reflect back as a teacher going. Did I make that situation happen? Or would it have just happened anyway? Yeah, yeah

R Yeah. So you think am I responsible

5 Yeah

R Has anybody had any experiences like that?

4 Yeah. I've had some

R Go on 4. Then we'll go to 1.

4 Just, yeah, I guess it's hard for sometimes when, in the class, the class makeup you've got majority of one language?

R yeah yeah

4 And one learner

5 Yeah

4 And that learner can always miss in this situation, this learner was quite err
felt it quite deeply of this difference. And err she just felt she couldn't get her voice heard or err Just got really upset.
So it was quite hard to manage that situation.

5 it was more at the lower levels for me

4 it was lower levels

5 Yeah. yeah

4 Yes that was well low lower levels, but

5 like the Entry 1 I've had that sort of situation.

4 Yeah. Entry 1 or Entry 2.
Errm it's hard I mean, I'm just not I know, I know that's not my personal strength
I 'm not very good at dealing with situations like that in the moment.

R Yeah

4 Err Yes, so it's try to draw them, get them back to like thinking, well, what are we as a group as a community of people errm thinking about, we're this is us together

R Yeah

4 Err and me included with you guys,

R Yeah Yeah

4 I'm not separate so how can we (.) not make everything happy, and just real,
but also acknowledge that there are differences here,
and it's difficult to learn?

F.G.7

4 I found it quite hard to teach discussion skills,

R yeah

4 preparing them and then it's just feels a but dunno

5 unnatural

4 unnatural contrived

5 yeah

4 And it's okay to use these, these phrases exactly

5 Yeah
4 I think because I'm thinking of the exam, I'm preparing them for the exam and so it feels very boxed in.
5 (xxxx)
4 And then there's no like (.) journey, it just kind of stops, stop it's very. stop and start with
R Okay
4 maybe that's just me
R so is that really thinking about the exam?
4 Yeah kind of gets into the exam
R yeah
4 when i do that, well maybe instead of just doing more natural
R yeah
4 set of events see what language they already use.
R yeah.
anything else about discussion skills or the process.

F.G.8

2 How do you define consensus.
I think it gets to the point of ahh people have seen a new way of you know of seeing something.
Errm Think it always act in general it does end with people seeing the other point a bit more,
but I don't think necessarily completely they change their opinion.
R Yeah. Anyone else?
4 It just just feels like people have been heard and that sense of different voices have been expressed.
R Yeah anything else. you don't have
1 You kind of learn something new. There's a kind of discovery.

Appendix J Coding template from third classroom-based research

1. The potential of discussions
    - 1.1 broadening perspectives
    - 1.2 ground level theorising

2. Barriers to fruitful discussions
    - 2.1 no student investment in topic
    - 2.2 domination by individuals
    - 2.3 reaching a stalemate
    - 2.4 limited by language and trying to save face
    - 2.5 missed opportunities for digging deeper
3. Overcoming Barriers
    - -3.1 use of other or similar languages
    - 3.2 Freirean codes as prompts
    - 3.3 compare to real life
4. Role of tutor
    - 4.1 noticing or not
    - 4.2 manage discussion and develop discussion skills
    - 4.3 unintentional focus of discussion

Appendix K Transcripts, extracts of classroom talk (Intervention 3)

E.T.1

R So, if we're thinking about, what does it mean?
What is a discussion?
So 3 if I asked you what would you say? What is a discussion?

3 I think discussion is err together is err different people ideas share idea.

R (xxxx)

3 After a decision yeah.

R Okay. So sharing different ideas,

3 yeah

R decision.
What did you say 1 last week do you remember.
Cos you had.

1 I err I think I said we need two or more people to to talk.
If they try to share the, like, she said they their ideas.
So it's just like that opinion of course.

R Yeah

1 And try err, I don't know, I want to say maybe try to understand their opinion of the other err

R I like that

1 Err people you know.

R yeah

1 Coz sometimes people what I'm saying why you are saying that and maybe it's you learn a different way or other behaviour from each other, whatever.

R I I like it, so, we've got tow ideas. So 3 said try so you have a discussion and you're both talking about you share ideas. Yeah
And then she said try to agree. And 1 said try to understand.
What is the difference between agree and understand?

3 I agree is when when you say you have a when you say you concur.
I don't know acuerda.

R Acuerda, concur concur is an English word. so you kind of maybe we might say that you think

1 the same=

3 the same

R the same way Yeah

1 Okay so

R What about understand, try to understand.

3 You explain you everything understand or (xxxx) know.
(laughter 2+3)

1 try to know

3 yeah

1 the why why of their position

Appendix L Classroom observations (Intervention 3)

Class observation 23.06.21 (3 learners present, 2 from last week, 1 new) – typed up between 4:50 – 5:20pm

Context, ideas and aims for this session

This lesson I had hoped to attract more learners to this, at least two more so I would have 5 learners and could divide them into two separate groups, to enable better group discussions as last session I was unable to. However, 1 learner from last week did not return and only one of the potentially new learners was able to come. This meant that there were only 3 learners present, not idea for a discussion class.

As I had expected new learners I planned some revision around discussion work, although revision is key to any lesson and the importance of it is also highlighted in work on exploratory talk. I had also typed up the ground rules that learners had selected the previous week and amalgamated some to make a list of 4 rules with a space for two more.

I had also decided that this week we would focus on giving and asking for opinions, inline with the T-SEDA framework, with a possible additional focus on explaining reasons. I also wanted to begin to engage learners in evaluating their discussions through the use of a pie chart to represent contributions to classroom talk and a list of features of a good discussion (see for worksheet) for learners to sort of grade their group against. However, we did not get to do the final two tasks, although I did introduce/elicit the concept of a pie chart and discussed how we could use one to represent individual's talking time during the class (see flipchart photo). Hopefully this will be helpful when we come to complete the task next week.

Review of discussion - recorded

I began by reviewing some of the questions we had talked about last week using some of the same questions on the powerpoint slide. I started off asking the new learner what she thought a discussion was. She said that it was when people shared ideas and came to an agreement. I wanted back to the male learner from last week whose definition I had liked and asked him if he could remember what he had said. He couldn't exactly, but commented that similar to the definition given by the new learner that it was 2 or more people sharing ideas and opinions. He then added to understand more. I really liked how these two learners had concluded differently regarding what the point of a discussion may be, one to agree and another for understanding, so I wrote this on some flip chart paper (see photo) and asked (rather clumsily I think) what was the difference between the two points. I had some input into this (will be able to tell from the recording) and worked with learners too write up some ideas. Learner 3 was quiet and when I asked her a questions about discussions later she said in not so many words that we had said everything. Agreement we defined as thinking the same, whereas understanding was about finding out the reason why people thought they way they did. Learner 2 (male learner) began to expand on this saying this could be due to different cultural backgrounds etc. The new learner (Learner 1) when I asked which one was better (another clumsy question) changed her mind to say understanding was more important.

When we went on to look at the ground rules I had written learner 3 needed a bit of help understanding them. I had left space for two more possible rules to be added, but none were added. Learner number 3 saying he couldn't think of anything at the

moment. I then decided that maybe this was something that we could return to at the end of the project.

Discussion: 'It's easier to learn a language when you are a child? Do you agree or disagree?'

I introduced the discussion topic to learners. With learner number 2 saying she agreed with it straight away. I then very quickly went through language needed to give opinions (see slide) and gave out a copy of the slide to learners individually. As I had the impression that all learners were in agreement with this I said try to imagine why some people may disagree, got a quizzical look from learner 3 and have been thinking since that this is something that I need to look at further with learners (thinking of alternative points of view even if the whole group agrees) I told learners I wouldn't take part but would sit and listen and take notes and that I would also be recording this discussion, also that maybe this activity would last for about 5 minutes. I then sat away from the group behind it, so I was not in the line of vision of any of the learners.

Learner 2 spoke first, which was a surprise for me. Stating her agreement, I think with an explanation, check recording. She tried to say more but then said to learner 2 'help me'. He then started to give an extended answers, also in agreement with the statement before asking learner 1 for her opnion. She did the same before asking a further question. Probably at about 3 minutes in learner 3 said something about I know it's not 5 minutes but we've finished. I then asked learners to think why adults find it hard, as most if not all of their discussion, had been about why it was easier for children. They then discussed this for a few more minutes (not sure in 2 took part). At roughly the end of 5 minutes I drew the discussion to a close and said we would talk about some of the notes I had made about the discussion. The first point I raised was how learner 2 could have dealt with not being sure of what to say – instead of saying help me. I suggested she could have asked another learner for their opinion. I would say this was an unsatisfactory response from me and when this learner 2 had similar problems during the second discussion learner 1 and 3 actually dealt with it really well, telling her not to worry and to talk her time. Other things which I wrote on the flip chart (see photo) included a language point about I'm agree, a mistake frequently made by students I teach. Learner 2 also said if she didn't understand what was being said in a discussion she would just say 'I agree', with some laughter, but I suspect that this is a real tactic of hers. I also highlighted some of the good vocabulary they had used such as 'sharp memory' 'stress' and talked about the sentence ' Adults are more self-conscious' in response to learner 3 saying adults can be shyer and more worried about what people think of them when they talk. During this discussion learner 3, also disagreed with me when in response to what learner 1 had said about stress and memory that adults had less space in their brain. He said he disagreed with this point, because adults had made space, but our capacity to learn is somewhat inhibited by our education system. I wasn't entirely sure what he was talking about. I think I concluded by saying that there was general agreement that languages were easier to learn when you were a child.

Language vocabulary – not recorded

We then went through a list of vocabulary items related to language (see slide). As we discussed/defined/ I elicited these learner 2 had to get up and walk around the (name withheld) due to pain and she also told us she gets sleepy in the afternoon due to medication, I had noticed she looked in pain during the previous activity, so

she was absent for much of this work. Mother tongue proved an interesting one as learner 1 and 3 both agreed that mother tongue was your first language and I then followed this up by saying asking why do you use mother tongue, who teaches us our first language. Learner 1 said because we usually learn from our mum's with learner 3 then saying that he actually spoke a different language to his parents and this caused problems when he went to school. I should have chased this up further, but told him this is something we would be discussing now. At the end when learner 2 returned we were talking about bilingual and multilingual and we learnt that she had knowledge of 4 languages which 3 showed interest in and they begin a conversation, I presume about this, while I spoke to learner 1 about the languages she knew.

Discussion 'It's important for children to learn their parents' mother tongue.' - recorded

Here I reminded learners to remember to ask for and give opinions as well as explaining their answers, highlighting extremely briefly because, so, but, also. As learner 1 and 3 had given extensive answer previously it didn't seem necessary so I didn't pay it a lot of attention. I sat a little away from the group, but this time they could see me and started to record.

In this discussion learners were using I think, In my opinion and learners 1 and 3 were good at asking questions. As stated above Learner 2 also got support from other learners so she could contribute more. Learner 3 also gave extended answers and explanations using 'for example……' Learner 3 did not always look at learner 2 and occasionally at learner 1 because he was turning to look at the board where I had displayed the slide for the discussion. Would be much better to have printed it off, maybe this would have improved eye contact. As the discussion appeared to me to be coming to an end I started to join in asking questions to find out more for example reviewing why it was good for children to learner their parents' mother tongue.

Pie chart

As stated above to bring the lesson to the end I showed a pie chart and asked learners if they know what it was, to which one of them responded a circle. I then began to draw a further example on flip chart paper and elicited how we could divide up the circle to represent who had spoken the most in the lesson, to which 2 automatically said 3. I however, then included myself due to the small size of the class and she agreed it was me. I was definitely in charge of those, but 2 did say she had spoken the least and made a joke saying because she had the least pie she would be slimmest. I said we would look at the more during the next session next week. 2 said that she had enjoyed today.

Discussion class 14.07.21 – 3 attendees

Context

As usual I planned to review the work we had done the previous week, which was to reflect on what to do when someone is dominating the discussion or you think you need to give other people another chance to speak. I also planned to cover work on building on the ideas of others, which we did not cover during the previous sessions. This was to be put to use during a discussion around living in London, which we had started to work in during the previous session. Finally as this was to be the final sessions I wanted to carry out some form of review with the students.

Reivew 3 and 5 present

I asked learners what they remembered from the previous session. 5 mentioned the discussion we had started about living in London. I then prompted them by asking what do you remember about the work we did on having a discussion. 1 answered that he was sorry, but he couldn't remember. Maybe I could have given them a little bit longer to think. However, I opted to show them the slide which mentioned how to deal with learners who dominate and what to do if they themselves felt like they were dominating a discussion. I elicited some examples of language which could possibly be used for question 1 which 1 provided before bringing up the examples from last week. Straight after I brought up the examples for how to encourage others to join in a discussion.

Building on ideas of others (3 joins during the course of this discussion) - recorded

I then moved straight onto building on the ideas of others, asking learners to read the two examples of discussions on life in London. (see examples in folder). I had written these before and they were not transcribed examples of discussions. After giving learners a few minutes to read these examples I highlighted some of the vocabulary which I thought might be challenging (damp, cramped) and 5 asked about wall.

I then said we were going to think about building upon the ideas of others and asked learners to think about the differences between the two conversations. 5 took build upon literally and started to talk about one of the conversations where they were talking about developing more green spaces 1 then asked if maybe it was because the topics in one conversations were similar in nature, where as in the other example people were discussing different aspects about life in London. I then drew learners attention to 'build upon', explaining that it was a phrasal verb and how this was an idiomatic phrase and that it couldn't be directly translated. That it meant develop ideas etc. I then attempted to illustrate this using the conversation. I returned to one of the points last week about London having a lot of job opportunities, which I used as an opening for a discussion about life in London, typed up on a powerpoint. I asked learners in turn to add to this discussion by building upon the initial opinion/idea, which they were able to do.

Learners were then asked to continue the discussion about life in London, considering some general discussion rules which we had discussed previously. (see powerpoint slide).

London is a good place to live. Do you agree or disagree?

I sat a little away from the learners, which I could monitor and make notes of the discussion. I asked 3 to start off the discussion which she did, explaining her opinion about education and offering the floor to 5(I think, check recording). 5. started off more generally, but then returned to the theme of education, I think building upon what 3 had said. I think her turn was slightly long, but she did ask P what he thought

(or he interrupted) and he contributed to her theme about the cost of university education in the UK. 1 and 5 clearly had different opinions regarding whether university education should be provided for free by the government. 5 felt very passionately about this and was given extended turns explain why she thought it should be free. However, it go to the point where she was repeating herself and 1 had several fail attempts to interrupt her, although he was successful in this a couple of times (check). 3 was also able to participate to some extent, largely to agree with 5 and put what was being said into her own words. At times 1 seemed a bit bored and appeared to not be paying fulling attention, even at one point smiling at me, as if to comment on 3 dominating the discussion. After about 8 minutes I brought this discussion to a close and asked learners how they felt overall about living in London, with them all agreeing that it was mostly good.

I wanted to use this example of two individuals in a discussion who were unable to come to agreement. Highlighting how it had arrived at the point that they were simply repeating themselves and not developing what they were saying. I asked learners what they could do in this situation, to which 5 answered that they should respect each other. I said that they did seem to be respectful of each other. 5 also confirmed where 1 was from and stated that probably explained why he disagreed with her, as he had had a different experience to her. We talked about this a little more and I introduced the phrase 'Let's agree to disagree' and the concept that maybe if you come to a stalemate in a discussion it might be better to move on. Learners seemed to agree that this would be a good idea.

Review

I then brought up a series of questions to help learners think about and review what we had done over the last three weeks. Although I felt that this was rushed and could have been done better, maybe if there had been a larger group of people. Learners seemed to feel that it had been a positive experience to take part in a series of classes about discussions. The positives were the language they had been able to learn, improvements in fluency and confidence as well as learning phrases needed to have discussions. They thought that it was worthwhile spending some time thinking about this in ESOL class. I had a feeling that I needed to break this down more as it was perhaps to abstract a concept for a straight forward evaluation in another language.

We returned to the ground rules for a discussion, and I read out the first 5. I then ask learners if they could think about anything to add regarding dominating and building on. 1 automatically suggested Let's agree to disagree, which I added to the list (as changing direction if you reach a stalemate in a discussion, see powerpoint). I then decided not to discuss building on further as it was really covered by listening to others in ground rule 1.

Appendix M Details of teaching interventions

Teaching interventions 1 and 2 were drawn from the work of Cooke, Bryers and Winstanley (2018) and were participatory in nature. Many of their ideas and lesson materials can be found at https://ourlanguages.co.uk. Intervention 3 concerned with exploratory talk made us of some of the same materials with the addition of lesson plans taken from the T-SEDA project. These can be found at http://bit.ly/T-SEDA and http://edtoolkit.educ.cam.ac.uk/research/.

I present a brief overview of the three interventions below for those who may wish to implement the ideas discussed in this thesis.

Teaching intervention 1: exploring multilingualism

Language focused activities

- Discussions of relevant vocabulary for talking about language such as dialect, mother tongue, native speaker and multilingualism.
- Completing sentences about feelings around learning and using English with a range of connectives.
- Completing second conditional sentences concerning how they might respond to acts of linguicism.
- Review of language for successful discussions.

Group discussion activities

- List and discuss all the languages they know, where they use them and how they feel about using them.
- Draw and discuss their journeys to class making a note of all the languages they saw, heard and used leading to a discussion about living in a multilingual neighbourhood.
- Use of a continuum line for learners to position themselves regarding how much they agree with certain statements around language issues.
- Discussing picture code (see p.116) using staged participatory questioning.
- Iceberg discussion (see Cardiff et al, 2007) of the English only rule in class.

Teaching intervention 2: an autobiographical focus on multilingualism

I undertook some of the same activities included in the first intervention. This included focusing on vocabulary relating to language, discussing living in a multilingual area

and the same picture code as well as reading and writing language autobiographies. I now list further activities.

Group discussion activities

- Thinking and talking about learning languages as a child at home and at school.
- Discussing different ways of learning and how they like to learn using picture prompts.
- Talking about memories of when they first joined an ESOL class, how they felt and what happened.
- Discussing the English only rule using a picture prompt to frame discussion.
- Reading, discussing and then planning language autobiographies.

Teaching intervention 3: exploratory talk

Once again I used some of the activities I had employed in the above interventions. This included using the picture code and reviewing language needed for a discussion.

Language focused activity

- Using adverbs of frequency to complete sentences about what happens in a discussion.

Group discussion activities

- Exploring what is a discussion asking learners to agree or disagree with a set of sentences regarding forming ground rules for a discussion and then discussing them.
- Discussing whether it's important for children to learn their parents' mother tongue/s.
- Completing a pie chart to reflect their contributions in discussions.