The role of organic linguistic repertoires and complementary schooling in young people's identity construction: Doing linguistic ethnography in a German Saturday school in London

What kind of linguistic identities do students attending a German Saturday school construct or negotiate?

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Signature: Friederike Grosse…………………………………………

Abstract

The motivation for this research was to explore the relationship between linguistic repertoires and complex identities of young people attending a complementary language school in a multilingual city. The research design was influenced by linguistic ethnography (LE) and the context of a complementary school. Research was conducted in a German Saturday school, over a period of six months, using observations, language portrait work and semi-structured interviews with five young people and their teacher. I further gathered contextual data such as the background of students currently attending the school and wrote a research diary. All data were transcribed and analysed using a combination of post-structural discourse analysis and thematic analysis (PDTA). The findings highlighted the complexities of young people's identities in relation to their organic linguistic repertoires (OLR). The term OLR points toward the dynamic nature of 'languages' that appear less visible in the term language repertoire or plurilingualism.

The findings of this study suggest that young people's language practices can be associated with linguistic identity, and where a variety of discourses are at play in complementary schools as sheltered spaces, thereby shaping young people's identity development. The study further suggests an alteration of students' identity development throughout the study and their increased awareness of their OLR was a result of the language portrait activity. I demonstrate how the relationship among different languages, language varieties, accents and dialects in a young person's OLR are related to classroom performances and how the young people cross linguistic boundaries. The study is also unique in attending to everyday language practices, through a linguistic ethnographic lens, of young people attending a German Saturday school in the context of complementary schooling in the UK. In addition, focusing on young people in an A-level classroom depicts a much-understudied group and further sheds light on the similarities between students in these settings and perhaps other complementary schools.

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List of Acronyms

LE	Linguistic Ethnography
L1	First Language
L2 (Lxx)	Second, Third, Fourth Language
SLA	Second Language Acquisition
HL	Heritage Language
ML	Minority Language
MFL	Modern Foreign Languages
MLE	Multicultural London English
SCT	Sociocultural Theory
EU	European Union
EC	European Commission
EBLUL	European Bureau for Lesser Used Languages
CEFR	Council of Europe for Foreign Languages
PDA	Post-structural Discourse Analysis
PDTA	Post-structural Thematic Discourse Analysis
OLR	Organic Linguistic Repertoire
IB	International Baccalaureate

1. Chapter Introduction

In this research I explored the relationship between linguistic repertoires and the complex identities of young people attending a complementary language school in a multilingual city. The purpose of this introductory chapter is to outline the importance of the topic of 'identity in multilingual language learning classrooms' and offer some background information. I further discuss the significance and relevance of this thesis, how research was conducted and finally, I present my research questions that guided my study. Furthermore, as part of the introduction, I define key terms that were central to this research. Another vital part of this chapter is to situate my study in the broader context of complementary schooling in the UK, leading me to give an overview of German Saturday schools in the UK. I conclude this chapter with a specific outline of the structure of this thesis.

1.1 The Rationale of the Study

Our society, as well as our education systems, are marked by multilingualism which are a result of global migration. Overall, there are 300 languages spoken across schools in England. According to the 2019 School Census, 6,626,690 pupils in England, spoke in a language other than English, of which 6,580 spoke German. In London, 985,530 pupils spoke a language other than English, whereby 2,170 spoke German. As a result, classrooms today are more and more shaped by linguistic and cultural diversity – not only through the increase of students' mobility, but also the increased internationalisation of education. In line with these changes, throughout the study, I apply the term 'superdiversity' to describe the context of multilingual London as it captures;

> *'a level and kind of complexity surpassing anything.. previously experienced…a dynamic interplay of variables including country of origin, migration channel, migrants' human capital (particularly educational background). (Arnaut et al, 2016, p. 2)'.*

Since the rationale of this study was to re-think some of the labels and concepts that have been used to describe young people's language practices and respectively identity development in multilingual settings, the term 'superdiversity' seems suitable; '*super denotes, complications and some need for rethinking, and diversity aligns with a set of rather long-standing discourses*' (Arnaut *et al,* 2016, pp. 3-4).

At present there exists no specific policy on languages in the UK, although the government acknowledges their importance in the curriculum and ministers have communicated their commitment to languages in the national curriculum (DfE, 2013). Since April 2016, community languages (as taught in complementary schools) are offered as part of the GCSE and A-level syllabus and the number of pupils taking their exams in modern foreign languages (MFL) has risen 20% since 2010 (DfE & Morgan, 2016). Education Secretary Nicky Morgan foregrounded one of the UK's strengths to be its rich and multicultural nature (DfE & Morgan, 2016). The government has thus invested £1.8m in teacher training between 2014 and 2016 to teach new languages in the curriculum and provide students with appropriate language teaching (DfE & Morgan, 2016).

In Continental Europe and the UK, in response to the more diverse linguistic landscape, research in the field of multilingualism has changed with altered epistemological as well as methodological frameworks (Martin-Jones, Blackledge & Creese, 2015). As a result, researchers started to call for the need of approaches to researching multilingualism that move away from a view of languages as linguistic systems, replacing this with critical approaches (Heller, 2007) that place language practices in social contexts (see e.g. Conteh & Meier, 2014; Martin-Jones, Blackledge & Creese, 2015). A language in the context of this thesis leans on the notion of a linguistic repertoire that understands language resources of individuals as being closely linked to their biographies, hence they change and develop throughout their lives (Blommaert & Backus, 2011). It includes standard varieties of a language e.g. standard High German or local varieties such as Bavarian or Thuringia German. It further includes accents and dialects.

As classrooms have become more diverse, there has been an increased need for establishing pedagogical practices that support students' learning by incorporating their cultural as well as linguistic resources into everyday classroom practices (e.g. Rosiers, 2018; Iversen, 2019; Tai & Li Wei, 2020). Furthermore, a considerable amount of research deals with identities of young people in a complementary school context with a focus on e.g. Turkish or Chinese learners (e.g. Lytra & Barac, 2008; Issa, 2008; Li Wei, 2014). This is mainly due to the role of complementary schools in shaping and forming young people's identities, offering a safe space to construct a variety of identities (Creese *et al,* 2008; Miller, 2003; Li Wei, 2014). In the UK, the focus has been on students' use of English and home language in relation to the construction of their bi-/multilingual identities (e.g. Blackledge & Creese, 2010; Lytra, 2011, 2012; Lytra, Volk & Gregory, 2016; Li Wei, 2011, 2014). However, research that looks at German students attending a German Saturday school is seriously underrepresented. Hence one rationale of this study was to look at young people's experiences during their time in the German Saturday School North London, particularly as they navigate language practices and prepare for examinations.

For young people, their language development journey is still not complete - a statement which appears to be valid given the definition of linguistic repertoires as dynamic and related to an individual's biography (Blommaert & Backus, 2011) adopted in this study. It further suggests that young people's language development will never be complete, which aligns with the notion of plurilingualism (as will be discussed in section 1.2.3) and how this might relate to an individual's language competence (see e.g., Coste, Moore & Zarate, 2009). Young people's repertoires have not been studied extensively in a complementary language school context, particularly in their contribution to the way they use these to build a sense of personal biography. Other ethnographically informed studies, drawing on language portrait work in Europe (e.g., Krumm, 2009; Melo-Pfeifer, 2015; Soares, Duarte & Günther-van der Meij, 2020), have started to look at students' repertoires regarding their identity formation. In the UK, scholars have paid attention to multilingual students' learner identities and how they are constructed and negotiated in

complementary school settings (Anderson & Chung, 2014; Creese *et al*, 2011; Lytra & Barac, 2008) employing creative ethnographic methods (e.g. scrapbook activity, song stories, digital storytelling) as well as other language learning contexts (e.g. Anderson & Macleroy, 2017).

The present study has a focus on young people's biographies and experiences as language learners inside the German Saturday School's classroom as well as outside the school and how these may play into the ways in which they construct their identities. I focused on five participants in an A-level classroom, and one teacher in detail, employing a linguistic ethnographic (LE) lens, by investigating the students' repertoires and this enabled me to develop my understanding of the young people's identities. My interpretations were informed by my theoretical framework where I combined sociocultural theories (SCT) to language learning with post-structural theories to identity. Hence, I adopted an understanding of young people's language practices as highly contextualised and negotiated through language (e.g., Vygotsky, 1978). I further understood students' identity construction as socially negotiated and dynamic (e.g. Norton, 2013lyt) as well as socially and historically constructed within a web of power relations (Norton & McKinney, 2010). I looked at the young people's language practices inside the classroom through a translanguaging lens, in particular translanguaging space (Li Wei, 2011) which further took account of their language learning experiences inside/outside the classroom. I gathered data over a period of six months using a combination of participant-observations, and language portrait work (including semi-structured interviews). Data was analysed using a combination of thematic analysis and post-structural discourse analysis. I discuss this in detail in Chapter 3. Some of the limitations of this thesis are that the analysis of my data offered a 'glimpse' of the young people's own realities and these were further co-constructed with me, at a certain time, in a specific setting. I have focused on one classroom and one school specifically and employed a unique theoretical framework. Furthermore, my role as a researcher in the field was influenced by my identity and so was the choice of methodological and theoretical underpinnings.

In the literature available so far, there is a major gap which constitutes the linguistic identities of students attending a German Saturday school. By

studying this particular group of pupils my study offers empirical understanding of their real lived experiences. I achieved this through looking at how young people attending a German Saturday school make sense of their experiences and the world around them through their linguistic repertoires. The study thus offers a glimpse into the ways in which they use language to construct both a sense of personal biography and their linguistic identities. This research further deals with the construction of their organic linguistic repertoires (OLRs) and how these may contribute to how they make sense of their experiences inside and outside the classroom. It explores the difficulty in grasping who these young people attending a German Saturday school are, in terms of the complexity of their linguistic identities. Overall, the study adds to the evolving picture of complementary schools in language learning advancing a view on these as a sheltered space in which young people construct and negotiate a variety of identities. On a methodological level, this study shows the benefits of combining language portrait work with ethnographic methods (observations and semi-structured interviews) in developing an understanding of young people's identities in a language learning context.

Above all, this research is of significance as it highlights the importance of recognising young people's differences away from commonly used labels and thus showing how they may understand their identity in the framework of a Saturday school. My study is vital to research that investigates complementary schools as important institutions regarding their own set of values and how these may shape students' language practices inside the school, yet possibly beyond the complementary school classroom.

The first step to arrive at these contributions was to identify the following preliminary research questions that were used as the foundation for my literature search.

Research Question: What kind of linguistic identities do young people attending a complementary language school construct or negotiate?

1. What sorts of identities do German children construct across two language classes and how do these relate to their language learning (past/present)?
2. What role(s) do linguistic repertoires play in these constructions? What kind of language, styles, accents, registers and linguistic practices are involved?
3. In what ways do different stakeholders (parents/teacher) understand the complexity of complementary schoolchildren's languages in relation to their identities?

Although these questions worked well in refining my literature search and gaining an overall understanding of the topic, after reading about language and identity in complementary schools, I decided to change my research questions with a focus on young people's linguistic repertoires and how these may affect the identities they construct and negotiate. Since I had chosen to look at identity through a post-structural lens, I further wanted to find out which role the German Saturday School may play in these constructions. These final research questions guided my literature review, data collection, data analysis and my discussion.

Research Question: What kind of linguistic identities do young people attending a German Saturday school construct and negotiate?

Sub-questions:

a) What role does the German Saturday School play in these constructions?
b) What role(s) do organic linguistic repertoires play in these constructions?
c) What kind of languages, styles, accents, registers, linguistic practices are involved?

In what follows I define the key terms that were central to my research, as in academic research, some categorisation is necessary, to make sense of data. Although, categorisation or labelling was not the aim of the study.

1.2 Definition of Key Terms

In the following sections, I outline my understanding of terms such as complementary, supplementary, ethnic, community and Saturday schools, bilingualism in complementary schools, multilingualism as well as plurilingualism. These terms are indeed important to the context of my research conducted in a German Saturday school located in multilingual London. The empirical literature I review thus concerns itself with the identities and linguistic repertoires of young people attending complementary schools. I have reviewed literature from outside of the UK in which scholars have used a variety of terms when referring to what is known in the UK as a 'complementary school'; in the following section I discuss how I use this term throughout the thesis.

1.2.1 Complementary Schools

There exist a variety of terms to describe schools that are run by a specific community, and throughout the literature, I have come across terms such as supplementary, complementary, ethnic and Saturday/Sunday schools. What they all have in common is that they have been set up for children from diverse backgrounds, however they differ in their aims and objectives, which can be traced back to the historical background of the community (Li Wei, 2006). Sneddon (2017) explains that the status of these schools is highly linked to the language they teach and there have been debates in the UK over the terminology that is used to describe the languages that are taught in complementary/Saturday schools (Sneddon, 2017). Li Wei (2006) stresses that in the UK these schools can be divided into three broad groups; supplementary, complementary and Saturday schools. I return to these terms in section 1.3.1.

Overall, supplementary, Saturday/Sunday, ethnic, community as well as heritage language schools are all set up by specific linguistic, religious or cultural communities for a variety of purposes, in particular to maintain the language and culture of the community (Lytra & Martin, 2010). Within the literature, authors from different countries draw on varying terms. However, central to all these schools is that they offer a space where children can learn

and play as well as socialise (Lytra & Martin, 2010). Another important landmark of these schools is that bilingualism and multilingualism are accepted hence these schools all offer students the opportunity to alter their repertoires and form identities that would otherwise remain hidden in a mainstream school (Lytra & Martin, 2010). These points are central to my study as they align with what I have experienced during my research in the German Saturday School.

Following Lytra's and Martin's (2010) suggestion, throughout the thesis I mainly draw on the term complementary school as it captures the potentially beneficial aspect of these schools, complementing mainstream education, because they form a vital part in the lives of young people from diverse backgrounds (Li Wei, 2006). However, they are also important to their families and the community in general and this is one of the experiences I had as a teacher in the German Saturday School West-London. I use the terms German Saturday school and complementary school interchangeably for matters of avoiding repetitions, yet they both mean the same to me. Regarding the literature I review, when I directly paraphrase the author or summarise the main points from the study, I draw on terms that were used in the particular research. I acknowledge that some of these terms may have different connotations, however for the purpose of the present study, I place them into the overall definition given regarding complementary schools. In what follows I look at the concept of bilingualism starting with a broad definition and finally discussing it in the context of complementary schools in the UK.

1.2.2 Bilingualism in Complementary Schools

Bilingualism is amongst the key terms of this study as it sits at the core of other concepts that are applied to complementary school classrooms (and beyond) to investigate students' language practices. Moreover, at the outset of many complementary school studies, language learners are often conceptualised as bilingual and based on the complexity of their language practices, bilingualism may not capture the holistic nature of these. The concept is further important to pinpoint the differences between bilingualism and multi/plurilingualism (which are also used in complementary school research). Hence it is important

to discuss bilingualism as the foundation of other concepts that are vital to this study.

Bilingualism as defined by Baker (2006) may denote a person's ability in two (or more) languages. Ability here refers to listening, reading, writing and speaking. Accordingly, it appears to be not straightforward to pinpoint who may count as bilingual and who does not (Baker, 2006). Some individuals may be able to communicate in another language, yet they cannot write it. Others might be able to understand another language, but are unable to have a conversation (Baker, 2006). Bilinguals are viewed to use their two languages with different people at different times and to achieve different outcomes (Baker, 2006). Hence their proficiency in either language depends on how often they use the language in which context. Coste, Moore and Zarate (2009) refer to this as ordinary bilingualism which is the bilingualism of an individual resulting from circumstance such as migration, mixed marriage, or travels. The term bilingualism has been widely used to describe people's contact with languages (Coste, Moore & Zarate, 2009). The authors further suggest that in terms of competence there exists 'an ordinary competence' (p. 16) that a larger number of speakers can possess and use in typical everyday situations. This means bilingualism refers to a specific competence in multiple languages and must not be confused with 'the addition of two languages, equally mastered at advanced levels' (Coste, Moore & Zarate, 2009, p. 17).

There exist different views on bilingualism, one is a monolingual view on bilingualism (Grosjean, 1982) that stresses the importance of keeping languages separate in the classroom. This view of bilingualism resulted from Bloomfield's (1935) native-speaker criterion, which implies that a speaker possesses native-like control over two or more languages. According to Macnamara (1967), individuals that count as bilingual possess a minimum competence in one of the four language competences i.e. writing and speaking, comprehension and expression. In respect to 'real-life' occurrences, this suggests that individuals understand their native or first language to varying degrees (as discussed previously), and furthermore, there will be people who prioritise their languages differently in relation to what they feel is more important (Aronin & Singleton, 2012). Accordingly, researchers now hold a view

that ‘there is no such thing as perfect bilingualism’ (Aronin & Singleton, 2012, p. 2) which led them to consider other approaches e.g. multilingualism and plurilingualism which highlights the importance of discussing bilingualism before moving on to multi/plurilingualism.

The monolingual approach to bilingualism is often challenged by students and as a result, the term ‘flexible bilingualism’ (Creese *et al,* 2011), also used interchangeably with ‘translanguaging’ (García, 2009), has come into being. Although, this concept is not related to complementary schools specifically, it has been adopted by research that investigates students’ language practices in these settings. Another reason, for bilingualism being amongst the key terms of this study, is that it sits at the core of concepts such as e.g. translanguaging. Baker (2006) applied the concept of translanguaging (initially used by William, 1994) to bilingual students’ classroom practices in which input (e.g. reading) was in one language and output (e.g. writing) in another language. The concept translanguaging extended understandings of language practices that were conceptualised as e.g. code-switching where languages were viewed to be separate systems. I discuss translanguaging within the theoretical underpinnings section of this study in Chapter 2.

Another form of bilingualism that can be observed in complementary schools is of ‘separate bilingualism’ as introduced by Creese *et al,* (2011). The authors argue ‘separate bilingualism’ is a result of political as well as academic discourses that construct language as bounded systems, belonging to one nation and culture. And Creese *et al,* (2011) suggest that both views (separate and flexible) on bilingualism are performed in complementary schools. To make sense of young people’s language practices and indeed other research that has looked at language learning in complementary school settings, it is thus important to have an awareness of both approaches. However, these concepts solely offer ‘one way’ of looking at language practices of young people. Therefore, in the following section, I further this understanding by discussing multi/plurilingualism as it is these concepts which align more closely to the objectives of this study considering they open a more holistic view on students’ language practices.

1.2.3 Multilingualism and Plurilingualism

As mentioned previously, the foundation for multilingualism and plurilingualism is the concept of bilingualism. Hence there exists an understanding of bilingualism as related to the ability of an individual in two (or more) languages, whereas multilingualism and plurilingualism are about 'knowing' three or more languages (Baker, 2006). However, as will become clear in this section, it is much more complex than this. The terms are key terms in my study, as throughout the literature, scholars refer to multilingual or plurilingual language learners regarding their language practices hence it is important to discuss what both terms mean and how I use them throughout the thesis. I further introduce the terms' repertoire and linguistic identity in this section as they are central to my study.

There exist controversies surrounding the meaning and use of both terms between different countries e.g. in Germany both terms refer to 'Mehrsprachigkeit', whereby scholars in France tend to draw on the term 'plurilinguisme' (see Dagenais & Moore, 2008). Across English literature, the term multilingualism is more commonly used (see Dagenais, Day & Toohey, 2006). Given this, there appears to be no agreement in terms of conceptualising individuals concerning their languages across different countries (Hufeisen & Neuner, 2004). In the context of my study, I have come to view the term multilingualism as one that might be unhelpful regarding each individual young person's language practices, particularly given that it focuses on the coexistence of different languages on a societal level (CEFR, 2018; Fishman, 1980). I thus draw on the term multilingualism when I describe the context of this study i.e. a German Saturday school in multilingual London. Hence in the literature review, section 2.4, I look at multilingualism in the UK and other countries as it focuses on society.

Regarding my research focus, the term plurilingualism appears to be more helpful as it highlights the dynamic relationship between languages and cultures, which implies that individuals' linguistic repertoires are a result of their experiences in different learning contexts (see Grosjean, 1982; Lüdi, 1986). The CEFR (2018) presents plurilingualism 'as an uneven and changing

competence, in which user/learner's resources in one language or variety may be very different in nature' (p. 28). An individual's plurilingualism thus reflects their social paths (Coste, Moore & Zarate, 2009). This aligns with a view on repertoire as dynamic processes following the particular biographies of individuals (e.g. Blommaert & Backus, 2011; Copland, Creese, Rock & Shaw, 2015). The CEFR (2018) further stress the inter-related nature of an individual's linguistic repertoires that they draw on to make communication meaningful. Regarding the concept of language identity, plurilingualism aligns with a view on these as shifting, depending on whom an individual may interact with. Hence linguistic identities are processes and central to these is language (see e.g. Fisher, Evans, Forbes, Gayton & Liu, 2018).

I am interested in what repertoires may look like and how far our understanding of young people's linguistic identities may be developed by making sense of their linguistic repertoires. To arrive at a holistic understanding of young people's repertoires in a complementary school and respectively their complex identities, plurilingualism as a concept appears to be useful as it suggests that the young people's language development is not finished and changes across time and space. It further includes language varieties (standard and local), dialects and accents. This aligns with the way I understand repertoire and linguistic identity. I return to these in Chapter 2.

1.3 Research Context

The remaining sections of this chapter outline the wider context of my study. First by focusing on supplementary/complementary schools in the United Kingdom (past and present) and then by looking at German communities and German Saturday schools in the UK in order to move towards a discussion of my motivation and the need for conducting the study in this context.

1.3.1 Complementary Schools in the UK

In this section I discuss complementary schools from a historical perspective, leading to the current situation of these schools in the UK.

Historical Perspective

There exist three broad groups of complementary schools in the UK and they all have different aims and objectives based on their unique social political histories (Li Wei, 2006). However, there is one feature that all complementary schools have in common that is to bridge the gap between the mainstream education system and the lack of provision of appropriate educational support that can meet the needs of children from ethnic minorities (Li Wei, 2006). Overall, Black, Asian and ethnic minority communities set up these schools to maintain their cultural identity by teaching its languages, history of the origin country and dance (Mizra & Reay, 2000).

The first complementary school in the London area was set up in the late 1960s for Afro-Caribbean families in response to Government policies and so-called 'compensatory initiatives' to tackle Black underachievement (Plowden Report, 1967). Black communities felt that the mainstream school curriculum did not resonate with the cultural experiences as well as interests of Afro-Caribbean children (Li Wei, 2006). A possible explanation for this may be the underrepresentation of Afro-Caribbean participants in school governing bodies as well as in the classroom in general (Li Wei, 2006). Although bilingualism was not the focus of these schools, language played an important role as many students as well as teachers appeared to have a hard time in the mainstream school system considering they spoke different varieties of English that were not considered 'standard English' (Li Wei, 2006).

In the late 1970s and early 1980s additional complementary schools were established that resonated more with ethnic schools. They were set up by Muslim communities of South-Asian and African origins (Li Wei, 2006). Again, although bilingualism was not the aim of these schools, language, particularly Arabic, played an important role as it helped students to read the Koran (Li Wei, 2006; Abdelrazak, 2001). Around 1985 another form of complementary school was set up by Chinese, Turkish and Greek communities for the British-born generations (Issa, 2007). What differentiates these schools from the other two types is that they were complementary in the sense that they provided extra teaching by focusing on community languages and cultures (Li Wei, 2006; Issa,

2007). These schools are comparable to the German Saturday school in which I collected data for the present study. I return to German Saturday schools in section 1.3.3. and now move on to look at the contemporary context of complementary schools in general.

Contemporary Context

Throughout the past decade, immigration from different parts of Europe as well as from non-European countries has significantly impacted on complementary school formation (Abdelrazak, 2001; Davis & Gillan-Thomas, 2015). The development and provision of these schools has never ceased and has constantly adapted to meet community needs (Abdelrazak, 2001). Today, it is estimated that there are about 5,000 complementary schools in the UK (Davis & Gillan-Thomas, 2015) and one out of five of these schools was found in London (Issa & Williams, 2009). Through the establishment of the National Resource Centre (NRCSE) for Supplementary Education in 2007, a shift towards a more unified approach took place (Moore, 2015). However up until today, owing to the NRCSE's charitable character, such schools remain as voluntary establishments run by parents or community volunteers. This impacts upon class sizes, frequency of lessons and size of/access to facilities (Moore, 2015). Myers and Grosvenor (2011) argue that the existence of complementary schools was a response to the requirements of children from ethnic minorities for assimilation and owing to racism against them within mainstream schooling, which cause both academic and psychological damage to pupils. Similarly, for Creese *et al,* (2008):

> *'complementary schooling is a result of historical processes and attitudes towards language and culture in specific national contexts which do not see the learning and teaching of the minority languages and cultures as the state's responsibility' (p. 272).*

Furthermore, even though mainstream schools offer GCSEs in many different languages, some view these as not able to reach the depth and breadth of lessons offered in the complementary system (Blackledge & Creese, 2008). In

fact, within mainstream schools there is little space for making lessons natural as teachers are forced to conform to the national curriculum (Issa, 2006). However, the reason for setting up complementary schools reaches far back in time (as discussed in section 1.2.1).

In 1985, the concept of 'education for all' was promoted through the Swann Report and furthered the ideal of a pluralist society where cultural diversity became 'a source of unity' (cited in Johnson & Carabello, 2019, p. 161). More recently in 2013, by removing race from the agenda the UK government stopped enforcing national race equality policies as well as overseeing the recruitment of a more diverse teaching force (Warmington, Gillborn, Rollock, & Demack, 2017). Hence, debates about multicultural and pluralistic education in the UK, which are mostly around the assumed 'deficit model' of ethnic minorities are ongoing (Gillborn, 2008; Johnson & Carbello, 2019). Some still fail to recognise that ethnic minorities have educational ambitions (see e.g., Modood & May 2001; Johnson & Carbello, 2019). It appears as if antiracism is still confused with multiculturalism and throughout the years, the governments seem to have failed to address the criticisms that were made about the failure of the mainstream education system adopting a multicultural curriculum (Gilborn, 2008; Li Wei, 2006; Slack, 2014). There seem to be controversial views of what the term multicultural education means (Creasey, 2017) and, although this is not true for all schools, in the past many state-maintained schools still struggled to accommodate students from diverse cultural backgrounds (Mathieu, 2017; Safford & Costley, 2008; Slack, 2014). In fact, with the growing numbers of EAL (English as Additional Language) pupils arriving in the UK (DfE, 2012), plus the cuts to funding - which was a result of taking race off the agenda (Johnson & Carabello, 2019), the need for complementary schooling increased.

Research findings reveal that poor training for practitioners is one of the failures in meeting the needs of young people who are new to English (Li Wei, 2006). Again, this may be explained by the government's lack of investment in a more diverse teaching force (Warmington, Gillborn, Rollock, & Demack, 2017). The national subject association for additional languages (NALDIC) stresses the need for adequate training for teachers (The Bell Foundation, 2017). Therefore,

in the future, and especially considering Brexit with an increase in the exclusion of immigrants (Johnson & Carabello, 2019), complementary schools may become even more important.

It seems as if complementary schools offer a safe space in which young people can experiment with language and thus construct a variety of identities (Li Wei, 2006). Something that may not always be possible in a mainstream school. At the time of writing, the main purpose of complementary schools was to extend bilingualism by influencing and shaping identities through cultural socialisation (Creese & Blackledge, 2010), whereby multilingualism within the classroom is used as a normative and usual resource to identity performance (Creese & Blackledge, 2010). Hence one of the main objectives of these schools is to maintain and develop linguistic knowledge and cultural identities of British born children as well as children born outside the UK who come from diverse ethnic backgrounds (Li Wei, 2006). Overall, these schools 'provide their students with distinct institutional experiences different from mainstream schooling' (Creese *et al,* 2008, p. 40) where children, parents, and teachers can explore aspects of their identity that are associated with heritage, cultural and other affiliations.

It is argued that our society (UK) possesses a monolingual mindset and people view language and culture as something fixed (Li Wei, 2017). This is also the case in some complementary schools where teachers' and parents' views of languages may not be in line with students' real-life experiences and complex identities (Creese *et al*, 2011). This monolingual mindset appears to shape the process of identity construction and negotiation within the classroom and as shown by (Creese *et al*, 2011, Lytra, 2011; Li Wei, 2014) it is often performed drawing on a range of linguistic resources that do not neatly fit into the understanding of 'a language'. Rather, these practices can be investigated by adopting a view on language as a complex social practice. I revisit this in more detail in my literature review (Chapter 2).

There appear to be controversial understandings of what it means to effectively teach complementary school children as for some researchers it seems to be an issue if teachers draw on both English and the language that is taught within the particular school (Li Wei, 2006). This can be directly related to the

researchers' own identity as it affects the aims and objectives of the research and shapes the relationship with research participants (Li Wei, 2009). In most reports the identity of the researcher is not discussed in detail hence it is important to remain critical about the findings of my study and discuss how my subjectivities (see section 3.6) and research activities influenced my research.

I understand complementary schools as part of the context of multilingual London as historically they were set up in response to the changes to the linguistic landscape of a more and more diverse society (Foote, 2011) and focus on the complex identities of German children attending a Saturday school in relation to their linguistic repertoires. I now move on and look at the situation of German communities in the UK, starting with a historical review, leading me to look at the current situation.

1.3.2 German Communities in the UK

In London, the largest groups of foreigners in the 19th century were Germans. Many of them carried out the toughest of manual labour, yet others were accounted as being very wealthy ('The German Community in London during the 19th century | The History of London', 2020). In the early 21st century, the growth of the German community reached its peak. Between 2008 and June 2019 the numbers of Germans living in the UK has increased from 94,000 to 149,000 and Germans are now amongst the top 10 groups of people that have moved to the UK (Clark, 2019). Germany has also been one of the UK's most important trading partners and its greatest source of imports (British Council, 2013). With over 110 million native speakers, German is the tenth most spoken language in the world (Ammon, 2018). Many Germans who have settled in the UK over the past decades are highly skilled workers with jobs in public sectors such as universities and hospitals (Clark, 2019). These numbers may decrease following Brexit as many businesses have already started to relocate their employees to other countries e.g., Deutsche Bank to Frankfurt (Reuters, 2019).

The German migrant population does not have colonial links unlike other communities e.g., Greek-Cypriot, Pakistani or Chinese who came to the UK to seek economic security as well as of a result of their colonial links with Britain

(Lytra & Martin, 2010). However, there are refugees who came for different reasons comparable to the Jewish people who fled during WW2 ('The German Community in London during the 19th century | The History of London', 2020). This suggests that the reason why German parents send their children to a German Saturday school may vary in some respects from other communities which may further impact the school's ethos (I return to this in section 1.3.3).

German has been a prestigious language, especially in science, research, and business (Ammon, 2018), however over the past decade the number of students who learn German at e.g. universities and in schools has started to decline (Ammon, 2018). In 2011 German was amongst the most requested languages across positions in business in the EU and counted as one of the most significant international business languages (Ammon, 2018). However, Ammon further notes that Spanish has overtaken German (as a language learnt at school), especially in the UK and he argues that this may be related to the association people have with Spanish e.g., beach holidays, as well as Latin America. Whereas German might be perceived as less popular taking into consideration WW2 and the idea of an efficient, humourless society (Ammon, 2018). This means there may still be some societal racism against Germans (Ammon, 2018). Other sources stress that people who can speak German will increase their value on the global job market and develop a cultural understanding, which in turn will improve business relations (British Council, 2013). German families living in London might thus be motivated to teach their children German to increase their linguistic capital and their resources. Previous research I conducted suggests that as well as passing on German culture to their children, many German families send their children to German Saturday schools to increase their opportunities, for instance, to study in countries where German is the official language (Grosse, 2011; 2015). Bearing in mind the high tuition fees requested elsewhere in Europe (Ammon, 2018), German universities are amongst the most attractive universities (including Spanish and French universities) in Europe (Reidy, 2017); hence it makes sense for German parents to support their children's German language learning. I now move on to look at German Saturday schools in more detail.

1.3.3 German Saturday Schools in the UK

The particular school focused on in this study belongs to the Association of German Saturday Schools (Verband Deutscher Samstagsschulen) in the UK that were first set up in the early 1980s (VDSS, 2020) by parents to provide German language learning and cultural experiences for children from German speaking backgrounds (Schulze & Siegfried-Brookes, 2020). Unfortunately, there are no references in the literature which offer us further details about the location or exact opening date of the first school. In an informal conversation in January 2018, Mrs Schulze (chair of the VDSS) told me that before the first official school opened there were informal German clubs that were organised by German communities in London and according to Mrs Schulze this may be the reason for the lack of records for German Saturday schools before 1980. In 2014 there were approximately 1,600 students enrolled in German Saturday schools. In the 23 schools across the UK, 85% of students were of German heritage, 7% were of another heritage, 4% Austrian and 4% Swiss, y*et* all students were, at that time, members of the British public (Schulze & Siegfried-Brookes, 2020). At the time of writing, the number of German Saturday schools has increased to 31 with a total of 2,300 students (Schulze & Siegfried-Brookes, 2020).

Most Saturday schools are run by parents on a voluntary basis which means they do not receive funding from other sources e.g. the state. Most schools report a long waiting list which suggests that there is a need for more schools (Schulze & Siegfried-Brookes, 2020). Furthermore, because each community is different, the ethos of each school varies depending on where it has been established and by whom. This means each school is unique in respect to its aims, ethos, organisation, and community. In these schools German is not taught as a foreign language, so students do need to be able to speak German plus have a certain level of understanding. Most children join the Saturday school at the age of three (kindergarten). The initial purpose of German Saturday schools was to support parents to raise bilingual children and help them to become a multicultural citizen (VDSS, 2020). This happened in response to the UK's mainstream modern foreign language lessons (German), as parents realised the needs of their children were not being met by the

curriculum (VDSS, 2020; German Saturday School North London, 2019). Up until today, the schools' main purpose has been to pass on German culture and language, recognising the value of being able to communicate in more than one language (VDSS, 2020).

Students are further prepared for their GCSEs, as some students take their GCSEs in German, yet do not attend German lessons in their everyday schooling. From my own experience and previous research (Grosse, 2015), this is especially the case for children whose parents are both German, but do not have the option to learn German as part of their main schooling. The lack of mainstream schooling in this respect, for this group of pupils, is largely due to their presumed native-like German language knowledge. However, it has often been found that even though students may sound like native speakers, they benefit from extra support away from the German input at home. Creese, Blackledge, and Takhi, (2014) argue that students from non-English speaking backgrounds who sound like native speakers, may struggle because they have not necessarily developed their academic register in their home language. These researchers also found that this group can struggle with text compositions. In Chapter 3, I provide further detail on the specific research site used in this study, and now move on to discuss the reasons for choosing a German Saturday school.

Rationale for opting for a German Saturday school

My decision to choose a school which was part of the German Saturday schools' network, was largely based on the fact that they have not been extensively studied before (Grosse, 2011). It was also owing to the fact that I found these schools particularly interesting in terms of the variety of identities they present. In my research I found that students came from a variety of backgrounds, including Swiss German, and Austrian German. Some students were from a French German or Italian German speaking background which resulted in an array of accents and varieties of German. What is interesting here was that for all students and parents, the Saturday school appeared to play an important role in their lives in terms of maintaining some traditions and passing on culture to their children (Grosse, 2011).

Ample research focuses on identity in a complementary/supplementary school context in the UK (Anderson, 2008; 2011; Barradas, 2010; Creese *et al,* 2008; Creese & Blackledge, 2011; Li Wei, 2014; Lytra, 2011; Souza, 2010) however an extensive search on Educational Research Complete (EBSCO), as well as on the Educational Resources Information Centre (ERIC), revealed just a few articles about German Saturday schools or German community learning. The full search yielded 20 articles and after examining their importance I was left with two articles from Australia and four articles from the US, that were related to German Saturday schools. The following section summarises these findings.

Starting with the Australian studies first, I noticed that the value of these schools has been acknowledged e.g. Eisenchlas, Schalley and Moyes (2015). Another article from Australia directly deals with a German Saturday school in Adelaide (the first ethnic school in Australia) (Münstermann, 1998). The author investigates the question of whether this particular school has lost its significance due to the rise of German in the mainstream curriculum and concludes that although the school's significance has shifted, it still plays an important role in the lives of children from German-speaking backgrounds (Münstermann, 1998). The author stresses, however, that the population of students has shifted and that more families from Austrian and Swiss backgrounds send their children to this particular school which resulted in a shift in dialects within the school population (Münstermann, 1998) hence complex identity development could be observed within this context. In the United States, in the articles I located, several projects were undertaken within German Saturday schools focusing on how these schools work to maintain German as a heritage language in the US (Hellebrandt, 2014; Müller, 1982; Ludanyi, 2013; Dressler, 2010).

My review of this research, which led me to these studies of German Saturday schools in other contexts, raises the question of why German Saturday schools in the UK have not been studied before. During an informal discussion I had with the chair of the VDSS in January 2018, I raised this question. I was told that it might be due to the fact, that pupils attending a German Saturday school attend these schools for several reasons. She regularly attends community language conferences and Mrs Schulze said that from her own experience of

working for the association of German Saturday schools she observes that, compared to other languages such as Urdu, Polish, Turkish, German-speakers are spread all over London (Interview, 17th January, 2018). This means that German children attending a mainstream school are usually the only German speakers amongst their classmates, which I also have observed through my work as a nanny, teaching assistant, and private tutor. The lack of research might relate to the fact that the system and participants are quite different and usually small in number. In fact, classes are usually small with less than 10 students (Grosse, 2011) and lessons take place only once a week making it challenging to collect enough data over a short period of time.

Since German Saturday schools are not mentioned in available literature on complementary schools, following Anderson (2008; 2011) and Li Wei (2000), I argue that by learning more about the complex identities of children attending a German Saturday school and by sharing my findings with teachers and parents, I can contribute to an increased understanding of what these institutions and respectively the children who attend them do, how they do it and what this means in relation to their identities. This knowledge may be beneficial for students attending this particular school (German Saturday School in North London) and possibly other schools. Former research argues that Saturday schools are strict (Grosse, 2011; Thomas, 2012; Müller, 1982) hence a lack of research can lead to gross or unhelpful stereotypes and my research can help counter some of these myths. Finally, I opted for a German Saturday school as my positioning and experience (in particular language) allowed sensitivity and access to the site that might not be offered to other researchers which enabled me to effectively carry out ethnographic research. In what follows I look at the situation of young people coming from a German background.

Students from German speaking backgrounds in the UK

According to the census for independent schools (2017) there are currently 2,860 German children attending an independent school in the UK. Whereby roughly 2,300 students attend a German Saturday school (Schulze & Siegfried-Brookes, 2020). These numbers do not account for children from Austria as the

data is grouped into other EEA countries with a total of 4,988 students. Furthermore, Switzerland is grouped into non-EEA countries yielding a total of 603 children currently enrolled in an independent school like a Lycée Francais or Deutsche Schule. It is also worth mentioning that Swiss children may attend German, Italian or French schools. Furthermore, these numbers do not reflect the German-speaking children attending public schools or the Deutsche Schule London (German School London). It would thus seem that the precise number of German-speaking children currently attending independent schools in the UK can only be estimated. The school census data solely indicate numbers of children from a non-English speaking background, without specification of their first language (National Statistics, 2016). This may be related to the fact that parents do not have to reveal their child's first language. The young people in my study count towards the 2,300 students in the UK attending a German Saturday school and the main aim of this thesis is to explore their linguistic identities and their language practices in a complementary school context. In what follows I outline the structure of my thesis, whereby each chapter contributes to answering my research questions (see section 1.1).

1.4 Structure of the Thesis

This thesis is divided into six chapters and I am interested in what kind of linguistic identities young people who are attending a German Saturday school in North London construct and negotiate. The heart of the project sits in Chapter 4 and it includes data that reveals more about who these young people are and how they may want to be seen. The foundation for this chapter was offered by a careful analysis of these young people's language portraits, combined with semi-structured interviews and spoken classroom discourse.

Chapter 2 provides a review of relevant literature, including historical perspectives on language and culture, as well as language learning and identity, and the theoretical developments and changes in how researchers understand these very concepts. It also contains the theoretical constructs adopted for use in this study. The second part of the literature review looks at empirical research on multilingualism which has been undertaken in the UK, as

well as other countries where English is the official language (Canada, the US, Australia). Taking my research questions into consideration, it also reviews studies on linguistic repertoires in relation to identity construction, with a particular focus on complementary schools. The chapter closes with a review of studies on linguistic identity development in German Saturday schools in English speaking contexts and by identifying the particular gap in the literature which this study will address.

Chapter 3 presents the research design and discusses the project's ontological, and epistemological considerations in more detail. This chapter works to outline the social constructionist perspective which I adopt and how this aligns with my chosen methodology; linguistic ethnography (LE). I thus understand language and identity as socially constructed and highly contextualised. The choices I made regarding my data collection and data analysis methods are in line with the ontological and epistemological assumptions of this study. Chapter 3 also introduces the research site, the participants, and discusses particular ethical considerations.

In Chapter 4, I present the research findings, based on both lesson observations and language portraits. The first part of the chapter focuses on the A-level classroom as research context and offers an ethnographic description of it. This is followed by the young people's language portraits and a summary of the main findings that function as the foundation for the second part of the chapter. In the second part, I present themes that are related to the young people's organic linguistic repertoires (OLRs) and their complex identities. This part touches upon the young people's language practices, inside and outside the classroom and how these may affect the ways in which they make sense of the world. Each section in this part is dedicated to present possible explanations for answering one of the three research sub-questions, eventually leading me to answer my main research question.

Chapter 5 presents the final discussion of the data set, drawing together the literature and the methodology as well as the findings. Within this chapter I offer answers to my research questions focusing on the young people's OLRs and factors shaping these. Following this I look at the young people's language

practices in their identity construction and negotiation as well as the role of the German Saturday school in these constructions. The chapter is concluded with a summary that functions as the foundation for the final chapter.

In Chapter 6, I discuss the theoretical implications of this study in terms of young people's identity development in complementary schools. I further present methodological implications of language portraits in ethnographic research. This is followed by an outline of the limitations of the present study and its significance. I end this chapter with recommendations for future research and a brief personal reflection.

2. Chapter Review of Literature

2.1 Introduction

This chapter is the foundation for the following chapters as it draws together the theoretical threads that are crucial for the methodology chapter, including the methodological underpinnings of this study and data analysis. Further, it is the first step I take towards answering the research questions by reviewing how concepts vital for this study have been looked at in the past and which understandings may be useful for the present study. In fact, by defining important concepts such as identity, language learning and linguistic repertoires regarding the focus of this study, I lay the foundation for answering my research questions. In this chapter, I thus review both, theoretical and empirical research that has been conducted in relation to identity construction in language learning context. I start this chapter with a detailed outline of my theoretical framework in which I present the theories that appear to be most appropriate to make sense of the three key concepts of this study (language, identity, and language learning), as they are related to the following research questions (as introduced in section 1.1).

Research Question: What kind of linguistic identities do young people attending a German Saturday school construct and negotiate?

Sub-questions:

a) What role does the German Saturday School play in these constructions?
b) What role(s) do organic linguistic repertoires play in these constructions?
c) What kind of languages, styles, accents, registers, linguistic practices are involved?

Since the primary focus of my study is to shed light on the links between language (organic linguistic repertoires) and identity (complex linguistic identities) in the context of a complementary school classroom in which language learning takes place, the literature search was guided by these

questions. Based on the focus of my study I develop a framework for language and identity that is in line with the post-structural and sociocultural (SCT) stances I adopt and has informed my methodological choices.

In the second part of this chapter, I review research which focuses on multilingualism in the United Kingdom in relation to the European Union. As discussed in section 1.2.3, I review research conducted under the umbrella terms multilingualism and plurilingualism together. This is followed by a review of other English-speaking countries in which multi/plurilingual identity development can be observed; my focus was on Australia, Canada, and the United States. I look at the present linguistic landscape of these countries followed by a review of multi/plurilingual learners. Following this, I look at the topic of identity construction in complementary school classrooms in the UK as this is the context of my study. Finally, I review studies on identity construction in German Saturday schools, and as mentioned in Chapter 1, since few studies have been conducted in a UK context, I will focus on Australia, Canada, and the United States.

2.2 Different Perspectives on Language and Culture

The reason for discussing the concepts of language and culture in this section is related to my research focus i.e., a close analysis of students' languages in relation to their linguistic identity development and construction (second sub-question). This is common amongst researchers who draw on a linguistic ethnographic approach (see e.g., Perez-Milans, 2015; Creese, 2008) and I will take this up in more detail in section 3.3.1. The purpose of this section is thus to look at the concept of language and culture from different perspectives. Elements of linguistic ethnography are rooted in anthropology; hence I foreground the importance of culture in the study of language (Copland & Creese, 2015) as well as the fact that central to the concept of identity is the role of language and how it constructs and is constructed by identity (e.g. Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004; Fisher *et al*, 2018) which assumes that identity is the foundation as well as the outcome of language practices (Joseph, 2012).

In what follows I thus provide a chronological overview of how language learners have been viewed over time.

I start this section with Ferdinand De Saussure's theory of language; he is regarded as the founder of modern linguistics and is thought to have laid the foundation for a systematic study of language and languages in the twentieth century (Culler, 1976). Furthermore, next to Sigmund Freud (psychology) and Emile Durkheim (sociology) De Saussure influenced the way human behaviour was studied through which the focus of studying events from a scientific perspective was shifted towards a more social approach (Culler, 1976) with the study of language and culture at its core. Hence scholars studying human behaviour started to pay close attention to the meaning behaviours have for individuals in a particular society.

De Saussure's ideas relating to sign and sign-systems particularly influenced the way scholars study human experiences and how these are organised (Culler, 1976). He argues that when individuals learn a language, they internalise a set of forms of grammatical rules, the abstract, systematic principles of a language; *la langue* (De Saussure, 1966). Hence the speech acts (*parole*) are solely executable in relation to drawing on linguistic codes to express thoughts (De Saussure, 1966). When an individual speaks, they, therefore, combine elements of the linguistic systems and give those sounds and meanings. From this perspective, if we study language in use, we must make a distinction between two different kinds of systems. First, the study of *parole*, which would consist of an analysis of the words an individual draws on from a particular language. Second, the study of the systems and rules that control the speech act. De Saussure argues that for a linguist the language *(la langue)* must be the primary focus by a detailed analysis of the units and rules that constitute linguistic systems (Culler, 1976). According to De Saussure (1966), a linguistic system then becomes a structured object that can be analysed as a system of signs that, rather than uniting a thing and a name, brings together a concept and a sound image. Hence by separating '*la langue'* and '*parole'*, 'we are separating what is social from what is individual and what is essential from what is ancillary or accidental.' (cited in Culler 1976, p. 41).

De Saussure's theory of language has influenced linguistics, structuralism, and semiology (Culler, 1976).

Structuralists view every language as separate and understand it to have its own grammatical structure (e.g. De Saussure, 1966; Lyons, 1970). A linguist's 'task is to discover for each language the categories of description appropriate to it' (Lyons, 1970, p. 28) and scholars aim to scientifically describe language by relying on systematic observations that are carried out based on objectively verifiable observations (Crotty, 1998). Research is carried out within a framework of a certain general theory that is appropriate to the data (Crotty, 1998). De Saussure's theory is important to the study of language from a purely linguistic perspective. In fact, it suits research that adopts a structuralist stance and employs a scientific approach, yet it is not suitable for my study because my focus is on the language practices of young people. In fact, I aim to discover empirically the ways their repertoires may affect how they make sense of the world i.e., their experiences. I return to the philosophical and theoretical underpinnings that are central to this study in Chapter 3.

Another important early contribution to the study of language was made by Chomsky and his earlier work was influenced by assumptions about language that were formed in the 'Bloomfieldian' school where behaviourism was adopted as a framework for the study of linguistic description (Lyons, 1970). I will look at behaviourism in more detail in section 2.2.1. Within this framework, any behaviour of a human being can be described and explained in terms of their particular responses to stimuli that are presented by features of the environment (Watson, 1913). This approach was developed in psychology and within this school of thought, speech was a directly observable behaviour characteristic of human beings (Watson, 1913). However, what distinguishes Chomsky from the 'Bloomfieldian' school, and this is how he criticised behaviourist views, is, that he stresses the creativity of humans and argues that a theory of grammar should reflect speakers' ability to understand and produce utterances they have never heard before (Lyons, 1970) which he conceptualised as competence. This is very important in relation to language learning as it emphasises the ability of students to discover independently the

underlying rules of a language system based on naturally occurring speech events in their environment (Lightbown & Spada, 2013).

For Chomsky, a theory of language should be a theory of competence and at the core lies the assumption that all languages are intrinsically embedded in the same universal principles (Lightbown & Spada, 2013). Chomsky's theory of competence laid the foundation for a variety of studies e.g. sociolinguistic studies, in particular, Hymes (1962) who challenged this idea by introducing the term 'communicative competence'. I will return to this in sections 2.2.1 and 2.2.2. However, there is one potential issue regarding Chomsky's theory, as he dismisses any systematic coding relationship between the mind's reality hence for him the interpretation of reality emerges from the structure of the mind (Chomsky & Peck, 1988). From his epistemological viewpoint (rationalism) this is understandable as knowledge is constructed through reasoning (Crotty, 1998). However, for a detailed study of individual language practices, this view appears to pose problems because it solely focusses on the individual mind without taking account of the environment and its influences on human languages. I now move on and present a view on language in relation to culture and how it is viewed within ethnography as well as anthropology. Regarding my methodology (Linguistic Ethnography) the following perspectives are more relevant to my study.

'Die Bedeutung eines Wortes, ist sein Gebrauch in der Sprache' (Wittgenstein, in Schulte 1989); 'The meaning of a word is its use in the language' (Quote of Ludwig Wittgenstein, 2020). Wittgenstein's quote fits well with the view I, and other scholars (e.g., Goodenough, 1957; Ochs, 1988; Copland & Creese, 2015; Vygotsky, 1978), take towards language, which I will outline in detail in section 2.3.2. Sapir and Whorf were influential figures in American linguistics, trained in Germanic philology and was an anthropologist as well as linguist (Lyons, 1970). Hence, he took a more 'humanistic' view on language that stresses the cultural importance of language and understands language and culture as one thus when studying language, one must examine its relationship to culture (Sapir, 1921). He influenced Chomsky's ideas about language; however, it is argued that in his book 'language' his theoretical claims are vague as he refuses to abandon the multiple aspects of language (Lyons, 1970). In relation

to my study, this critique, stemming from a purely linguistic viewpoint appears useful in showing that, within humanities, language must not be studied in a vacuum. This is essentially the standpoint Sapir (1921) took in his book by refusing to study language as a bounded system that exists in a vacuum. Accordingly, if one wants to understand language, one cannot neglect important aspects of it such as culture, social environments, and history, yet they must be looked at in relation to language processes. Similarly, Goodenough (1957) views culture as an aspect of a society's language and understands culture as knowledge of 'a set of norms, preferences, and expectations relating linguistic structures to context, which speaker-hearers draw on and modify in producing and interpreting language in context' (Ochs 1988, p. 8). Culture then becomes a socially acquired form of knowledge and as described by Goodenough, (1957) culture is what people must learn, distinct from their biological heritage. In ethnography as well as anthropology, languages, and cultures are 'defined' as processes as opposed to products (Copland & Creese, 2015). Such a view stresses the fluidity of languages and cultures, constantly renegotiated within a web of specific histories and social environments (Copland & Creese, 2015), which is in line with the current changes to societies' linguistic landscape (Arnaut *et al*, 2016) and my research focus.

From a more philosophical perspective, Searle (1995), in relation to the construction of social reality, understands language as a socially constructed concept hence the ideas held within societies about languages as well as the metalanguage people draw on to define languages are in itself inventions (Makoni & Pennycook, 2006; Searle, 1995). Language can then be understood as exclusively 'designed' to be a self-identifying category of institutional facts (Searle, 1995, p. 73). In relation to culture, this means individuals are reared to regard the sounds uttered either by themselves or by others as possessing a particular meaning or illustrating something (Searle, 1995). This perspective offers a different view on language, that purely linguistic perspectives fail, or choose to neglect, which may be related to the epistemological stances that underpin a scientific study. Based on Searle's (1995) argument, languages are social and historical constructs (Makoni & Pennycook, 2012) and the ever-

changing linguistic landscape (Arnaut *et al*, 2016) does stimulate researcher to question the ways in which languages have been conceptualised in the past (Jorgensen *et al*, 2016; Makoni & Pennycook, 2012). I, therefore, find purely linguistic, structuralist perspectives on languages to exist in a vacuum and as fixed, complete entities (De Saussure, 1966) not useful for this study and instead view languages as complex repertoires used by speakers in diverse speech communities somewhat shaped by the experiences of its members (Conteh & Meier, 2014). I dedicate a whole section to the term repertoire, in particular, OLR (see 2.3.2) in which I discuss how to understand this term in relation to my research focus.

Based on the above, I conclude that over the past decade the ways in which scholars conceptualise languages has changed and the idea of 'a language', in a European context oftentimes described as an invention, constructed through colonisation (Makoni & Pennycook, 2006), has been replaced with a more fluid way of understanding languages (see e.g., Heller, 2007; Jorgensen *et al*, 2016) moving away from taking languages as axiomatic facts. Hence, languages are more and more understood as a phenomenon used by speakers in meaningful ways as a set of linguistic resources within certain social circumstances (Heller, 2007). Concerning the language practices of German students, the idea of 'a language' may not be useful to analyse the holistic language practices of young people (Jorgensen, 2016) in relation to the complex identities of language learners. I develop this argument in the following section and present a view on language that has gained importance in a variety of fields' e.g. educational research, anthropology and sociolinguistics (Keating, 2007). In what follows, I look at the term repertoire in more detail which derives from the term 'linguistic repertoire' that according to Gumperz and Hymes (1972) is one of the 'basic sociolinguistic concepts' (p. 20-21).

Linguistic Repertoires

The purpose of this section is to review the term linguistic repertoire as it is the foundation of how I use the concept of 'language' for the purpose of my study. It is thus important for the discussion in section 2.3.2 in which I draw the theoretical threads together and introduce the term organic linguistic repertoire

that guided my data analyses (second sub-question). I start this section by looking at Dell Hymes and John Gumperz (1960) as their ethnography of speaking was influential in paving the road to how sociolinguists approach their language research. Within the ethnography of speaking, later referred to as ethnography of communication (Gumperz & Hymes, 1972), Hymes introduced a new way of analysing speech acts by combining the description and analysis of culture (ethnography) with analysis and description of the language (linguistics). According to Hymes (1962), 'the ethnography of speaking is concerned with situations and uses, the patterns and functions, of speaking as an activity in its own rights' (p. 16). Hymes (1962) stresses the importance of investigating language in context and analyse it as a situated practice by paying attention to the ways in which social behaviour and speech are linked. This view is relevant to the ethnographic aspect of my study and I return to this in section 3.3. In language studies, Hymes (1962) argues that scholars should investigate means of speaking that include the linguistic repertoire, the sum of distinct language varieties, dialects as well as styles used within particular communities. Gumperz (1977) refers to the communicative repertoire that is available to members of different communities and includes 'all varieties, dialects or styles used in a particular socially-defined population, and the constraints which govern the choice among them' (Atkinson *et al*, 2007, p. 289). The concept of communicative repertoire was informed by Chomsky's theory of competence (as introduced in section 2.2.1).

According to Gumperz and Hymes (1972), the term 'linguistic repertoire' belongs to the fundamental concepts in sociolinguistics (p. 20). In their book 'The Ethnography of Communication' the authors define linguistic repertoire as 'the totality of linguistic resources (i.e., including both invariant forms and variables) available to members of particular communities' (p. 20). I revisit this definition at the end of this section. In their paper on 'repertoires revisited: knowing language in superdiversity' Blommaert and Backus (2011) give a detailed definition of the term repertoire and stress that through a meticulous analysis of repertoires researcher can pave the road to understanding subjectivities by shifting repertoires away from communities towards the realities of individuals.

This view has influenced my work in the past, first in my master's research (Grosse, 2015) and at present, as it laid the foundation for my PhD thesis. In their paper, the authors stress that the term repertoire has been used in sociolinguistics in a mainly loose and descriptive manner and refers to the sum of communicative resources of the case that is studied. Hence when scholars use the term repertoire, they presume that the subject has got some sort of knowledge and knows how to use this knowledge (competence). Blommaert's and Backus' (2011) main aim is, through reflecting on recent developments in the field of language knowledge, to develop a more nuanced understanding of the term repertoire, and it is this understanding that has informed the way I conceptualise repertoires for my study.

Blommaert and Backus (2011) refer to Vertovec's (2007) term 'superdiversity' and emphasise that there have been fundamental changes in 'knowing who is who, what we are and what it is we do' (p. 4). The term 'superdiversity' thus captures changes that are a result of students' mobility as well as e.g. the internationalisation of education (Arnaut *et al*, 2016). In the introductory chapter, I argued for applying this term to the present study, especially in terms of describing the context of multilingual London as it takes account of the complexity and dynamic interplay of variables shaping people's language practices. Returning to Blommaert and Backus' (2011) publication, based on the notion of superdiversity, they further critique the way linguistic and sociolinguistic assumptions inform language and literacy testing methods, and the ways they shape models of language knowledge with reference to the Common European Framework for Languages (CEFR). Especially in language research the concept 'competence' influences scholars' understanding considerably (see section 2.3.2).

I understand repertoires, and respectively students' languages away from an understanding of competence as linear process that was commonly held in European societies and documented in the 'Common European Framework of Reference for Languages, CEFR' (Council of Europe, 2018), also referred to as double monolingualism (Krumm, 2010), which was constructed because of developments in linguistics (e.g., Bloomfield, 1935 (maximal proficiency) cited in Lyons, 1970; Chomsky, 1959). More recently, the CEFR has introduced the

term ‘plurilingual competence’ which they describe as something all individuals possess (2020). Hence all individuals possess the capacity for speech in several languages that develops throughout their lives (Council of Europe, 2020) which I discussed in section 1.2.3. This view aligns with my understanding of OLR (as will be introduced in section 2.3.2) and the focus of my study, that is to offer more nuanced insights into the complexity of young people’s language practices.

The concept of languaging (which I have not discussed) aligns with an understanding of languages as mobile resources, that an individual has access to, yet at the same time, these resources are connected with those of others (Conteh, 2018). Languaging refers to ‘thinking and writing between languages’ (Mignolo, 2000, p. 226) and there have been several developments throughout the years to earlier understandings of languaging (Paulsrud, Rosén, Straszer & Wedin, 2017). These link with the idea of translanguaging which I discuss in section 2.2.2. Creese and Blackledge (2010) suggest that through translanguaging individuals can create meaning, transfer information and negotiate identities to connect with the audience, which in the case of my study would be other students as well as the teacher. In the following section, I look at language learning and identity in more detail as it directly links with the ways in which students’ linguistic repertoires are formed.

2.2.1 Language Learning and Identity

Since my overarching research aim is to learn more about the linguistic identities of young people in a German Saturday school classroom, it is important to unravel the concept identity in a language learning context. In fact, the concept offers the field of language learning a theory which takes account of the individual and the larger social world (Norton, 2013) and how this may shape how a person makes sense of the world. By integrating the social world in which language learning takes place, identity theorists question the twofold definition of learners e.g., motivated or unmotivated (Norton, 2013), whereby the focus of my study is on extending this to finding ways in which we can step away from labelling students primarily. Since my overarching research question looks at how young people construct and negotiate their identities in a language

learning context it is vital to discuss how language learning is embedded in young people's identity formation. The purpose of this section is then to show my understanding of important developments within language learning theories and identify what these theories might fail to consider or how, by combining aspects of theories with one another, they can be applied to my study. I further review theories to identity that have been influential in second language learning.

Behaviourism

Behaviourist theory, a psychological theory of learning emerged in the 1940s and 1950s, particularly in the United States (Lightbown & Spada, 2013). In relation to language learning, Skinner's theory laid the foundation for how the language learning process was understood at that time. From a behaviourist perspective, the learning of a language is the same as for any other skill. Skinner (1957) views learning as an external process and for him, it is initiated through a stimulus from the environment with learning taking place as a response to this stimulus. Hence the environment in which the child grows up becomes the source of everything the child needs to learn (Lightbown & Spada, 2013). This theory might be applicable in relation to L1 learning, however, with regard to L2 learning, it is more complex as habits and understandings have already been formed and would need to be replaced with new habits (Lightbown & Spada, 2013). Hence in behaviourism, the language learner is seen as passively receiving external stimuli (Skinner, 1957) without paying attention to the learner's identity. This view was challenged in a paper by Chomsky (1959) who as a linguist understands language learners as creative generators who do not solely repeat what they hear yet create new utterances (as discussed previously). This view places less emphasis on the environment and focuses more on the individual themselves. Nevertheless, Chomsky (1959) also overlooked the concept of identity within his theories to language (Norton, 2012).

Constructivism

With the introduction of constructivist views to learning a shift from behaviourist theories to cognitive perspectives took place (Howe & Berv, 2000). The term constructivism in education denotes theories to learning and knowledge (Larochelle, Bednarz & Garrison, 1998). According to Crotty (1998) constructivism refers to 'the meaning-making activity of the individual mind' (p. 58). Constructivism is not a theory of teaching, yet a philosophical perspective that underpins research hence it is a theory of how individuals make sense of the world and respectively construct knowledge. The difference between behaviourist and cognitivist perspectives to learning is that from a cognitivist

point of view, learning should be an active rather than a passive process (Larochelle, Bednarz & Garrison, 1998). As a result, instead of viewing learners as passively responding to external stimuli (Skinner, 1957) scholars started to view individuals as able to construct their own knowledge or concepts as opposed to accepting those given by the instructor (Piaget, 1976). Hence, from a constructivist point of view, the learner should play an active part within the learning process and teachers should adopt a student-centred approach in their classrooms.

From a constructivist point of view Piaget (1976) challenges Chomsky's (1959) theory by viewing the learner as actively engaged in a personal meaning-making process constructed because of their experiences. Central to Piaget's (1976) theory was the child's cognitive development as they pass through developmental stages with language belonging to several symbolic systems that develop in childhood and are essential to establishing an identity. For Piaget (1976) language is the means through which a child shows knowledge that they acquired through interaction with things in their environment that can be observed or manipulated. Piaget's' theory captures the child's mental development rather than their learning *per se*. This individualistic perspective fails to consider the child's social environment in relation to language learning and the development of identity by solely focusing on discrete stages of development. However, language learning should be viewed as a cultural process as opposed to a somewhat predictable development as individuals pass through certain stages (Lightbown & Spada, 2013). By merging aspects of Skinner's (1957) and Piaget's (1976) theories sociocultural theories (SCT) came into being.

Sociocultural Theories

In what follows, I review social constructivism and SCT as both are important to the argument that I construct in this section. Within the literature both terms are often used interchangeable (e.g., Pritchard & Woollard, 2010), yet regarding my research focus I decide to draw on SCT to language learning and identity as this seems more appropriate and it is this argument I develop throughout the following paragraphs.

John-Steiner and Mahn (1996) discuss sociocultural approaches to learning and development and further look at social constructivist theories and how they differ from SCT. The main points regarding the two approaches are first, that scholars working from a sociocultural perspective stress the importance of community and participation of novice learners, hence they investigate change that happens on different analytical levels (John-Steiner & Mahn, 1996). Social constructivists on the other hand focus on the potential change that can occur within the individual child (John-Steiner & Mahn, 1996). My understanding of this is that sociocultural perspectives account for systems i.e. linguistic activities as manifested through an individual's thought (Vygotksy, 1978) within different cultural circumstances and in different historical contexts (John-Steiner & Mahn, 1996). Social constructivists, on the other hand, investigate isolated activities hence, although they analyse cultural norms, scholars preserve a conceptual division between the 'individual constructive activity and the social processes' (John-Steiner & Mahn, 1996, p. 197). Hence sociocultural research approaches contribute towards contextualised theories of learner development, whereas social constructivist research approaches fill into universalistic theories of learner development (John-Steiner & Mahn, 1996). SCT approaches are relevant to my study and align with my chosen methodology (LE) as they aim to understand learner development within specific contexts.

Sociocultural theories to learning and development were thought to have first been developed in Russia by Vygotsky and his colleagues in the 1920s and 1930s (Kouzlin, 1994). Central to the SCT, is the understanding that human activity takes place within cultural contexts, negotiated through language and other symbol systems (Vygotsky, 1978). Hence researchers adopting a sociocultural framework ground their analysis of, for instance, specific classroom happenings, in broader sociocultural practices. Within this framework, a teacher becomes a representative of society who reinforces learners' reconstruction of meanings that are culturally accepted (Lave & Wenger, 1991). Sociocultural theories have become more and more popular amongst scholars in the field of second language acquisition (see e.g., Lantolf, 2011; Larsen-Freeman, 2007; Swain *et al*, 2011). These theories are very

important to the study of identity in language learning and Lave and Wenger (1991), with their concept of a community of practice, challenged existing notions about learning (Farnsworth, Kleanthous, Wenger-Trayner, 2016). In fact, the concept of identity is a key component of this theory (Farnsworth, Kleanthous, Wenger-Trayner, 2016) and Lave and Wenger (1991) suggest that, by linking learning and identity construction, one must consider the knowledge that students acquire shapes their identity formation because it helps them to make sense of their experiences and thus construct a personal biography. From this stance, learning is 'the historical production, transformation and change of persons' (pp. 51-52). Hence sociocultural theories understand the concept of identity in terms of fluidity in relation to the character of individuals and this is closely linked to the participation and learning within specific communities (Lave & Wenger, 1991). This concept appears to be partly useful for my thesis, yet I would like to challenge the idea of linking identity construction to specific communities, as regarding a superdiverse society it is somewhat hard to understand the complex make up of 'specific communities'.

With reference to Vygotsky (1978) and Bruner (1972) situating Lave and Wenger's (1991) theory into sociocultural theory is justified. In fact, their theory appears grounded in Vygotsky's (1978) theory of children's cultural development which takes place at both societal and individual levels. For him a child develops through active participation in interactions with peers and adults by constructing meaning for themselves (Vygotsky, 1978). Hence, their identity, values and knowledge are constructed through participating in a distinct society (Vygotsky, 1978). Experiences are then acquired, negotiated and transmitted through appropriate tools of communication; that is through language (Bruner, 1972). Accordingly, individuals acquire knowledge through interaction with an environment and through utilisation of a distinct language that functions as agent of cultural experiences. Lave (1996) and Wenger (1998) stress that within communities of practises activities that are central to the construction of identities happen, and the process of learning is a process of becoming. Lave's (1996) view is vital regarding developing an understanding to the essence of identity construction in the realm of language learning as it

suggests that identities are indeed fluid and complex, which in relation to the very activity of 'building' a linguistic repertoire, shows the value of applying a sociocultural perspective as an analytical frame. It allows me to place students' identity construction into the wider social context, beyond the Saturday school classroom, and look at how the participation in other 'communities' may shape their identities and respectively their language repertoires, which is in line with my organic understanding of repertoires (see section 2.3.2). I now look at identity construction in language learning from a pedagogical viewpoint.

Lantolf (2000) classifies interactions between teachers and pupils as essential features in the construction of knowledge and the improvement of pupils' success chances. He acknowledges Vygotsky's notion of the ZPD and argues that, since the construction of knowledge happens collaboratively, opportunities for the mental development of individuals' abilities are provided (Lantolf, 2000). Edwards and Mercer (1987) stress that the ability of teachers to foster children's thinking and learning varies which holds pedagogical implications. Van Lier (2000) finds that collaborative constructed learning and thinking options seem to be apparent in most classrooms, which implies that teachers are employing Vygotsky's ZDP (1978) as part of their pedagogical approach to teaching. Sociocultural theories of identity further stress that identity options are offered and constructed through discourses available to individuals at particular times and places (Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004) which is further true for post-structural theories which I review at the end of the following section with reference to my research focus.

Different Perspectives on Identity Construction and Negotiation

In this section, I review different theoretical understandings of identity and explain what these approaches do not consider and identify why they may not be suitable for the focus of my study. I start with a socio-psychological view of identity, which is followed by a social (interactional) perspective. Finally, I look at the ways in which post-structural theory understands identity and discuss its suitability to my study.

Many of the socio-psychological perspectives adopted by scholars, view identity as somewhat stable and predictable. Erikson (1968) for instance, suggests two dimensions of identity; the ego identity (psychological); and the personal identity (behavioural). Another distinction that aligns with such a framework is of an identity and the self, whereby the self can be considered as an individual's core sitting at the centre of their experiences, yet further as a means to think consciously and thus observe their own behaviours and regulate these (Leary & Tangney, 2003). Identity is viewed as a construct of the self and Erikson (1968) took account of external factors e.g., parents and society as well as sociocultural processes that shape individual choices. Such a view suggests the existence of a core identity which connects individuals with their past and future, allowing for a discussion of possible identities. This means the self can be compared to a mental concept, that is:

> *'stored in memory and amended with use. A working theory about who one is, was, and will become rather than a store of autobiographical memories' (Oyserman & James, 2011, p. 117).*

Hence, only if the self identifies with certain autobiographical experiences and mental images, will they become part of it and thus feed into the individual's self-identification (Oyserman & James, 2011). The concept of possible identities is interesting as it appears to take account of an individual's agency in constructing their identity, which is achieved through self-awareness. Nevertheless, it assumes the existence of a fixed self and as a result suggests a core identity from which other possible identities are constructed. Identity would then become somewhat predictable and as I will show below, this view of identity as fixed has been contested by later scholars. Within socio-psychological perspectives researchers generally assume a correlation between, for instance, language and ethnicity (Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004). This in turn may construct categories such as ethnic identity and defines it as individuals' subjective feelings towards the language that may be spoken within a specific ethnic group they belong to (Noels *et al*, 1996).

In this respect, negotiation is defined as a transactional process in which interactions in two directions are defined together. According to Ting-Toomey (1999) in such interactions, individuals assert, modify or challenge their own self-image and others' desired self-image which in this example would be ethnic identity. This however seems to create in- and out-group identification which may construct a monolingual bias as it conceives individuals as members of specific speech communities and consequently views their ethnic identities as bound to a particular language (Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004). Such a view does not align with the aim of my study as it would not allow me to learn more about the complexity of young people's identities regarding their organic linguistic repertoires which I view as organic systems that are not bound to specific speech communities.

Interactional sociolinguistic approaches, on the other hand, appear to be more flexible, as they view identity as fluid and constructed through social and linguistic interactions. Gumperz for instance (1982) belongs to one of the pioneers of this approach, as he developed the concept of code-switching through which individuals negotiate their identities. This concept however is based on Gumperz' understanding of linguistic repertoire, and I have argued at the start of section 2.2 that such a view may cause researcher to measure an individual's linguistic repertoire against their competences in different languages and language varieties that are bound to certain speech communities. Again, such a view may not help me to answer my research questions, in particular, the third sub-question, that looks at young people's repertoires and language practices to understand how they create meaning for themselves.

Previously, I discussed the concept of identity in relation to language learning. Although I have looked at sociocultural theories, it appears to be important to clarify that they are often referred to as social constructionist views. This distinction seems to be made more on an epistemological level, and in this paragraph, I discuss the aspects that are important to answering my overarching research question i.e. aspects focusing on identity construction and negotiation. In fact, as argued from a social constructionist viewpoint, individuals construct and negotiate their identities by means of particular

discourses that are available at certain times and places (Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004). Against this background, language and identity are mutually shaping, which holds that existing discourses around certain languages determine the linguistic means individuals can acquire, and hence use, to construct and negotiate their identities. Therefore, it seems, that there are a lot of similarities between sociocultural theory and social constructionist approaches which, as I have argued, is based on the epistemological perspectives embedded in both approaches. I discuss social constructionism (as an epistemological perspective) in more detail in section 3.2. The ways in which individuals then use their linguistic resources are very much determined by societal language ideologies, from which they evaluate their own use of linguistic resources and the resources used by others, which further aligns with elements of post-structuralism, that I discuss throughout the following paragraphs (Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004). In section 2.2.2 I revisit the points made in this paragraph as these are vital to grasp the concept of translanguaging.

As previously discussed, anti-essentialist stances have long been present in sociolinguistics hence literature suggests that speakers produce and negotiate identities in interaction by drawing on elements of their linguistic repertoires (e.g. Blommaert & Backus, 2011). As a result, identities are constructed through discursive practices meaning that individuals can draw on linguistic resources of speech communities that they may not belong to (Rampton, 1999). Such practices are often referred to as crossing and styling. It is through these practices that individuals that speak more than one language deconstruct previous identities either consciously or without being aware of it and invent hybrid forms of identities (Rampton, 1999). Which leads to post-structural theories on identity construction and negotiation.

Although there exist some similarities between socio constructionist and post-structural theory to identity, scholars stress that from this perspective the way individuals construct and negotiate their identities is embedded in power relations (see e.g. Bourdieu, 1991, Pavlenko & Blackledge 2004). Scholars working from this perspective often draw on Bourdieu (1991) to understand in what ways certain discursive categories of languages or language varieties

have been constructed through local and global relations of power. Against a Bourdieusian background, the identities individuals construct and negotiate very much depend on the value certain linguistic resources have in society and the ways in which these resources are presented through local and national discourses. Inspired by Bourdieu's approach, Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004) place speakers and their language practices in wider social, cultural and political contexts. Hence language becomes a form of symbolic capital (Bourdieu, 1999) and as a result some language resources may be legitimised over others affecting the identities individuals negotiate. Central to a post-structural approach is the role of language and how this may shape the relationship between the individual and the world. It is thus acknowledged that through language our sense of self is constructed as suggested by Weedon (1997). Such a view implies that language and identity are social constructs determined by language ideologies that circulate in societies, directly shaping the identities individuals may or may not negotiate. Accordingly, speakers act within social constraints and do not have absolute freedom in their language choice (Heller, 2007).

Overall, a post-structural framework on identity acknowledges speakers' agency, yet further addresses questions of what an individual can achieve in terms of language use within these constraints (dominant language discourses) and looks at the linguistic resources they have access to. Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004) draw on both interactional sociolinguistic and poststructuralist approaches linking language with identity construction and negotiation. The authors conceptualise identity as on the one hand constructed through discursive interactions, yet further placing these interactions into social and political systems. Identities are thus changeable which is related to their existence within shifting social structures, cultures, and ideologies (Creese *et al,* 2008). Hence identities are socially negotiated and dynamic, which contradicts the dominant historical view of identity as internal and fixed. Furthermore, the process of identity negotiation involves different aspects and characteristics of the individuals' identities (Kenner & Ruby, 2012; Norton, 2000) that are social and historical constructs within a web of power relations (Norton & McKinney, 2010). Identity negotiation in superdiverse contexts may

thus further bring about tensions between how speakers view themselves and the identity options that may be imposed on them by others (Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004). Accordingly, identity options are negotiable to differing extents within different discourses which means in some contexts learners might resist the identity options imposed upon them (Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004). A post-structural approach thus seems most suitable for this study in terms of looking at the relationship between young people's OLRs and which aspects they may use to make sense of the world around them and construct a personal biography. However, it is further of value as it takes account of the language learning context, and thus helps me to find answers to my first research sub-question in which I look at the role of the German Saturday school in the young people's identity development.

Linguistic practices are at the centre of such identity negotiations e.g. code-switching or language crossing. Regarding my third sub-question a post-structural approach further seems valid as I look at the young people's language practices and what they may mean in terms of the identities they construct and are allowed to construct within the A-level classroom. In section 2.2.2, I add to code-switching or language crossing and introduce translanguaging which is a more recent concept through which scholars make sense of individuals language practices. I further discuss why code-switching may not be helpful in terms of researching the complexity of young people's language practices.

Throughout the literature (e.g. Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004, Pennycook, 2012) language learners' creativity has been acknowledged in terms of identifying what they can achieve with their linguistic resources. Furthermore, literature suggests a view on identity as multiple and adaptable, implying that multiple linguistic repertoires may lead to multiple identities. I revisit this in section 2.3.1 and explain the potential pitfalls such a view may bring about and suggest an alternative way of conceptualising identities in superdiverse settings. It is crucial to extend understandings of identity in light of the changes to the linguistic landscape as well as to all language speakers that may struggle with their identities and linguistic choices. In what follows, I review the concept

of translanguaging as this will help me to find answers to my third sub-question that looks at young people's language practices.

2.2.2 Translanguaging

In the previous section, I reviewed language learning and its impact on how individuals construct and negotiate their identity; meaning how they make sense of the world. Since the focus of my research is on young people's language practices and how these may affect the way they make sense of the world around them (third sub-questions), in this section, I review the concept of translanguaging. I do this as more and more research interprets young people's language practices through a translanguaging lens (see e.g. Baynham & Lee, 2019; Creese & Blackledge, 2015; Paulsrud, Rosén, Straszer & Wedin, 2017; Li Wei, 2014) and this will be a concept I use within my data analysis.

The term 'translanguaging' was first introduced by Williams in 1994 and translated by Baker (2006) and was originally used to refer to bilingual practices whereby the input (reading) is in one language, and the output (writing) in another language. The concept is based on previous work on the use of languages within diverse language environments such as code-switching (e.g. Martin *et al,* 2006) that have been used by scholars researching complementary school contexts. Instead of viewing languages as separate (as it happened to be the case in code-switching), within these practices, users draw on all meaning-making modes at their disposal (García & Li Wei, 2014). Hence, at the core of a translanguaging perspective rests the assumption that a language is an activity rather than an object (García & Li Wei, 2014). Pennycook (2010) suggests that if language is an activity it must be something, we do rather than a system we use – which argues against language as a structure. Researcher working from this perspective views language as a means of communication rather than a set of grammatical rules. This means, within a translanguaging perspective an individual's communicative capacity is viewed as a repertoire as opposed to a proficiency in different named languages or language codes (García & Li Wei, 2014) and such a view aligns with my theoretical construct OLRs.

With regard to previous concepts e.g., code switching, translanguaging differs in the sense that it reaches beyond the simple use of more than one classified language during conversations (Li Wei, 2018) to focus on language users' agency and their complex meaning-making practices (García, 2009). Through translanguaging, scholars reconceptualise language practices leading away from structuralist perspectives of languages (as discussed previously). Against this background, the languages young people may use during translanguaging are one linguistic repertoire that contain features of languages socially constructed as part of two or more isolated languages (García & Li Wei, 2014). They thus move between different 'languages', language varieties, registers, accents or dialects in their everyday interactions. Adopting a translanguaging perspective is thus helpful in making sense of the young people's language practices inside the A-level classroom and finding answers to my third sub-question (as introduced in section 1.1).

I have chosen this concept as it is in line with the changes in which scholars conceptualise language (as discussed in section 2.2.1) in relation to a superdiverse society. Hence, instead of viewing language as a fixed entity, scholars now view it as a set of linguistic features (e.g., Blommaert, 2014; Backus & Blommaert, 2011; Jorgensen, 2008) as this view foregrounds its dynamic nature and takes account of the ever-changing nature of language in society (Li Wei, 2011; 2017; 2018). In section 2.3.2, I introduce the term OLR which captures the complexity of languages and is in line with translanguaging practices that stress the creative use of one's full linguistic repertoire (e.g. García & Li Wei, 2014).

The aspect of translanguaging which is important to my study is that the 'repertoire' students draw on during these practices cannot be assigned to a defined language (García & Li Wei, 2014). I find a translanguaging perspective particularly suitable for my study as it allows me to analyse the diverse resources students draw on, the ways they are used to create meaning for themselves and how these feed into how students construct and negotiate their linguistic identities. Besides, it is of importance for this study, that a translanguaging perspective challenges some of the taken for granted views that are commonly held in applied and socio-linguistic communities.

Li Wei's (2011) translanguaging space is further vital to my study as it is created as either a result of translanguaging practices or exceptionally for these practices to take place. Li Wei's (2011) translanguaging space embraces the concept of creativity which he defines as one dimension of multilingual practices. Within this space individuals critically and creatively make sense of their own experiences (García & Li Wei, 2014). Hence it is through translanguaging practices that students construct new, complex identities, away from named categories which happens through pushing and breaking boundaries between 'named languages' (Li Wei, 2017; p. 15), yet and, this is where post-structural perspectives will be useful, they further accept that there are certain boundaries they cannot push. The work of Li Wei is important as it supports the claim that young people's identities are complex and constructed through language practices that allow them to creatively draw on a variety of resources of their repertoires. I return to this in section 2.3.1.

To access these spaces Li Wei (2018) argues that we must focus on small moments, especially in the era of big data and this supports my methodological choices, more particularly the ethnographic aspect of my study. I return to this in sections 3.3 and 3.8. Based on Li Wei's (2018) claim and the aforementioned translanguaging space, translanguaging moments may happen between a teacher and learners, which make visible young people's complex linguistic identities that they have constructed in their translanguaging space and as a result of the linguistic repertoires that students have at their disposal. These moments might be restricted due to certain ideologies (e.g., monolingual mindset) around language use in the classroom, as previous research argues (e.g., Li Wei, 2011; Creese & Blackledge, 2010). On the other hand, by further focusing on translanguaging moments that happen between students, the transformative nature of a translanguaging space will become clear and aids me to access their personal beliefs, history and experiences (Li Wei, 2011; 2018) that somewhat shaped their linguistic repertoires and respectively impacts how young people make sense of the world around them. In this research, I understand translanguaging moments as happening in the present. Within these moments, students are seemingly going nowhere, in particular, they do not have a fixed schedule or destination in mind (Baynham & Lee,

2019). It is through these moments that they construct a space between and beyond languages (Baynham & Lee, 2019), and respectively their identities become far more complex and harder to capture (discussion follows in section 2.3.1) than has been previously argued.

In sum, it should be considered that based on Li Wei's (2018) claims, that within a translanguaging space:

> *'boundaries are ever-shifting; they exist primarily in the mind of the individual who creates and occupies the space, and the construction of the space is an ongoing lifelong process' (Li Wei, 2018, p. 25).*

Such a view supports the ever-changing, complex nature of identities and languages which I have outlined in previous sections. However, it also pays attention to social structures in which language learning takes place (Lasagabaster & García, 2014) hence by reaching beyond the classroom it has the potential to offer valuable understandings of external factors that shape students' experiences within a complementary school classroom and shape teaching practices. The concept of translanguaging enables a more holistic approach to language education, which assigns mutual values to all 'languages' in the classroom. I argue that within the concept of translanguaging, sociocultural as well as post-structural theories come together, as they are interactionally constructed (Li Wei, 2018) and by using the resources that are available to young people at the time they must make decisions about critical moves they should take to achieve particular communicate effects within classroom interactions.

In the present study translanguaging spaces are thus: 1) dependent on the individual's socio-historical development 2) which in turn influences the formation of the individual's organic linguistic repertoires available to them within specific situations and as a result, and 3) shapes the individual's attitudes towards specific linguistic resources and respectively the ways in which they construct and negotiate their linguistic identity (Li Wei, 2011). However, these moments are of temporal nature, framed around discourses of this particular

moment in time. Against this background, I understand students as able to actively draw on their repertoires as part of their cognitive capacity and create meaning by 'alternation between the languages' (p. 1125), y*et* also styles, registers etc. (see section 2.3.2) that constitutes their unique organic linguistic repertoires and construct ever new linguistic identities in the classroom. It is through translanguaging that students seemingly live between or talk 'across boundaries and borders, maybe even *talking down* the actual psychological boundaries and border set up by monolingual linguistic ideologies' (Baynham & Lee, 2019, p. 18) and it is this view I adopt throughout my thesis. I now move on and apply the understandings I have outlined to my research focus and explain the ways in which I will draw on these concepts.

2.3 Drawing the Theoretical Threads Together

This section aims at bringing the most important theoretical stances together and introduce the definition to identity and linguistic repertoires that I will adopt in my study and which will eventually guide me through my data analysis. I have decided to draw on the term complex linguistic identities regarding students' linguistic identities. Moreover, grounded in my theoretical framework and the discussion around language and culture I coined the term organic linguistic repertoires, which I introduce in this section.

2.3.1 Complex Linguistic Identities

As pointed out previously, post-structural theory understands identities as fluid and this fluidity is related to the shifting social structures, cultures and ideologies (Creese *et al,* 2008) an individual interacts with/in. As a result of this, identities are social constructs and they are highly contextual (see e.g. Weedon, 1997) and negotiable within different contexts. This is to say, an individual is an active agent who may resist identity options imposed on them (Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004) yet at the same time accepting that there might be certain boundaries that cannot be pushed (e.g., Li Wei, 2017). I have further pointed toward interpreting young people's language practices through a translanguaging lens which constructs a picture of their identities as complex away from named categories e.g. languages, ethnicity (see Li Wei, 2017).

Combining post-structural and sociocultural perspectives to identity instead of viewing identity as an accomplished fact, they view identity as a process. Considering the reviewed literature language identities are thus shifting, depending on whom we may interact with and as a result how we present ourselves and how others perceive us. Central to these concepts is the role of language, and how it constitutes and is constituted by identity (e.g., Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004; Weedon, 1997) which is important to my research focus. Accordingly, instead of viewing language and identity as static (nouns), I take on a view of them as processes (see e.g. Fisher, Evans, Forbes, Gayton & Liu, 2018) hence the young people's language development is not finished and changes across time and space. As a result, I view their identities as complex which I discuss in the following paragraphs.

I have chosen to draw on the term complex linguistic identities as complexity/chaos captures best the interrelation of different factors (global, local) (Davies, 2004) that influence students' linguistic identity construction. It would seem that the term multiple identities, assumes that identities are straightforward to analyse in terms of being German, French, English, etc. as this presumes that languages are separate entities which seems inappropriate to my research focus (discussion follows). In section 1.2, I have argued that terms such as bi/multilingual may not be suitable for this study in terms of understanding the ways in which students' linguistic identities are constructed and suggested that the term plurilingualism may be more appropriate. Bilingualism as argued may not take account of an individual's full linguistic repertoire as it refers to a specific competence in multiple languages (e.g. Coste, Moore & Zarate, 2009). Multilingualism, as discussed in Chapter 1, on the other hand, may not be helpful regarding each young person's language practices, given that it focuses on the coexistence of different languages on a societal level (CEFR, 2018; Fishman, 1980). One of the aims of this thesis is to understand what complexity may mean in a German Saturday school classroom in terms of the identities that young people construct or negotiate.

For the present study, I view identities as complex systems in which internal, as well as external forces, are at work that somewhat influence the ways identities are constructed. Rejecting a core identity that is a fundamental part

of psychosocial identity theory (Erikson, 1968), based on what I argued in this section, I understand identity as dynamic, never complete hence it cannot be bound to certain communities. In respect to what I argue in terms of superdiverse societies, this means complex linguistic identities are never definitively describable as 'by the time we have finished our description, the system will have changed' (Blommaert, 2014; p. 10). This is in line with the view I adopt on repertoires, or more precisely organic linguistic repertoires, which I look at in the following section.

2.3.2 Organic Linguistic Repertoires

In previous sections, I looked at different perspectives to language and culture as well as how language learning and identity come together. To make sense of young people's complex identities, this research looks at their diverse language practices that are somewhat shaped by students' experiences (Conteh & Meier, 2014). I argue against structuralist perspectives as these highlight the existence of languages in a vacuum and look at language as fixed and complete entities (De Saussure, 1996). I further discussed that, from a structuralist perspective, young people's language development may be viewed as a linear process that can be measured through looking at their competences in a particular language. I acknowledged the term 'plurilingual competence' (Council of Europe, 2020) that may be more appropriate. The term competence standing by itself, would not help to make sense of the totality of young people's linguistic resources and how these feed into the ways they construct a sense of personal biography i.e., make sense of their experiences. In section 2.2, I introduced the term linguistic repertoire and further looked at the broader definition of repertoire by Blommaert and Backus (2011).

In this section I position the term organic linguistic repertoires (OLR) within the literature supporting the claim that the term OLR may best capture the fluid nature of languages that is a result of globalisation and aligns with an understanding of societies as marked by mobility as there is a 'movement of people, language resources, social arenas, technologies of learning and learning environments' (Blommaert & Backus, 2011, p. 22). Theoretically, I understand OLR as the outcome of an interplay between different ecological

systems (see Bronfenbrenner, 1994). Based on Bronfenbrenner's (1994) understanding, students' OLR are developed by variables of a) macrosystems, b) exosystems, c) mesosystems and finally d) microsystems. Macrosystems in relation to OLR may include how a society is organised in terms of its overarching beliefs, values, cultural as well as socioeconomic variables functions as a lens through which individuals make sense of their world. This view is in line with the philosophical perspectives of this study (as will be introduced in Chapter 3). It indicates that not all individuals share the same experiences and since I aim to understand students' complex linguistic identities in relation to their organic linguistic repertoires, it is an important view.

To recap, following Blommaert and Backus (2011), I reject a view on communities as stable by replacing this view with a more fluid understanding of networks and knowledge communities. In relation to what I have argued so far, OLR may thus be dynamic processes that are fluid (aligning with complex linguistic identities) because they follow and archive the particular biographies of individuals (e.g., Blommaert & Backus, 2011; Copland, Creese, Rock & Shaw, 2015). The broader concept repertoire captures the sum of an individuals' linguistic resources (e.g., Blommaert & Backus, 2011; Busch, 2012, 2015). It rejects assumptions about the links between origins, proficiency, and the types of languages an individual speaks, rather it stresses the variety of styles, registers, or dialects, that are learnt throughout life (Blommaert & Rampton, 2016).

The aforementioned views are in line with Hornberger's (2002) ecological approach to languages that understands these as living species that evolve, shift, survive and die, whereby this process is closely linked to other languages, yet also dependent on their environment. In parallel fashion, Van Lier (2000) argues that an ecological approach to language learning foregrounds an individuals' language development and further stresses that learning and cognition taking place not solely inside the head, yet also through interaction with the environment. How the learners perceive their social activities thus forms a vital part of their learning (Hornberger, 2002). Hence, repertoires are something that are a product in interaction between individuals, yet also with their environments. They are acquired through movement, learning new things,

rather than to be located within people, waiting to be used (Pennycook, 2018). Thus to understand repertoires we cannot solely focus on what is inside the individual, yet we must further look at what is going on around the person- the objects, people, spaces and other resources that affect the repertoires (Hornberger, 2002; Pennycook, 2018; Van Lier, 2000).

The term plurilingual repertoire best describes what has been argued from an ecological perspective. Hence a plurilingual repertoire is made up of a variety of languages an individual absorbed in numerous ways such as through childhood learning, teaching or other forms of aquisiton (Council of Europe, 2009). A language user thus acquired different skills in e.g. reading or writing on various levels, whereby each linguistic resource has its own function (Council of Europe, 2009). Aspects of the plurilingual repertoires further signal group affiliations and this point might be interesting regarding the young people in the present study. Plurilingual here refers to the dynamic union of all the resources that are part of an individual's linguistic repertoire (Coste, Moore, & Zarate, 2009).

As a starting point, the concept organic linguistic repertoire may emphasise the aspect of language that is the lived experience, leaning on the notion of 'Spracherleben' (Busch, 2017, p. 340). This is grounded in a biographical approach to language as it starts from the ways in which the individual experiences their linguistic repertoire hence it does not take individual languages or language varieties as point of departure- the individual is the centre of organic linguistic repertoire and the totality of the experiences with various aspects of languages, varieties, accents that are part of their biography make up the individual's 'Spracherleben'. The focus is thus not on how many different languages one may speak, or how proficient one may be in these languages, it is rather about how different aspects construct belonging to speech communities or difference from these. Further aligning with the term plurilingual repertoire.

Such a view also resonates with Blommaert's and Backus' (2011) biographical dimension of repertoire stressing that the discursive and sociocultural features of a language which individuals learns/uses throughout their lifetime would be

short-lived and changing in accordance with an individual's biography. The authors further stress that the 'language' we know is never finished as we constantly acquire new features hence repertoires are 'biograhpically organised complexes of resources, and they follow the rhythm of human lives.' (p. 9). Hence their linguistic development is not linear where at some points they may develop fierier than other phases where the development is more gradual (Blommaert & Backus, 2011). This depends on external factors and thus suggests an ecological view on repertoires to which I return in Chatper 4. In the following paragraphs I discuss which systems may influence the development of an individual's repertoire.

The exosystem includes the microsystems in which individuals are involved because it entails parental choices. I discuss exo- and microsystems together as they shape one another. Microsystems are on an ecological level, the most proximal setting in which individuals interact. This means, for instance, the after-school clubs such as swimming lessons or piano lessons, the schools themselves as well as other activities in a students' life such as playing video games at home. I argue parents have a great influence on these activities, however, due to the movement of resources, people and technologies, parental choices in terms of out of school activities appear to be lower than they were before. From my research (Grosse, 2015) I concluded that because students engage with their friends online via their phones or laptops they are exposed to a variety of 'languages' e.g. popular culture (rap music), video games (e.g. Fortnite), Instagram and Twitter, which parents can only monitor to a certain extent. An OLR may then be comparable to Blommaert's and Backus (2011) repertoires because they are 'constantly exhibiting variation and change' (p. 23) and are bound to individuals' biographies.

I argue that these biographies are a result of interactions between individuals from multiple microsystems which Bronfenbrenner (1994) refers to as mesosystems. The key point here is that what happens in one microsystem shapes the occurrences in another microsystem, which then affects the mesosystems i.e. interactions between individuals. Unfortunately, it would go beyond the scope of my study to understand all micro- and mesosystems hence my focus will be on the German Saturday school as well as students'

biographies (microsystem) and the interactions between students, and teachers (mesosystem) that happen during lessons concerning the young people's organic linguistic repertoires that are shaped through macrosystems.

As will become clear in Chapter 3, although OLRs might be understood in terms of their organic nature, they are still constituted by different resources or categories that were constructed through various discourses (post-structural theory). Named categories such as languages e.g. English, German or Arabic form part of one's repertoire yet the focus is on how the individual experiences these categories (see Chapters 3 & 4). This implies that the OLR like a plant does not exist independent of its environment yet is constructed through interaction with the environment and as a result becomes a living system within a system that changes moment by moment.

Rather than viewing linguistic repertoires as products by following Copland, Creese, Rock & Shaw (2015), I view them as processes by stressing the fluidity of languages and cultures, constantly renegotiated within a web of specific histories and social environments. I, therefore, choose to 'label' repertoires as organic repertoires, as it denotes the 'harmonious relationship between the elements of a whole' i.e., 'the organic unity of the integral work of art' (Oxford University Press, 2018) whereby I view students' organic linguistic repertoires as something creative, something that lives which is never quite a finished piece. The concept of organic linguistic repertoire thus suggests that the speakers are not acting independently of their environment, rather individuals are formed as well as form themselves through language, yet also in language (post-structural stance). The distinction between OLR and other concepts may thus be that the term organic itself, as it is constituted through bringing my researcher identity into the concept that was influenced through my surroundings at the time of writing. The repertoire may then not be something the individual solely possesses rather it is constructed in interaction with the 'self' and the 'other' in particular environments over time. Meaning if the environment changes the OLR changes foregrounding the fluidity of languages and cultures. Throughout the thesis I will explain how the conceptualisations developed here have influenced my research design, data collection, analysis and my interpretation.

Another distinction may be that by looking at the broader term repertoire, as well as the term plurilingual repertoire, it seems that the ecological and dynamic aspect of individuals' lived language experiences seems to be somewhat unclear hence it occurs to me that the term organic might better capture the aspect of young people's linguistic repertoires that is bound to how they experience language and what these experiences may mean to them. Hence the distinction is solely made on a semantic level i.e. the meaning of the term refers to what has been argued on a conceptual level throughout literature (e.g. ecololgical model of languages, plurilingual repertoires, repertoire), yet it is described by applying a different term. It may capture what e.g. Cummins (2013) foregrounds, that is the idea of individuals utilising a range of their linguistic resources in line with changing social contexts as well as circumstances pointing toward the organic nature of repertoires as something that is alive.

I have pointed out that I view linguistic identities as an interactive construct which is a result of interactions between an individual and their environment hence my thesis focuses on the relationship between 'language' (OLR) and identity (complex linguistic identities) in the context of superdiversity, that in itself is a complex system influenced by a variety of different forces (Vertovec, 2007). In what follows I review empirical research on multi-/plurilingualism with particular focus to research that focuses on identity development of young people.

2.4 Empirical Research on Multilingualism

Regarding the context of this research, it is important to take account of other contexts that share similar features, and in which young people may construct linguistic identities that are comparable to these of the young people in my study. This part is structured as follows: each section is related to the focus of my research, whereby the main function of this part of my literature review is to identify gaps in the literature that I then use to refine my initial research questions (see section 1.1). I open the section with a review of the current scene in the UK in the context at the time of writing this part having been part

of the European Union compared with the situation of other countries in which English is the official language e.g. Australia, the US, and Canada relating to multilingualism. My second area of focus will be on identity construction in multilingual classroom settings in the UK, as this is the focus of my study. Finally, I review studies on complementary classroom settings through ethnographic lenses, with a focus on studies comparable to mine. Because of the minimal research that has been conducted within German Saturday schools (as identified in Chapter 1) I widen my scope to the US, Australia and Canada. Before I start this last part of my literature review, I outline in detail how I searched for literature and although it somewhat disrupts the flow of this chapter, it is important to include it as it provides an overview of the sources, I used to identify empirical studies.

2.4.1 Literature Search

I searched several databases with key search terms (e.g., identity (complexity), pluri/multilingualism, linguistic repertoires, complementary schools, German Saturday school; language portraits), whereby I refined my search depending on the particular country I wanted to identify, I used different keyword combinations e.g. plurilingualism in Canada; Identity and German Saturday school UK; identity construction. Since I had already read book chapters and articles from different countries, I had an idea of whether scholars draw on terms such as pluri- or multilingualism, heritage or community language and complementary school or heritage language schools. I used this knowledge to refine my search criteria.

The databases I searched include ERIC (Education Resources Information Centre), BEI (British Education Index), EBSCO (Educational Research Complete), JSTOR (Journal Storage), Project MUSE (Humanities and Social Science). I further searched a range of scholarly journals such as the Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development, International Journal of Multilingualism, International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism, Heritage Language Journal, Language and Education, and the Cambridge Journal of Education. Some articles I requested on Research Gate and accessed via Academia Education. I followed researchers on research gate in

my field e.g. Blommaert, Li Wei, Spotti, Creese & Blackledge, Meier of whom I know share similar research interests. This was particularly useful as they work on various projects that were useful for my study. I had to eliminate several studies because they failed to meet some of the inclusion criteria (e.g. lack of appropriate context (mainstream of complementary schools), did not focus on identities in pluri-/multilingual contexts, did not include repertoires, targeted monolingual children). Having applied the inclusion and exclusion criteria, several articles remained for full-text access. Of these, a number were excluded due to failure to meet the inclusion/exclusion criteria. This procedure left me with quite a few studies appropriate for review which were included in the systematic keyword map. This process yielded a total of 25 studies to be included in the in-depth review.

2.4.2 Multilingualism in the UK: The Present Situation

Since the German Saturday School is located in London, in this section I look at the present situation of multilingualism in the UK. To recap, throughout the study I understand the concept of identity through a combination of sociocultural and post-structural approaches both of which take account of the contextual linguistic practices of individuals and how these shapes the ways they make sense of the world.

Over the last decade, the study of language and identity has received growing attention and scholars in the context of sociolinguistic, applied linguistic, SLA, and linguistic anthropological scholarship increasingly turn their attention towards the study of identity in language learning. Since the acceleration of globalisation from the 1980s and the changes to the linguistic landscape, researchers' views on languages changed which resulted in the emergence of new theoretical and methodological stances under which language practices in a multilingual society are analysed (Arnaut *et al,* 2016; Meier, 2014; King & Carson, 2017). Authors such as King and Carson (2017) stress the increase of such research since the turn of the century, with a focus on multilingualism, whereby the top three countries are the US, the UK, and Canada. The purpose of this section is to draw a picture of the present situation in the UK as this is the context of my study. Regarding the post-structural stance, I am taking and

my theoretical construct complex linguistic identities, as well as my first sub-question (as introduced in section 1.1) this part offers important insights.

At the time of writing this chapter, the UK was part of the European Union (EU) and since no one knows (yet) what ‘Brexit’ may mean in terms of language legalisation, I understand the UK as being part of the EU. Hence, regarding language policies, it is important to look at the current situation of Europe. Concerning the European Bureau for lesser-used languages (EBLUL) I understand German as a minority language in the UK. As stated through the EBLUL, minority languages are ‘languages of communities which are minorities in the state in which they live but are the majority languages of other Member States (e.g., German in Belgium)’ (EBLUL, 1995, p. 37). Since Germans living in the UK are a minority group, this understanding seems in line with the current situation. In what follows I apply it to look at the present situation of languages other than English in the UK. This, however, does not imply that I view German as a minority language throughout the remainder of my thesis. In this thesis, I understand German as a language hence when I refer to German, I would like to steer away from categorical thinking and solely focus on what we are looking at; that is German as a language.

Extra and Yağmur (2013) have argued, the languages that have been less recognised across Europe are regional/minority and immigrant languages. This has further been stressed in the final report of the EC (European Commission) that was published because of the language rich Europe project and commissioned by the British Council (2013). The importance of supporting both types of languages has been recognised as they are important for intra-group communication and (this part is important), they are a vital part of the personal, cultural and social identities of EU citizens (Extra & Yağmur, 2013).

There have been large-scale, comparative studies within different countries that look at the diversity of languages spoken in each country, classifying the following: national, foreign, regional and immigrant minority languages ranging from academic to civil spaces (Extra & Yağmur, 2013). The EC published a paragraph in 2008 titled ‘valuing all languages’ and concerning the present

study the following part is vital as it stresses that linguistic diversity should be viewed as a positive resource.

> *'There are also untapped linguistic resources in our society: different mother tongues and other languages spoken at home and in local and neighbouring environments should be valued more highly. For instance, children with different mother tongues – whether from the EU or a third country – present schools with the challenge of teaching the language of instruction as a second language, but they can also motivate their classmates to other cultures.' (566;4.1)*

Students from different backgrounds appear to be viewed as presenting challenges for schools as next to teaching lesson content the language of instruction must be further taught as second language. On the other hand, it is stressed that it opens opportunities for language learning and interest towards other cultures. There is still a lot to be done regarding the acknowledgement of diverse linguistic resources within multilingual classrooms. Research shows that linguistic diversity is often viewed as negative and treated as interfering with learning and the 'normal' functioning of schools (e.g., Blackledge & Creese, 2010; Cullen *et al,* 2008). It seems that labels such as 'national', 'foreign' or 'regional' language create power and certain languages gain more power over others. Hence, at times individuals who possess another first language for instance in the UK, simply state that their first language is English, whereby they use e.g., German as the primary language. Again, the difficulty is that what is classified as the first language might be different from people in different contexts, and this is where the main issue sits.

The EC's statement appears to solely focus on languages *per se* which appears to create a divide and from my perspective does not consider the complexity of students' linguistic resources. Hence, with my study, I aim to contribute towards an increased understanding of the OLR of young people from linguistically diverse backgrounds and ideally support a positive view on a variety of repertoires and respectively linguistic identities within diverse learning environments. It is argued that in the era of 'superdiversity', languages

are no longer a stable marker of identity (Blommaert & Rampton, 2011; Vertovec, 2007) hence the constant change and complexity of the repertoires of young people should be researched through a dynamic and adaptable model (Blommaert, 2013). In the first part of my literature review, I outlined a model that may help to achieve this i.e., to offer an understanding of the 'organic linguistic repertoires' of young people attending a complementary school, from which I hope to be able to make links to other contexts.

Part of the challenge to acknowledge linguistic diversity in UK education can be traced back to British people's spirit of personal liberty in the use of their language (Baugh & Cable, 1993). Regarding the EU, some people in the UK have always voiced their doubts about language policies and for instance, John Simpson, former Chief Editor of the *Oxford English Dictionary* pointed towards the danger of being influenced by greater powers of the European Community within language policies (Ager, 1996). In fact, the British have been known for being EU sceptics (Helm, 2016) which became evident through 'Brexit'. Since the Nuffield Languages Inquiry of 2000, there have been considerable debates about England's lack of national capability in languages and even though languages are seen to be important through policies and public discourses, there have been many faults (Ammon, 2018). This has been described as a reflection of the importance of English as a lingua franca (British Council, 2013) and the 'English is enough' message that is regularly communicated by the media (Coleman, 2009). Another fact to consider is, that in the UK, it has been acknowledged that other languages are important, yet not essential (Ammon, 2018). Despite this, there have been considerable efforts in the past to promote language learning such as the National Language Strategy 2001-2011 through which the need for language learning was stressed and links between complementary schools and mainstream schools were established (British Council, 2013).

Amongst others, Cummins (2001) and García (2009) stress that language is a vital ingredient of identity negotiation and construction which links directly to educational success. Following Anderson (2008; 2011), it is vital to find theoretical models that fit the linguistic landscape of a superdiverse society and help contribute towards an increased understanding of the needs of young

people from a variety of linguistic backgrounds within educational discourses in England. This is one of the objectives of this study, and by contributing towards an increased understanding of OLR concerning students' complex identities this study further aimed to help young people succeed in UK educational institutions by helping them to become aware of the value of their OLR. The tensions between diversity and inclusion regarding cultural diversity and multilingualism have been apparent in language policies and practices within mainstream education for many years (Conteh, 2012). If language is a vital ingredient of identity negotiation and construction, by understanding the OLR of young people from diverse backgrounds the first step towards acknowledging their identities in the classroom could be done, which Cummins (2001) finds essential to educational success. I now move on and look at the present situation of pluri-/multilingualism in Australia, the United States (US) and Canada, as the context of these countries resembles the context of the UK being, they are countries in which English is the official language.

2.4.3 Multilingualism in Australia, the United States, and Canada: the Present Situation

Scholars in Australia, Canada, and the United States draw on terms such heritage and home language and these terms denote what is referred to as minority languages in the EU. For matters of consistency, I use all terms interchangeably, acknowledging that there are other terms and I nevertheless, view German simply as the German language. This section is helpful in terms of identifying gaps in the literature in other English-speaking countries and eventually it will help me to draw some generalisations from my study and to validate my findings by comparing the situation of young people attending a German Saturday school in the UK to students from other countries. This section is further useful to stress the importance of my research beyond a UK context.

Australia is known for its multilingualism and with over 250 languages spoken at the time of the White Settlement in 1788 (Clyne 1991 cited in Ndhlovu & Willoughby, 2017) it has been argued that Australians, 'with the exception of Indigenous groups, are all immigrants' (Welch, 2007, p. 155). This however

raises the question; after which generation can we not talk about immigrants anymore? At present nearly six million migrants live in Australia, born in over 200 countries and more than 300 migrant languages are spoken throughout the country (Census, 2011), however, only 18 languages are thought to be in a strong position (DCITA, 2005). Canada, just after Australia has the second-highest population of foreign-born individuals (Duff & Becker-Zayas, 2017). Like Australia, Canada's linguistic landscape has been influenced by colonialism. However, the situation in Canada is slightly different from the UK and Australia as Canada was a British colony as well as a French colony. In fact, in Canada, there are two official languages (English and French) and sufficiency in both languages is expected, valued and supported (Duff & Li, 2009). It has been argued that Canada has never been exclusively French or English speaking, nor has it been solely European (Haque, 2012 cited in Duff & Becker-Zayas, 2017). The linguistic landscape of the United States, like Canada and Australia, has been shaped by colonisation and is best described in terms of complexity. Comparable to Australia and Canada, in the US indigenous native people inhabited most territories that are now known as the United States (Wiley & Bhalla, 2017). With the arrival of Spanish, English, Dutch, French and Russian colonisers, new languages were brought to the country and although Spanish was a colonial language, it became native to some people (Wiley & Bhalla, 2017).

Canada, Australia, and the UK seem to share similar features regarding the maintenance of their heritage languages and research shows that, next to community school education, many families in both countries establish their own ways in which the minority language is used at home (e.g., Kenner, 2000; Guardado, 2009; Eisenchlas, Schalley & Moyes, 2016). In Australia, the current situation in terms of multilingualism, is marked by globalisation and as a result, the linguistic landscape has changed, with 20% of the population possessing complex linguistic repertoires and cultural profiles that exceed former understandings of multilingualism (Ndhlovu & Willoughby, 2017). On the other hand, the way multilingualism is framed in Australia appears to fail to capture the complex repertoires of migrants, as well as the ways in which languages are used (Ndhlovu & Willoughby, 2017). In the 2011 census, multiple standard

languages were named and according to Ndhlovu (2014) cited in Ndhlovu & Willoughby (2017), the way these languages are framed can be termed 'multiple monolingualism' (p. 29). This is mainly related to the fact that classical languages such as German and French are recognised, followed by Chinese, Indonesian and Japanese (Adoniou, 2015). These languages are popular, however only when they are learnt as a 'foreign language', whereby the remaining languages that may already be spoken in the home (about 245) move down to the bottom of the list of languages (Adoniou, 2015). It seems that most languages that immigrants bring to Australia 'die out' within two generations (Adoniou, 2015). The question whether Australia is multilingual, considering foreign languages that are taught at school, are on top of the list of languages spoken 'other than English', arises.

In Canada, comparable to Australia, the social, cultural and educational histories of those speaking a heritage language or indigenous language differ considerably. With respect to minority languages in Canada, like in Australia and the UK, some children develop a more advanced repertoire of these languages than others which is linked to the status of the language, as well as out of school opportunities to learn their language (e.g., complementary schools) (Duff & Li, 2009). Unlike Australia and Canada, in the US less appears to be done to equip citizens to strive in a multilingual world (Wiley & Ballah, 2017). The situation in the US is comparable with the happenings in the UK and although both countries are marked by multilingualism there seems to be a need to acknowledge issues of foreign, heritage and minority languages in public discourses and develop policies that take account of heritage languages and value other languages and respect other cultures (Spolsky, 2011; Anderson, 2011).

Scholars in Canada have started to stress the need for pedagogical and policy support for multilingualism as well as plurilingualism (e.g., Duff, 2007; Marshall & Moore, 2013; Schecter & Cummins, 2003) through mainstream education. In fact, for instance, immersion language programmes were first introduced in Canada in 1967, or scholars such as Cummins (1979) contributed to cognitive-developmental research in bilingualism with his CUP hypothesis and a model of communicative competence was developed by Canale and Swain in 1980.

The CEFR reflects Canadian views on language education in various of its components which might be the reason it is used as a port of reference within a Canadian context. An approach that derived from the CEFR would give students from diverse backgrounds the opportunity to build on their resources and credit through a language passport to acknowledge their linguistic expertise and experiences (Council of Ministers of Education, 2010). Accordingly, in Canada, bilingualism is recognised and promoted within an approach that considers the pluri- and multilingualism of individuals (Council of Ministers of Education, 2010). Canada appears to be a country that invests in its students' linguistic capital and attempts to make them 'children of the world' (Council of Ministers of Education, 2010, p. 4). This view is in line with my aim of reframing linguistic repertoires in line with the complexity of the world's linguistic landscape and possibly help educators to acknowledge young people's identities which may help young people from diverse backgrounds to feel more at ease within multilingual classrooms.

Spolsky (2011) in a US context stresses the need for language instructions that help citizens to develop the knowledge of and respect for a variety of languages and cultures that, on the one hand, help to maintain societal pluri-/multilingualism and, on the other hand, lead to a decline of monolingual views that are still apparent in the US. In the US like Australia German-language education and bilingual education were already prevalent in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (Wiley & Ballah, 2017; Münstermann 1998). German was amongst the most spoken non-English language in the US until 1970 when Spanish became the second-most-spoken language (Wiley & Ballah, 2017). Because of language ideologies and educational policies stressing the need to speak English, a shift to English happened which resulted in the disappearance of minority languages from the countries' linguistic landscape (Moore, 2014; Wiley, Lee & Rumberger, 2009).

An extensive literature search regarding the history and current situation in terms of multilingualism and how this is reflected in language education in countries such as the United Kingdom, the United States, Australia, and Canada revealed the following; It seems that the current situation in terms of multilingualism in Australia, Canada, and the US is marked by tensions

between language diversity and the inclusion of languages other than English into society. The literature suggests that my theoretical constructs are of value in terms of describing the ways in which young people's linguistic identities are shaped by the sociocultural context (SCT) in which language learning takes place and further identify how power relations (post-structural theory) within these contexts affect the languages they use. Although scholars have started to stress the need for pedagogical and policy support for pluri/-multilingualism (e.g., Eisenchlas, Schalley & Moyes, 2016; Marshall & Moore, 2013; Schecter & Cummins, 2003; Liao, Larke & Hill-Jackson, 2017; Anderson, 2011) through mainstream education, the reviewed literature suggests that this is currently not reflected in the way language policies are framed. In fact, for instance in Australia, language policies are directed toward the improvement of English proficiency of migrants and as a result, their knowledge of languages other than English suffers (Eisenchlas, Schalley & Moyes, 2016). This further appears to be the case in the UK (see Conteh, 2012) and the US (Peñalva, 2017).

In particular, Canadian literature suggests that the country already promotes individuals' pluri-/multilingualism in educational policies and the country invests in students' linguistic capital (Council of Ministers of Education, 2010). However, it seems that more research is needed that looks at the inclusion of young people's complex linguistic identities and their diverse linguistic repertoires in classrooms. In fact, various educational and sociolinguistic studies have already started to focus on this (discussion follows). I now move on and review studies on linguistic repertoires and identity development in multilingual settings across the US, Australia and Canada to identify gaps in the literature and to point out where my study can be of value.

2.4.4 Linguistic Repertoires and Identity Development

In this section, I review ethnographic studies from Australia, Canada, the US, and the UK. I further review studies that look at 'language portraits' and how they have been used in identity research around the world and identify gaps by pinpointing how my study may add to research in the field. This is important on a methodological level as it offers an understanding of what research has

already found and how effective my research questions may be regarding the linguistic identities of young people attending a German Saturday school.

Research on identity has been present since the 1990s, with a focus on mainstream SLA (e.g., Norton, 2008). The concept of identity has attracted researchers from various disciplines e.g., sociolinguistics (Cashman, 2008), linguistic anthropology (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005), whereby it has fascinated researchers from the social sciences for more than a century. The concept of identity is central to research that focuses on late modernity and its effects and has been of interest to language research in the realm of globalisation (see e.g. Blommaert 2013; Heller, 2008; Fisher, Evans, Forbes, Gayton & Liu, 2018; Li Wei, 2018).

Research on plurilingualism has its roots in L1 and L2 research and draws on previous understandings of language learning, y*et* also acknowledges that the acquisition of an L3 or L4 cannot be compared to second language acquisition (Hufeisen & Neuner, 2004). As already mentioned, because of the more and more diverse landscape of societies (Arnaut *et al,* 2016), researchers move away from previous understandings of language repertoires and its relation to 'speech communities' and focus more on individuals and their biographies in relation to the development of language repertoires (Arnaut *et al,* 2016). This understanding is of value to find answers to one of my sub-questions through which I wanted to learn more about students' complex identities and how they may be shaped through their OLR. Over the past decade, sociolinguistic-ethnographic approaches have already been of value to second and foreign language research in Europe (Franceschini & Miecznikowski, 2004; Krumm, 2009; Moore, 2006) and Canada (Heller, 2006). As discussed in section 2.3.2, aligning my work with Blommaert and Backus (2011), I stress that the repertoires of young people growing up in multilingual London may be tied to their biographies, and respectively to their language learning experiences. Hence, to understand how young people from non-English speaking backgrounds may want to be seen, approaches that look at contextual language practices of young people living in superdiverse surroundings are most appropriate (see e.g., Li Wei, 2018; Karrebaek & Charalambous, 2018). This study aimed to increase my understanding and awareness of young

people attending a Germany Saturday school employing ethnographic methods such as observations, language portraits as well as semi-structured interviews (as will be introduced in Chapter 3).

Identity Research in Canada

In Canada, research conducted in French-language classrooms has started to aim to identify ways to increase teachers' language awareness in relation to affirming students' linguistic repertoires (Armand & Dagenais, 2008; Dagenais & Moore, 2008; Marshall & Moore, 2013; Schecter & Cummins, 2013). Other research has started to look at the linguistic identities of students' living in minority settings – although different terms have been used to refer to students' identities e.g. hybridised, bilingual and/or multiple (e.g. Byrd-Clark, 2007; Gérin-Lajoie, 2008; Labrie, 2007 cited in Prasad, 2014). Gérin-Lajoie (2011), for instance, has investigated language and identity from a postmodern stance and stresses the complexity of identities that are never finished and influenced through power relations. This aligns with the stance I took to my research; she further draws on language portraits to examine students' identities. Previous research suggests that there is a gap in understanding young people's full linguistic repertoire beyond languages e.g., French, English or Italian. I suggest that the findings of my study may be useful for research that reaches beyond the border of UK complementary school classrooms.

Prasad (2014) looked at students' mobilities in French schools and data was taken from a study in Ontario led by Diane Farmer in 2012. The primary research instrument was language portraits (although first used in Europe in 1990) that she developed from Busch's (2006) data generation tool. The Canadian research team adopted a biographical approach to research the lived experiences and effectively complex repertoires of students attending an international school in Canada. Prasad (2014) furthers Krumm's (2001) and Busch's (2006) language portraits and adopts a perspective of these portraits as 'identity texts' (as introduced by Cummins, 2001), to allow students to draw on their full linguistic repertoire and negotiate a range of identities within the construction of their portraits. Through this activity, Prasad (2014) argues, the plurilingual and pluricultural identities of students became salient, which helps

to further the understanding of how students construct their plurilingual identities. I stress this finding as it can be useful concerning my second sub-question as it shows the connection between young people's OLRs and the construction of their complex linguistic identities. Furthermore, it validates the usefulness of drawing on language portraits as part of my data collection tool kit. However, the study suggests a potential theoretical gap in terms of understanding young people's repertoires as plurilingual and pluricultural, that the author views as bound to different languages. I suggest there could be a need to acknowledge other parts of students' repertoires (as discussed in section 2.3.2) e.g., different dialects, language varieties, and accents. This is where my study is of value to research that furthers understandings of students' complex linguistic identities in relation to their linguistic repertoires and what these repertoires may look like.

Other ethnographic studies such as Heller's study (2006) in Canada further address linguistic identity development. Heller (2006) for instance conducted an ethnographic study within one mainstream school to produce a detailed account of the identity processes within this setting. She looked at the identities of franco- or allophone high-school students and finds that the acceptance of students' complex identities is important to the schools' survival as, in relation to the globalised world, students' bilingual repertoires (French-English) form vital aspects of their learner identities (Heller, 2006). Like Heller (2006), I focus on one school in particular as this is common in ethnography (O'Reilly, 2009) and aids to develop an in-depth understanding of the identities of young people within this particular context. Heller (2006) acknowledges that bilingualism is a social construct. The research suggests that more work could be of value in terms of looking at students' identities away from labels e.g. bilingual and I suggest that this can be achieved by approaching identity from a complexity angle.

Another ethnographic study by Moore (2006) focuses on students' repertoires by acknowledging that they are more than bilingual or multilingual and views these repertoires as plurilingual. She focuses on students' plurilingual repertoires and stresses the importance of teachers allowing students to draw on these repertoires and help students to increase their plurilingual

competences. Moore (2006) points towards the necessity of plurilingual language didactics that support students' learning. This view is particularly interesting as it emphasises the significance of understanding students' plurilingual repertoires concerning their identity development. One of my aims was to inform language policies beyond complementary classrooms by furthering current understandings of students' identities from non-English speaking backgrounds. My study may potentially add to Moore's (2006) in the sense that it furthers the term plurilingual repertoires to OLR.

Multilingualism in Australia

In Australia, as in the UK and the US, the complex nature of multilingualism is particularly interesting to researchers (Cross, 2011; Hajek & Slaughter, 2015; Fielding, 2016) who attempt to change the traditionally monolingual mindset that is ingrained in policies and the education system. However, various Australian studies appear not to focus on students' complex linguistic identities regarding their linguistic repertoires, yet scholars focus on language use and language development. I cite studies that align with my research focus and show where my study could potentially be beneficial to Australian research. For instance, Cruickshank (2014), in a community language context, shows the complexity of students' language knowledge in various domains and stresses that this linguistic complexity was not recognised in the mainstream classroom. He argues that simplistic labels such as 'heritage language learners' or 'Lebanese' do not account for the complexity of students' identities which he related to the complex patterns of the language of the participants' (Cruickshank, 2014). This is useful because of the way in which it shows emerging interest in resisting narrow labelling and the potentially negative impacts which these might have on student achievement.

Cruickshank (2014) suggests that community schoolteachers often judge students based on their dialect. This is something I explored further through my third sub-question by further focusing on accents and language varieties and how these may shape young people's language practices. In addition to this, Cruickshank's study calls for the need to make sense of the many facets of students' lives 'with all their messiness and complexity' (p. 61) concerning their

identities (2014). I aimed to explore young people's OLR and eventually arrive at a definition of students' linguistic repertoires that accounts for the complexity of their surroundings with respect to how students use these to make sense of the world. Hence, as discussed in section 2.3.2, by looking at students' accents, language varieties, registers, styles, etc. I wanted to show the complexity of their identities and inform future research that is in line with what Vertovec (2007) calls 'superdiversity'.

French (2016) with her ethnographic study, in a South Australian mainstream school, finds teachers unsure as to how to include students' multilingualism into their classroom pedagogies and even though students believed their multilingualism is beneficial to their thinking and appeared to be resourceful in using their multilingualism, teachers' attitudes were generally negative. The author focuses on students' language competences e.g., in Chinese and Italian and suggests that young people draw on 'Chinglish', which she refers to as translanguaging. It could be that young people's language repertoires are far more complex and by showing educators the value of allowing young people to draw on their full-linguistic repertoire, to make lesson content more accessible, my study may add to research dealing with language learning pedagogies in diverse classroom settings.

Fielding (2016) focuses on bilingual programmes in five different primary school settings in Australia. The author acknowledges referring to students as plurilingual to be more inclusive rather than applying the term multilingual. Fielding, therefore, draws on the term plurilingualism as defined by the Council of Europe. Although the author acknowledges the issue between the two terms regarding her findings, she appears to solely focus on languages as 'plurilingual resources as the skills students exhibit in using more than one language to negotiate meaning and understanding either 'internally' (i.e. thinking) or through interaction with others' (p. 362). She acknowledges a new perspective on language i.e. the notion of a language restricts the analytical framework and refers to translanguaging. This illustrates the importance of acknowledging young people's linguistic repertoires away from conventional language labels e.g. French, Italian or English, and this research aims to explore this further by looking at students' language styles, registers and language varieties that they

draw on to make sense of lesson content. It further suggests the value of applying the concept of translanguaging as a theoretical lens which aligns with my study.

Heritage Languages in the US

My literature search regarding research conducted in the US suggests most research either focuses on bilingual language learning experiences of heritage learners and heritage language maintenance (Liao, Larke & Hill-Jackson, 2017; Ma & Li, 2016) or parents'/teachers' attitudes towards heritage language maintenance (Park & Sarkar, 2007; Szecsi, Szilagyi & Giambo, 2016). Other studies have started to investigate translanguaging practices of students and tried to understand how students make meaning across their languages (e.g. Esquinca *et al,* 2014; Martinez-Roldan, 2015). However, one study in particular, conducted in a Sunday School at a Latino Church deals with students' language use and the ways their identities are constructed (Peñalva, 2017). In her ethnographic study, the author foregrounds participants' voices to offer a nuanced understanding of the way they view themselves in relation to their language use. Peñalva (2017) also grounds her study into sociocultural theory and views human development (respectively language development) as the outcome of social interaction. Peñalva (2017) stresses she wants to provide a clear picture of students' language use and how this influences how they see themselves. This suggests that other research has already started to look at the connection between young people's language repertoires and how these may shape their sense of self. My study could thus be of value and potentially add to the literature on complementary language schools in the US. I now present key biographical research studies as they can be directly linked to language portraits.

Biographical Identity Research

Biographical research on identity has long been of value in social science research (Krumm, 2001; Busch, 2006). Within research on multilingualism this approach takes the individuals' multi-layered linguistic repertoire as a starting point, as opposed to focusing on language varieties or languages separately

(Busch, 2015). Hence at the centre of linguistic biographical research lie questions as to how linguistic variations construct belonging or difference (Busch, 2015), which I understand as complex identities. Researchers adopting a biographical approach refrain from counting the languages an individual speaks and do not address questions of proficiency in L1, L2 or Ln (Busch, 2015). This aligns with my research focus that attempts to better understand how young people make sense of the world around them and how this is connected to their organic linguistic repertoires.

The studies I review in this section are important to the focus of the present study and I acknowledge that there exist more studies that adopt a biographical approach, yet in this section I look at the ones that are closest to my research focus. For instance, Krumm (2009) investigates the relationship between migrant students' identity development and their plurilingualism within an Austrian mainstream school context. He drew on 'Sprachenportraits' (language portraits) to shed light on the students' particular 'Sprachenbiographien' (language biographies). He stressed societies' 'Einsprachigkeits-Paranoia' (monolingual paranoia) that affects migrant students' identity construction as they internalise the 'Sprachenkonflikt' (language conflict) resulting in abandoning their heritage language/s (Krumm, 2009). This view supports findings from a German study (as will be discussed in section 2.4.6) carried out in a complementary school context.

Similarly, to Krumms' study, a project carried out in a mainstream school context in Switzerland and the Czech Republic by Franceschini and Miecznikowski (2004) looked at the relationship between 'Sprachenbiographien' (language biographies) and the language development of migrants and the researcher stressed the interdependence of societies' beliefs and students' language development and respectively identity construction. This shows that German Saturday schools and complementary schools are by far not the only institutions where plurilingual identity development can be observed.

Linking with my second sub-question there are various studies that also look at the relationship between young people's repertoires and their linguistic

identities. Although these studies were carried out in Germany, the Netherlands, Finland, and South-Africa on a methodological level they are comparable to my research, hence I review their main findings concerning my study. Melo-Pfeifer (2015) also used language portraits as well as semi-structured interviews to help multilingual children attending a Portuguese complementary school in Germany to visualise their narratives and reflect on how they perceive their multilingual repertoires. The aim was to show the relationship between students' multilingual and semiotic resources. With his research the author increased students' multilingual awareness and showed the diversity of the semiotic resources they draw on in their 'complex meaning-making situations' (Melo-Pfeifer, 2015, p. 211). This suggests that language portraits and semi-structured interviews are valid in research that looks at the relationship between young people's repertoires and how these may be used to make sense of the world.

More recently, Soares, Duarte & Günther-van der Meij, (2020) similarly used language portraits to make visible young people's multilingual repertoires, thus depicting their multilingualism. Although, the authors used mixed methods (qualitative/quantitative methods including questionnaires), language portraits, including semi-structured interviews were used to prompt students to reflect on their multilingual repertoires. The authors suggest that amongst the young people there was a tendency to present their languages through a monolingual lens. This shows that, how students' construct a sense of personal biography may be influenced through societal discourses or institutional discourses. This is something I addressed as part of my first sub-question in which I looked at the role of the German Saturday school in young people's identity development.

In South-Africa, Botsis and Bradbury (2018) collected data through biographical interviews as well as language portraits, whereby the activity was followed by a semi-structured interview in which the participants talked about their portrait. The study was conducted in South-Africa to make visible the role of language in constructing power dynamics post-apartheid. The authors argue that through the activity a space was constructed in which participants were able to visualise their experiences with language in a creative way. The study revealed that, through language, participants' identities were developed and

expressed which became salient through the language portrait activity and semi-structured interviews. This suggests that there may indeed be a connection between young people's identity development and their language learning which can be explored creatively. Again, the value of employing language portrait work to make visible young people's language learning experiences and how these may shape how they construct their identities, becomes apparent.

After having reviewed biographical identity research in general, I now move on and look at the specifics; that is research that deals with the linguistic identities of students attending a complementary school as this is the context of my study.

2.4.5 Linguistic Identity Construction and Negotiation in Complementary Schools in the UK

Complementary schools in the UK have long been recognised as multilingual sites providing a safe space outside mainstream schools for students to construct and negotiate a variety of identities (see e.g. Creese *et al,* 2008; Blackledge & Creese, 2008; Issa & Williams, 2008; Sneddon, 2009) and where languages other than English are maintained (Gregory *et al*, 2004; Li Wei, 2006) through, for instance, learning different writing systems (Kenner, 2004). An ample quantity of studies has investigated the teaching and learning processes that happen within such settings concerning language maintenance (e.g. Martin *et al,* 2004; Li Wei, 2006; Wright & Kurtoğlu-Hooton, 2006). Other research has started to look at the constraints some teachers impose on pupils' linguistic identity construction with a focus on how students challenge and overcome these constraints (Blackledge *et al,* 2008; Lytra, 2011; Li Wei, 2013). Research has already started to acknowledge how students' challenge essentialist notions of language, culture and identity during classroom interactions by bringing their community experiences, references from popular culture, genres, linguistic and diverse semiotic resources into the classroom (e.g. Blackledge & Creese, 2009; Lytra, 2011; 2012; Li Wei & Wu, 2009; Li Wei, 2014).

I start this review with a study which is particularly pertinent to my own study. I acknowledge that the study was conducted more than 10 years ago, yet especially in complementary school research in the UK, it is regularly cited. Creese *et al,* (2008), in their study conducted in a complementary school in Leicester, set out to explore three different identity positions (multicultural, heritage, and learner). The aim was to shed light on how young people may negotiate these identity options in the classroom (Creese *et al,* 2008). With their study the authors wanted to contribute an increased understanding of the benefits of complementary schools for their communities which they achieved by exploring young people's beliefs about the languages they speak and the attitudes toward their languages, literacies and cultures (Creese *et al,* 2008). In the paper the authors focus on complementary schools' contribution to providing a context in which students can negotiate a range of identities (Creese *et al,* 2008). This suggests a potential of these schools as spaces in which young people can negotiate a variety of identities and this is something I addressed with my study.

Creese *et al,* (2008) understand language as bound to speech communities hence they look at 'complementary schools as sites of representation' (p. 25) and view identities as 'dynamic and multiple' (p. 25). Although, the authors acknowledge the fluidity of identities they view these as bound to a particular language or culture, partly aligning with my theoretical framework. The authors emphasise the benefits of complementary schools as providing a safe space for students to negotiate diverse identities, through flexibly using their bilingualism. Concerning the way, I understand languages, more precisely OLR (see section 2.3.2), my study may offer an alternative view on young people's identities in a complementary school context. In fact, with my research I aim to extend Creese *et al's* (2008) research, especially with regard to terms such as e.g. heritage/community identity, language learner identity or multicultural identity in line with the complexity of a superdiverse society. This may be related to the time the study was conducted; that is in 2006. Furthermore, I aimed to further understandings of young people translanguaging practices in terms of how these may shape the ways they construct and negotiate their identities in a complementary school setting.

The research suggests that young people described their languages as independent of one particular culture or ethnicity. Students disclosed to use their languages 'to identify with several overlapping cultures including classroom, school, family, heritage and popular youth cultures' (p. 41). This is an important finding which may be of value for my overall sub-question as it sheds light on students' OLRs and how these may affect the ways in which young people construct a sense of personal biography. The research team further acknowledged that students possess diverse linguistic repertoires and concluded their paper by referring to 'the diverse linguistic repertoires projected shifting, multiple identity positions' (p. 41) which presumes identities are multiple rather than complex. This appears to support a view on languages as separate (e.g., English, Gujarati) that mark different identities as opposed to viewing languages for instance, as 'OLR' in relation to the ways, students construct/negotiate their linguistic identities. The research further suggests that students view their languages as related to several overlapping cultures and by studying the organic linguistic repertoires (see section 2.3.2) of young German learners, I advanced this and aimed to understand how these repertoires have been constructed and how this may shape how the young people make sense of their experiences.

Another project that is important to the study of the linguistic experiences and identities of young people attending a complementary school in the UK in the form of a linguistic ethnographic study was conducted by Creese *et al,* (2007). The study comprised four interlocked case studies in complementary schools run by a Bangladeshi community in Birmingham; a Chinese Mandarin community in Manchester; a Gujarati community in Leicester and a Turkish community in London. The data generated in this study was the foundation for several articles dealing with the identities and language practices of young people attending a complementary school published in the past 10 years (e.g. Creese & Blackledge, 2010; Creese & Blackledge, 2011; Lytra *et al,* 2008; Lytra *et al,* 2010; Lytra, 2011; Lytra, 2012).

The study suggests that the multilingual practices of students contested the standardised norms imposed by the British education system. Students challenged and reinterpreted the nationalistic notions attached to language as

well as heritage culture which was brought to the fore through an analysis of several linguistic resources and identity projects that happened in these schools. These findings reveal that power relations within classrooms impact upon students' identity construction. The research team suggests that future research could investigate the opportunities 'flexible bilingual pedagogies' (p. 33) hold, firstly within complementary schools, and secondly, how these can inform modern foreign language (MFL), (EAL) literature and practice (Anderson, 2008; 2011, Conteh, 2012). My study has the potential to offer an alternative understanding of young people attending a complementary school by shedding light on the young people's language practices that are shaped through growing up in a superdiverse city as well as some of the educational discourses (e.g. A-level exam culture) apparent in a complementary school.

Since my research focused on one German Saturday school in London in the following paragraphs, I look at the part of Creese *et al*'s project that deals with a Turkish complementary school in London. It has been conducted in East London and West London. The team adopt a view on identity as firstly constructed through discourse hence they view the individual as an active agent in the process of identity construction. The authors combine this with a post-structural stance to identity which foregrounds the power relations apparent during social interaction (Lytra *et al,* 2008). They further take a view on language as a social construct that functions as a 'set of resources which circulate in unequal ways in social networks and discursive spaces' (p. 19). My research aligns with the way the authors frame the concept identity in their study.

Lytra *et al,* (2008) find flexible bilingualism (see section 1.2.2) to be a common feature during classroom interactions, however, there seems to be a mismatch between the schools' language ideologies shaping classroom discourses and students' discourses. Students contest and challenge this by blending different sets of linguistic resources. Teachers seemed to make a distinction between different varieties of Turkish and tried to force students to use standard Turkish. Regarding my first sub-question, this finding yet again foregrounds that there may be a variety of ideological discourses at play in the classroom, which I

hope to shed light on in terms of how these may affect young people's language practices.

In another article, that was based on the same data, Lytra (2012) focuses on how parents that were brought up in Turkey, Cyprus or the UK view Turkish, Cypriot-Turkish and other varieties of Turkish. She further looks at different accents which may be of value concerning my third sub-question. Lytra argues that parents' views on, for instance, standard Turkish (formed in the societal discourse of their home country) were directly linked to language ideologies surrounding these language varieties. In fact, standard Turkish was 'associated with positive attributes (proper/clean) and positive images of personhood (educated/knowledgeable)' (p. 97). Concerning my previous research (Grosse, 2011; 2015) I have found this to be the case in German Saturday schools too, which influenced how teachers were recruited and classroom language (respectively identities) were negotiated and constructed. This was reflected in the way teachers interacted with their students and their views on appropriate language practices in the classroom. Similarly, Lytra *et al,* (2008) find that teachers tried to encourage students to keep English and Turkish separate, which they linked to the British societal discourses (monolingualism). However, this did not influence students' identity construction. It would be interesting to see whether this is also the case in a German Saturday school.

More recently Lytra (2015) revisited her data set and stresses that to understand the language practices taking place within multilingual settings, instead of focusing on language as the primary site of meaning-making, scholars should adopt a multimodal approach to understand the linguistic resources of multilingual speakers. She argues that by employing visual, oral or artifact related modes, the complex repertoires of students can be brought to the fore which helps to shed light on the way students' construct their identities (Lytra, 2015). This suggests that my study adds to this by looking at young people's language practices through language portraits and thus sheds light on the 'OLR' of students and further understandings of the complexity of young people's identities attending complementary schools in the UK and possibly other settings similar to a German Saturday school.

Creese *et al,* (2007) investigate how community education may be shaped through nationalistic discourses. Students appear to creatively use a variety of linguistic resources and thus contest school language ideologies as well as societal discourses. Although teachers' attitudes towards mixing languages appear to be narrow, students were much more open to flexibly use their repertoires which I view as an indication for the potential of shedding light on students' linguistic identities by studying their contextual language practices.

Li Wei (2013; 2014) also looks at linguistic identity construction, yet he focuses on multilingual interactions Chinese complementary school classes in London and finds, similar to other authors (e.g., Lytra *et al,* 2008; Lytra, 2011), that the prevalent monolingual beliefs in society, based on essentialist notions of language (see section 2.2.1), influence language practices of students in complementary schools. Hence mixing and switching between different languages is viewed to be directly linked to deficits in their linguistic and cognitive capacities (Li Wei, 2014). He stresses that the awareness that pupils possess in determining what they can achieve with all their linguistic resources, which he links to translanguaging practices, help to show children's multicompetence.

Previous to this study, Li Wei (2013) highlights the particular 'funds of knowledge' (Moll *et al,* 1992) that students bring to a Chinese complementary school classroom and looked at how these impact upon the construction of their learner identities. Important here is that he sheds light on pupils' and teachers' differing 'funds of knowledge' and how they shape classroom interactions, which will be of interest regarding my first sub-question (as introduced in section 1.1) that attempts to understand the role the German Saturday School plays in students' identity construction. The author directly links students' identity construction with the resources they can negotiate during their lessons. Because of this Li Wei (2014) stresses the value of translanguaging practices as an effective pedagogical practice that allows students to draw on their full linguistic repertoire. The research suggests that looking at young people's OLRs can potentially further understanding their language practices by shedding light on OLRs i.e., what they are, how they came to be and how these repertoires influence how the young people may want to be seen. I now move

on and look at studies that deal with German Saturday schools. As mentioned previously, there are no published studies that have been conducted in a German Saturday school in the UK regarding my research focus hence I widen my scope and look at the situation of German students in an Australian, Canadian and US complementary school context.

2.4.6 Linguistic Identity Development in German Saturday Schools: Australia, the United States and Canada

Linguist identity development in German Saturday schools appears to have been relatively overlooked in the wider literature – with no UK studies identified with this specific purpose in my review of the literature. In Canada, the first German Saturday school was founded in 1864 in Ontario (Germania Language School, 2017) and, in the US the first school was set up in 1874 in Boston (German Saturday School Boston, 2014), whereas the first German ethnic school opened almost 100 years later in Australia in 1959 in Adelaide (Münstermann, 1998). As mentioned in Chapter 1, the first German Saturday school in the UK was set up in the late 1980s in London.

German Saturday Schools and Identity Construction and Negotiation

In Australia, German Saturday schools are also referred to as 'German ethnic schools' and they were set up in response to the needs of German migrants who arrived in the 1950s (Münstermann, 2015). However, especially in South-Australia, before they started to become what is now known as a Saturday school, they were solely used as a meeting point where people could get emotional support, speak their language and maintain an aspect of their culture (Münstermann, 2015). Data from South-East Australia (Melbourne) reveals the first Saturday school can be traced back to 1870, where the Lutheran church set up a Saturday school to teach German to the local community (German Saturday School, 2016). The ethos of this school was slightly different from what I discussed in Chapter 1 regarding German Saturday schools in the UK. The first German Saturday school (as we know it today) was established in 1899 in the Melbourne area (German Saturday School, 2016). The situation of Germans in Australia is best described in terms of 'acculturation' which means

they assimilated to the Australian culture and according to Münstermann (2015), Germans' group identification is minimal hence solely 10 percent of Germans belong to a German ethnic organisation (p. 248).

My literature search in Australia regarding identity construction in German Saturday schools yielded just one study that relates to my focus. Data was collected in a school called 'The School for the German Language' that is a voluntary run organisation, founded in 1959, that relies on money from the German government, plus a small number of tuition fees paid by parents (Münstermann, 1998). The article was published online more than 10 years after the study had been conducted i.e., in 2010. Nevertheless, in an Australian context, as well as in my study (Grosse, 2011) German families shared a view on their German background (beliefs, festivals, manners, relationships) as something unique which should be preserved and fostered. The study suggests that there is a strong focus on maintaining German as a language, yet further foster young people's cultural development through teaching German culture. This may mean that a German Saturday school as an institution offers young people more than learning their own language and as a result might influence the way in which they make sense of the world around them. Regarding my second sub-question Münstermann's (1998) findings suggest that a German Saturday school may play a role in young people's identity development which I explored as part of my research.

Comparable with Australia, my literature search in Canada on identity construction in German Saturday schools yielded no studies directly relating to young people's identity construction/negotiation. However, I came across one study (complementary school context) which stresses the necessity of my research. Dressler (2010) conducted a mixed-method study in which she draws on questionnaires and interviews to research the topic identity of German children growing up in Canada and regarding my research focus there are some interesting points. First, Dressler (2010) finds instead of limiting the German language to Germany she stresses German does not refer directly to an 'ethnicity or citizenship labelled German' (p. 3). Hence, she extends the meaning of 'being' German beyond the borders of Germany to Austria and Switzerland. The study suggests that there is more need for research that looks

at young people attending a German Saturday school adopting dynamic approaches to identity construction.

In a more recent study, Dressler (2014) draws on language portraits to study the linguistic identities of German elementary schoolchildren. Interestingly, the author adopts a view on linguistic identity as comprised of three different categories, that is: expertise, affiliation, and inheritance (Dressler, 2014). This is a thought-provoking view on linguistic identity which is comparable to my view on linguistic identity as a complex system (section 2.3.1). Dressler's (2014) study could be of interest to my second research sub-question (as introduced in section 1.1) in which I look at what constitutes students' organic linguistic repertoires. The author highlights the richness of students' linguistic repertoires which is in line with the view I adopt on linguistic repertoires as organic (2014). She concludes her study by stressing if educators understand and validate students' linguistic identities in the classroom it would be beneficial for their educational development as it would celebrate students' home languages in the school. This suggests that there is more need to understand students' full linguistic repertoire, including the language(s) they speak at home in order to improve young people's language learning experiences. My study could thus add to literature on German Saturday schools in Canada.

In the US my literature search yielded two articles that directly focused on complementary education. In the US this form of education is referred to as heritage language education. Ludanyi and Liu (2011) look at German Saturday schools in the US from a historical perspective and conclude that due to the decrease of German language instruction in mainstream schools such community-run schools will become even more important. This suggests that more research may be of value in terms of identifying the role German Saturday schools may play in young people's language development and respectively the ways they make sense of the world around them. Although this does not directly link with my topic it shows that German Saturday schools are important and that any research that attempts to understand students' attending a German Saturday school is of value because they are the main 'reason' for parents setting up these schools. Another article by Ludanyi (2013) deals with the question of whether German can remain a vital heritage language in the

US. The author foregrounds the importance of maintaining the German language in the US through complementary schools. This suggests that there is need for alternative understandings in terms of making sense of young people's 'real lived' identities and respectively OLRs away from conventional language labels e.g., German. The author further focuses on students' competences in German and argues that, due to their varying knowledge, it is hard to create a curriculum that addresses students' needs (Ludanyi, 2013). Again, this suggests that it may be of value to look at young people's language knowledge away from competences and focus on their creative language use instead. I now move on to summarise my findings and identify gaps in the empirical literature on linguistic identity construction and negotiation I have reviewed in this section (2.5).

2.5 Gaps in the Literature

The purpose of this chapter was to draw together theoretical threads that inform the methodological choices as well as data analysis of this study. Furthermore, it was the first step towards finding answers to my research questions by closely scrutinising how concepts have been applied to research in the past. Yet *al*so by reviewing empirical studies that share a similar research focus which led me to identify gaps in the literature which my study may potentially address and the purpose of this section is to outline these.

To recap, this study explored young people's identities and as argued previously, the research was grounded into current understandings of language and identity concerning the complexity of modernity. In section 2.3, I argued against structuralist perspectives and highlighted that labels e.g., bilingual or Chinese could be related to language essentialism and potentially stereotyping in which language development is viewed as a linear process that can be measured. This may not be helpful in developing dynamic understandings of young people's linguistic identities, which is the overarching aim of this study. Various studies draw on notions such as translanguaging (e.g., Hopewell, 2014; Esquinca *et al,* 2014; Martinez-Roldan, 2015) and I would like to make a contribution towards addressing the complexity of young people's identity

through a translanguaging lens and apply the concept to the language practices of young people attending a German Saturday school. In fact, one of the main gaps I have identified is contextual, namely that there are hardly any studies on identity (or language practices) from German Saturday or complementary schools in the UK and other contexts where English is the official language.

Thus, at a contextual level, although scholars have started to look at the role of Chinese, Turkish or Gujarati complementary schools in the UK, regarding students' identity construction, no published research (in English speaking countries) directly looks at German Saturday schools. Moreover, across the US, Canada, and Australia there are no recent studies regarding the role of German Saturday schools and students' linguistic identity constructions. This study may therefore expand existing literature on identity development in complementary schools, by including a European language group. My research has the potential to add to literature on German Saturday schools, and in a broader sense the understanding of linguistic identity in migrant contexts, as young people with German backgrounds have been overlooked in the literature.

My overview has revealed that identity research across the UK, Canada, Australia, and the US largely uses labels and categorises students as bilingual, multilingual, or heritage language learners (see e.g., Blackledge & Creese, 2008; Creese *et al,* 2006; Dressler, 2013; Ludanyi, 2013). As noted in Chapter 1, with my study, I aim to arrive at an understanding that takes account of the complexity of students' linguistic identities from diverse backgrounds, in particular students attending a German Saturday school, without labelling them. It seems that by drawing on these labels scholars across the reviewed contexts conform to certain theoretical positions in terms of viewing languages as bound to speech-communities which results in a view on a) students as possessing a certain competence in a language which b) classifies them as either bilingual or multilingual and c) understands linguistic identity bound to ethnicity or cultural background. As noted in section 2.3 these understandings do not fully align with my research aim, yet they will be used as building blocks for my research in terms of extending these views to taking into account young people's more complex biographies in relation to their creative language

practices in which they may construct potentially more complex identities than it is recognised in the literature.

At a methodological level, there is ample linguistic biographical research in mainstream school contexts drawing on language portraits as a data collection method (e.g. Franceschini and Miecznikowski, 2004 cited in Bossart 2011, Krumm 2009, Seals 2017), yet this method does not seem to be common amongst researchers in complementary school settings. In the UK, language portraits have not been used extensively in identity research, and there are no identifiable studies that have been conducted in a German Saturday school. My research may add to other ethnographic studies conducted in a complementary school context that employ similar methods (identity projects) (e.g., Gregory *et al,* 2013; Tereshchenko & Archer, 2014) and show the value of language portraits in such contexts.

On a theoretical level my study can offer an alternative understanding about students' complex linguistic identities and how they may be manifested through their language practices. I explore this by drawing on more recent understandings on language as this is something that seemed to be missing in the way scholars collected and analysed their data. Although e.g., Canadian research has already started to view learners as plurilingual and look at their repertoires (e.g. Marshall & Moore, 2013; Schecter & Cummins, 2013) or identities (e.g. Byrd-Clark, 2007; Gérin-Lajoie, 2008) there is room for expanding these conceptual understandings as researcher views young people's identities to be bound to particular languages. Other literature suggests that in a globalised world, languages and identities are best understood in terms of complexity and mobility (e.g., Blommaert & Rampton, 2011) hence individuals' identities and language repertoires become more and more complex.

Furthermore, my study may add to Australian literature where, although research has started to acknowledge the complex nature of plurilingualism (e.g., Cross, 2011; Hajek & Slaughter, 2015; Fielding, 2016), there is room to advance these understandings in terms of viewing young people's linguistic identities and their linguistic repertoires in more organic ways beyond

conventional labels e.g., Italian or Chinese. As mentioned in section 2.4.3, I extended my literature review beyond the borders of the UK (e.g., Australia) as these countries resemble the context of the UK in that English is the official language. In particular, my study can extend an understanding of plurilingualism as an expression of a biographical journey and young people's dynamic belongings (Cruickshank; 2014, Fielding, 2016; French, 2016).

In an Australian complementary school context, Cruickshank (2014) suggests that simplistic labels such as heritage language learner may not consider the complexity of students' identities and language practices and he further acknowledges the need for research to start to make sense of the many facets of students' linguistic repertoires and offer nuanced insight who they may be as individuals. This stresses the need for more research that works towards deconstructing static labels and understanding the complexity of students' identities from non-English speaking backgrounds in the UK. Furthermore, in a UK complementary school context Creese *et al,* (2007) report students as describing their languages as independent of one culture or ethnicity, yet they use their languages to identify with overlapping cultures (e.g. popular culture, school, classroom), this view offered a good building block for my research as it acknowledges the organic nature of students' linguistic repertoires (see section 2.3.2).

The situation concerning identity research in the US seems to be slightly different since notions such as bilingual learner or heritage language learner are still accepted within the literature and research focuses on the maintenance of heritage languages (e.g. Liao, Larke & Hill-Jackson, 2017; Ma & Li, 2016) or parents'/teachers' attitudes towards heritage language maintenance (Park & Sarkar, 2007; Szecsi, Szilagyi & Giambo, 2016). Most of these studies have been conducted recently and my research may expand these understandings in terms of the organic nature of young people's repertoires. Regarding identity research, particularly in the UK, some complementary school researchers (see e.g., Creese & Blackledge, 2010; Creese & Blackledge, 2011) appear to draw on older data, whereas more up to date research and data tend to focus on another context e.g., mainstream schools and urban contexts. The few scholars that focus on identity construction in complementary schools in the UK (e.g.,

Creese & Blackledge, 2010; Creese & Blackledge, 2011; Lytra *et al,* 2008; Lytra *et al,* 2010; Lytra, 2011; Lytra, 2012; Li Wei, 2013; 2014) adopt similar theoretical frameworks as scholars outside the UK, that tend to categorise learners into bi-/multilingual, monolinguals, or heritage language learners rather than viewing students' linguistic repertoires as dynamic. This again suggests that there may be an alternative way of understanding linguistic identities. Various other scholars (Gogolin & Duarte, 2017; Spotti & Kroon, 2017; Blommaert, 2011, Meier, 2017) already question the aforementioned perspectives in terms of their usefulness to increasing understandings of who young people are concerning the complexity of their linguistic repertoires and linguistic identities. I further noted (see section 2.3) that my study aims to contribute to more dynamic understandings of linguistic identities and linguistic repertoires that can take account of the living, organic nature of such concepts.

Above all, my literature review has revealed that the monolingual bias that appears to be ingrained in societies, e.g., the UK, US, Canada, and Australia, has shaped educational politics, language education (e.g. May 2014) and respectively language education research. Literature suggests that in most cases young people's unique and creative nature of being, unrelated to competence or motivation has been overlooked. Although, there are some studies, that look at bilingual students' creative potential (e.g. Anderson, 2008; Anderson, 2011; Anderson & Chung, 2012;) these studies focus on pedagogical aspects of complementary school education. This query is in line with the overarching goal of this study; that was to make sense of young people's OLR in relation to their complex identities by studying their situated language practices in a complementary school context, whereby I aimed to draw a picture of each young person without labelling or categorising them. I now move on and conclude this chapter.

2.6 Summary

The structure of this literature review has incorporated various theoretical stances that are vital to answering the different components of my research questions. In this study I combine post-structural and sociocultural perspectives

to identity and take on a view on identities as a process, whereby language is central to this process (e.g., Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004). From a sociocultural stance, language learning happens through an individuals' participation with their environments (Vygotsky, 1978) and it is by means of this that they make their experiences meaningful and thus build a sense of personal identity. Aligning my work with Blommaert and Backus' (2013) understanding of language in the context of superdiversity, I thus view language as something never finished. This supports the argument of identity as a process rather than an accomplished fact and further foregrounds the complexity of identity (e.g. Copland, Creese, Rock & Shaw, 2015). I also stressed the dynamic nature of OLR and view these as never complete and fluid as they develop with the particular biographies of individuals (Blommaert & Backus, 2011) aligning with a complex view on identity.

The theoretical stances were identified by incorporating a chronological understanding, exploring the historical context of language learning from behaviourism to sociocultural theories. It further included an overview of current understandings to language (e.g., linguistic repertoires) and language practices (translanguaging). I also reviewed the concept of identity taking account of various views and finally aligning my work with post-structural perspectives to identity. These theoretical threads were drawn together in section 2.3 in which I introduced the terms 'complex linguistic identity' as well as 'organic linguistic repertoires'. Following this, I reviewed empirical studies on multi/plurilingualism in the UK and other countries where English is the official language. In particular, I reviewed studies on linguistic repertoires, linguistic identity construction and negotiation, finally leading me to review studies on linguistic identity development in German Saturday schools.

The main contextual gap I have identified is that there are hardly any studies on identity (or language practices) from German Saturday schools in the UK and other contexts e.g., US, Australia and Canada. I further identified that more research is needed that acknowledges the dynamic nature of young people's language development without using labels such as e.g. heritage language learner or bilingual as this was something that appeared to be common throughout the reviewed literature. I argued that this suggests that there may

be alternative ways to understand young people's identities, which aligns with the aim of this study; to understand the linguistic identities young people in a German Saturday school construct or negotiate. In what follows I discuss the methodological choices I made that helped me to answer my research questions (see section 1.1).

3. Chapter Methodology

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I focus on the methodological choices that lie at the core of this study and helped me to develop answers to the research questions (see section 1.1). I introduce the philosophical as well as the theoretical assumptions underlying my study. I outline these assumptions as they are particularly important to ensuring analytical reflexivity (see e.g., Brewer, 2002) and in rejecting the notion of producing objective claims about the young people's linguistic identities. Following this, I explain my choice of ethnography as methodology followed by a discussion of the specifics; linguistic ethnography (LE). The following section will then focus on the practical arrangements of the project including locating the research site, participant recruitment and an introduction of the main participants. I further look at my role as a researcher, followed by my experiences of negotiating access. The second part of this chapter is dedicated to the methodological choices i.e., the methods I employed to generate the linguistic ethnographic data involving language portraits in conjunction with semi-structured interviews as well as classroom observations and fieldnotes. This is followed by an outline of the data analysis methods that I used to make sense of the data corpus. Finally, I explain the strategies that I used for validating my data and the ethical considerations that emerged throughout my research. In what follows I discuss the theoretical and philosophical underpinnings of this study that were employed to make sense of the data and finally led me to answer my research questions.

3.2 Philosophical and Theoretical Underpinnings of the Study

LE has been influential in identity and language teaching research in the fields of socio- and applied linguistics (e.g., language teaching) (Creese, 2008). In fact, as Karrebeak and Charalambous (2018) stress, education is a domain in which linguistic ethnographic perspectives have important implications. As I have shown in Chapter 2, because of the changes to the linguistic landscape in countries such as the UK, Canada, Australia, and the United States,

classrooms have become increasingly diverse and relations between, for instance, language and identity, have been redefined and re-arranged (Karrebeak & Charalambous, 2018). I have also argued that the state attempts to legitimise certain languages and identities that are in line with the states' policies (e.g., the UK). This, in turn, can pose problems concerning the increasingly complex linguistic, cultural and communicative resources (e.g., OLRs) students bring to school, hence classrooms have been at the centre of much LE research (e.g., Blackledge & Creese, 2010; Lytra, 2011,2012; Maybin & Tusting, 2011; Rampton, 2007).

I view reality as a dynamic process and concerning the young people's linguistic identities this means that, as they change, their interpretations and knowledge of the world around them change too (Crotty, 2009). In this context, I foreground the interactional nature of young people's complex linguistic identities and respectively OLRs. Such a position refers to language in the realm of constituting social processes 'both in the ways that it forms part of the social practices that construct social reality and, in the ways, it serves as a terrain for working out struggles that are fundamentally about other things' (Heller, 2011, p. 49).

The term 'other things', in the context of this study, denotes language ideologies and labels that are put on students in terms of language competence (bilingual) and ethnicity (e.g., German, English, French) affecting how the young people may construct and negotiate their complex linguistic identities. From a post-structural stance to language that critiques structuralist views on language (as discussed in 2.2.1), I stress that linguistic communicative resources possess power, not because of their grammatical features, yet because of the sociohistorical weight they carry within a particular social field. With my study, I aimed to arrive at more nuanced insights into young people's language learning in terms of how they view themselves or how they may want to be seen. This I wanted to achieve away from labels such as e.g. bilingual that circle around in sociolinguistics/linguistics and inform many approaches to language learning.

In this study, I examined how young people attending a German Saturday school, use their resources (OLRs) to construct and negotiate their complex identities. As I have pointed out in Chapter 2, I take on a view of identity as complex, changing and influenced by shifting power relations, hence for my study an approach that relies on static, measurable variables would be inappropriate. My research focus was thus on the individual and how they relate to the world (see Norton, 2013) whereby it is through language that individuals define, negotiate and resist relationships taking place within the complexity of social practices (Norton & McKinney, 2010).

In identity research to language learning in complementary school settings, scholars tend to draw on approaches in which they can employ qualitative methods (e.g. participant-observations, interviews) to investigate situated language use and highlight the power relations that shape students' identities (e.g. linguistic ethnography, critical ethnography) (e.g. Heller, 2010). Data yielded through these approaches is widely recognised as explanatory data and concerning my study, it combines the observable context in which for instance, students' language practices take place, or the resources students use, with young people's accounts of why they use particular resources and how this relates to how they make sense of their world (Heller, 2010).

First, I understand my research as situated which means the context of the study impacted on the research itself e.g., the young people's language practices, and my role as a researcher were integral to the process. I thus foreground the ethnographic aspect of my methodology (as will be introduced in section 3.3) and now outline the two main assumptions in which my main methodology is embedded and how this relates to my research focus. Rampton (2007) writes:

> *'1. that the contexts for communication should be investigated rather than assumed. Meaning takes shape within specific social relations, interactional histories and institutional regimes, produced and construed by agents with expectations and repertoires that have to be grasped ethnographically; and 2. that analysis of the internal organisation of verbal (and other*

> *kinds of semiotic) data is essential to understanding its significance and position in the world. Meaning is far more than just the 'expression of ideas', and biography, identifications, stance, and nuance are extensively signalled in the linguistic and textual fine-grain' (p. 585).*

Translating Rampton's words into the context of my study means that by meticulously investigating how students draw on their OLRs in a German Saturday school classroom and beyond we can understand what it may mean to the young people to grow up in a superdiverse environment. Furthermore, how their OLRs influence how they negotiate their way through classroom occurrences and the ways in which they may want to be seen by others away from the German Saturday school became clear. Looking at this from a post-structural stance helped me to make sense of classroom discourses 'where multiple voices, shifting identities, and different versions of reality compete for recognition and attention' (Baxter, 2008, p. 17). Against this background, instead of assuming that the young people's repertoires are bound to certain speech communities and therefore labelling their interactions, with my study, I aimed to explore their language practices and what they mean to them.

To be able to understand how students position themselves or are positioned in the world I had chosen to analyse their OLR in detail, which I view as 'the linguistic and textual fine-grain' (Rampton, 2007, p. 585). I embedded this view in a post-structural understanding of students' communication and interactions and aimed to establish 'multi-faceted interpretation of spoken interaction that reveals rather than suppresses the discursive struggles to fix meaning according to different competing interests' (Baxter, 2008, p. 17). In sum, in my study, I analysed how language is used and how this impacts the ways in which young people build a sense of personal biography hence, I established links between linguistic processes (language use) and social processes (identity construction/negotiation) in a superdiverse society.

Against this background, much identity research commonly rejects the idea of research as objective or unbiased (Norton & McKinney, 2010). An important part of the research, in particular the way I collected and understand my data

were my own experience as a language learner, language teacher and language user in relation to my knowledge. Hence the translanguaging moments (as will be explained in section 3.9) and practices that emerged were determined, to a large extent, by my lens as a researcher (Norton & McKinney, 2010). Erduyan (2015) in her research on multilingual identity construction of German-Turkish speakers in Berlin portrays her subjectivity concerning the way she used her languages (German, English, and Turkish), whereby she stresses the deconstructive understanding of languages (Makoni & Pennycook, 2007 in Erduyan, 2015) that foregrounds a variety of discursive positions she drew on during her fieldwork and the effects this had on her data and the ways students related to her. What I found particularly striking about her study is the connection she made between the language/language variety/registers she used and the effects this had on the ways students a) perceived her and b) constructed their identities during her interviews.

Second, with this project I aimed to understand how power operates in the young people's lives as I draw on post-structural theory to identity, hence the way individuals construct and negotiate their identities is embedded in power relations (see e.g., Pavlenko & Blackledge 2004). I thus aimed to understand how power may affect the ways in which young people a) draw on their OLRs and as a result b) construct and negotiate their identities in a German Saturday school classroom. My objective was to learn how language ideologies operate in the young people's lives and how they may constrain or enable them within their language practices and respectively complex linguistic identity construction. To this study this means that the German Saturday school as an institution may shape the young people's language practices and effectively the language resources the that young people draw on to make sense of their environment. Something I addressed through my second research sub-question.

Third, instead of viewing context as a stable or abstract variable, in language research that focuses on identity, researchers view context as unpredictable, organic, and unstable (Blommaert, Smits, Yacoubi, 2018). Against this background, my point of departure was on the situated meaning-making practices of young people in a complementary school context (third research

sub-question). This view is reflected in my chosen methodology, in particular the ethnographic approach which I discuss in the following section. Hence, by viewing my participants as active agents who creatively draw on their OLRs to construct and negotiate their identities, I stress the situated nature of such practices. Hence, instead of acting toward culture or social structures, the young people act toward situations (Blumer, 1969). This view sits well with the focus of linguistic ethnography that is on situated language in use (Creese, 2008) which I discuss in more detail in section 3.3.1. To make sense of young people's experiences in relation to their language practices was essential to the focus of my studies helping me to increase my understanding of the complexity of the young people's linguistic identities at this moment in time, in this particular environment. Yet again, this suggests the contextual nature of the young people's language practices and the effect this has had on my data, meaning the aspects of the participants' identities I was able to observe solely suggest who they may be away from the German Saturday school. I now move on and discuss the ethnography as an approach as the foundation for my key methodology; LE that has informed my research design.

3.3 Ethnography

Ethnography means the description of people (Angorsino, 2011) and the focus of an ethnographic study is on processes as, for instance, language practices of a group of people, not objects (see Heller, 2010) unlike in other, more scientific approaches (e.g. survey, experimental research) (Crotty, 2009). The most important obligation I, as a researcher had, was to practice reflexivity in the sense that I consistently questioned my assumptions and committed myself to find out what was going on. Secondly, I had to employ methods that would help me to explain students' language practices in the context in which they occur (see section 3.8). From this, I was able to make some predictions about what might happen under similar conditions. I take on a view on meaning to be created through language as well as other semiotic resources that are, as Rampton (2007) points out, 'shaped within specific social relations, interactional histories and institutional regimes, produced and constructed by

agents with expectations and repertoires that have to be grasped ethnographically' (p. 585).

In line with my ontological understanding of reality; that is reality is a constant and dynamic process hence as people change, their interpretations, knowledge, and judgments of the world around them change as well (Crotty, 2009), there are limits to what I can know. Accordingly, the knowledge I could obtain from this study cannot be placed in a vacuum which is in line with the theoretical stances I hold on the concept of identity. What I was able to reveal about students' identities is provisional, contextual and shaped by my experiences in the field. From an ethnographic stance, my main tasks were thus to a) discover what is going on in the German Saturday school (without assuming it) and b) collect data that would help me to make sense of what is happening in terms of linguistic identity construction and negotiation in the context of this particular setting (Heller, 2010). From this, I could make predictions of what might happen in similar contexts e.g. in other complementary schools.

The exploratory nature of data that I would be able to collect through an ethnographic research design informed my decision. The philosophical, as well as theoretical stances (see 3.2) I took, are in line with the data collection methods (as will be introduced 3.8) that helped me to generate data. My research focus was on a) the observable context i.e., the young people's language practices and the ways they are constrained by particular conditions or informed the development of particular resources (OLRs) and b) connecting these practices to students' accounts of why for instance they draw on certain resources in particular situations. It is through these narratives that I was able to understand how students made meaning at particular moments in the classroom, and how this may connect to restraints that were imposed on students by other interactions across space and time (Heller, 2010). In sum, through an ethnographic perspective I started with local practices (German Saturday school) that I placed into wider social contexts (UK) and as Rampton (2007) puts it:

> *'ethnography provides: a sense of the stability, status and resonance that linguistic forms, rhetorical strategies, and semiotic materials have in different social networks beyond the encounter-on-hand; and idea of how and where an encounter fits into longer and broader biographies, institutions and histories; and a sense of the cultural and personal perspectives/experiences that participants bring to interactions, and take from them' (p. 4).*

This view is in line with the post-structural stance to identity and the sociocultural stance I had adopted to language learning and respectively the development of students' OLR. In what follows I narrow down the broad approach ethnography to its specifics; linguistic ethnography (LE).

3.3.1 Linguistic Ethnography

'Linguistic ethnography' refers to a growing body of research employed by scholars who apply a combination of linguistic and ethnographic approaches to their research in a range of settings and contexts (Copland, Creese, Rock & Shaw, 2015). Central to their research is to understand how communicative, as well as social processes operate within research settings, (Copland, Creese, Rock & Shaw, 2015) hence they focus on situated language in use (Creese, 2008). LE is an umbrella term for researchers who share similar interests in language research, as such a variety of research traditions interact under this approach (e.g., Rampton *et al*, 2004; Rampton, 2007). By adopting a linguistic ethnographic approach in my study, I could document empirically the ways in which young people attending a German Saturday school negotiate meaning in response to increasing local uncertainty in terms of language use. In particular, the unpredictable and changeable positioning of students resulting from sociolinguistic and cultural conditions of late modernity (see Vertovec, 2007; Perez-Milans, 2015). Accordingly, language and the social world are mutually shaping, and it is through analysing language practices (in a complementary school context) that I had hoped would allow me to gain insights into the hidden dynamics of cultural reproduction in relation to symbolic

constraints that impact upon students' identity construction and negotiation across time and space.

Within a LE approach researchers draw on linguistically informed analyses of 'situated meaning-making practices' (Perez-Milan, 2015, p. 12) from which they depart to examine wider 'institutional, sociocultural and ideological processes' (Perez-Milan, 2015, p. 12). Against this background, Perez-Milan (2015) reminds us that 'culture is not a taken-for-granted entity, but rather is conceived as the outcome of processes of social differentiation that are enacted and negotiated (and therefore empirically tracked) in daily interactions' (p. 12). The post-structural, as well as sociocultural nature of my study, fits well with the attempt of LE researchers to understand day to day interactions by placing these practices into wider social context structures (Copland, Creese, Rock & Shaw, 2015).

Following Heller (1984, cited in Copland, Creese, Rock & Shaw, 2015) I stress that through LE elements, I could link the ways language is used in a 'superdiverse' society with its impact upon social processes and vice versa (i.e. the ways social processes shape linguistic ones, that effectively impact upon the identity construction of students attending a German Saturday school in London). I was thus able to look beyond the communication that unfolds in a classroom situation and pay attention to students' 'cultural and semiotic repertoires, and the resources they have at their disposal' or more precisely, as Rampton (2009) writes:

> *'..how signs, actions, and encounters fit with interactional and institutional processes over longer and broader stretches of time and space…how institutions shape, sustain and get reproduced through texts, objects, media, genres and practices etc; how institutions control, manage, produce and distribute persons, resources, discourses/representations/ ideologies, spaces etc (p. 1)'.*

By analysing students' language practices in the context of a German Saturday school I was able to establish connections with how students may be positioned

or position themselves in the world. Linguistic ethnography helped me to make sense of the complexities of a superdiverse society (Snell, Copland & Shaw, 2015) and through combining ethnography with linguistics I focussed on the language students use and how this may impact the ways they construct their identities. Snell, Copland and Shaw, (2015) stress, researchers adopting this approach are not satisfied with one kind of data or one kind of data analysis. Rampton *et al,* (2004), stress the potential of ethnography to 'open up' linguistic analysis, whereas linguistics can 'tie-down' ethnographic insights. This is very useful, as ethnography is known for its 'messiness' (Atkinson *et al*, 2007) which can be time-consuming, furthermore regarding the limited amount of time I was able to spend 'on-site', by working from a linguistic ethnographic perspective I generated a wealth of data, yet at the same time, managed to keep my focus. I now move on and locate the research site.

3.4 Locating the Research Site

My research site was the German Saturday School which is a not-for-profit organisation located in the halls of a school for girls in North London; a modern, caring, multicultural school a short distance from Mill-Hill East station. It is a very suburban part of London and students come from different parts of either London or Greater London. The location of the school makes it hard to access as with only one bus running to the school, most students must rely on their parents to transport them. The charm of the area rests in its old village style with plenty of cafes and shops surrounded by lots of green spaces.

In an informal interview with the School's treasury (23rd June 2018) I was told that some students travel up to an hour to get there. Although the school is part of The Association of German Saturday Schools, they have their own school policies which are negotiated by Mrs. Lange (a social worker) as well as other members of the school's organising committee. The Saturday School does not take responsibility for students beyond the classroom; hence parents have to stay at the school throughout the two hours, which according to Gerd and Elke creates a sense of community (informal interview 23rd June 2018). During my first visit, I already felt a sense of belonging to a community very soon after I

entered the school. Yet I also felt a sense of openness to other cultures and when I asked Gerd where he feels he belongs he said: ‘I feel European’, which struck me as he speaks English, German, Austrian German, Spanish and Italian. This appeared to be important, particularly considering the school ethos and school policies. This is further reflected on the School’s website which says it celebrates an appreciation for German, Swiss and Austrian culture (German Saturday School North London, 2012). From an informal interview with the school headmistress I learnt, that once a year the school organises a parent meeting in which all parents have the chance to discuss their ideas and suggestions for improving teaching approaches, curriculum and teaching materials (23rd June 2018).

The school offers a big courtyard which students use during their breaks. However, most students spend their breaks with their parents and other friends in the school canteen where a German baker sells authentic German cake (Kuchen), bread, pretzels and other goodies. I too spent a considerable amount of time in the courtyard and the canteen, observing students and socialising with parents and teachers. The classroom where most of my observations took place was in the main building of the school. It was very bright and airy, at the same time quite small. Every morning the teacher and I reorganised the tables in a u-form as she felt it was easier for students to participate in her lessons. Since the rooms are rented, we had to make sure we left the classroom as we found it and put all tables back into place. This was usually a good opportunity for me to socialise with the A-level class teacher and some of the students. The classroom itself did not have any German posters, student work or other decoration that is usually found in a classroom. The school used this room as their science room hence it was decorated with science projects and cut outs from newspapers relating to scientific topics. In addition to the classroom in which my observations took place, I further spent time walking around the school grounds. One of my main participants liked to take a walk in his break and I sometimes joined him on his walk, bumping into fellow students. Overall, working and ‘hanging out’ in multiple places of the school helped me to increase my opportunities for observing students, teachers and parents. The diagram

below is representative of the current background of students attending the German Saturday School.

Backgrounds of Students attending the School (2019)

STUDENTS' BACKGROUNDS

German/British
German
British
Romanian
Bulgarian
Hungarian
Austrian/British
German/South African
German/Italian
German/Indian
German/Japanese
Austrian
US
German/Canadian
German/Irish
British/German
no data

38 26 32 1 1 1 3 1 1 2 2 2 2 1 1 3 5

1

Table 1: Students' Backgrounds

Many students come from German/British, German and British families. The data for this table was produced in November 2018 and handed over to me by the school treasury in January 2019. In what follows, I look at my experiences with recruiting the participants, followed by an introduction of the main participants.

3.5 Participants

This section looks at issues regarding participant recruitment as well as an introduction to the five main participants and their teacher. There were five main participants in the study, each between the ages of 15 and 16 who regularly attended the German Saturday School. The five main participants were chosen according to their varying language abilities (e.g., experiences of speaking a

different language, different languages are spoken) and their agreement to participate in the project. I have further chosen to interview the teacher who also plays a significant participant role. The main participants were identified after I had visited the school in November. I had planned to conduct a language portrait activity with two different classes before I would start my data collection. This I had hoped would allow me to identify students with varying experiences. However, early on in the research process, I learnt that one has to be flexible and adjust the research design according to the communities' needs and wants.

Agar (1996) stresses that in ethnography the researcher must maintain a balance between subjectivity and objectivity to gain an etic (outsider) and emic (insider) perspective. This means, I, as a researcher had to consistently understand my participants from an emic perspective and empathise with their experiences and points of view, yet in terms of my data analysis, I had to take a step back and analyse these experiences from an etic perspective (Bray, 2008). Since with my study I set out to understand the worlds of students in an organic environment like their Saturday school classroom, I made it my goal to adopt an etic and emic perspective. Central to my study was the question of what it means to be a participant at this time and at this particular moment in 'history'. I grounded my study into a sociocultural as well as post-structural approach, hence this question concerned more than the 'now'. In the following sections I show how I recruited my participants and finally introduce the main participants.

3.5.1 Participant Recruitment

The initial aim was to recruit young people who had characteristics which I had hoped would help me to answer my research question. However, my identity, including my interests, has further affected the selection process. Li Wei (2000) reminds us that the researcher's linguistic competence, and attitude towards languages and language learning as well as gender can impact the participant selection process. In scientific research, this is often referred to as purposive sampling (Codo, 2010). Participant recruitment was guided by my judgement as well as by the theoretical approach (see section 3.2) I had decided to use. I

discuss my role as a researcher in section 3.6, yet to make the recruitment process clearer it is important to keep in mind that I am a speaker of German, English, and French. I further studied Italian and Spanish as part of my undergraduate degree hence I have some knowledge in these languages too. At the time of my data collection, I was attending a Dutch course. I used to be a teacher at a German Saturday school in London, and I am a female researcher.

Gobo (2007) reminds us that the term sampling in interpretive research has been debated. Most researchers who draw on qualitative methods claim that research does not need to consider sampling issues as many theoretically important studies in field research (e.g. Goffman, 1966) were based on opportunistic samples (Gobo, 2007). This essentially means that determining a sample that is an exact representative of a given population is not the aim. However, it is further stressed that failure to think about sampling issues and representativeness can impact the quality of the study (Goffman, 1966, Gobo, 2007). For me the term sampling is related to survey research hence I decided to draw on the term participant recruitment.

Participants were recruited according to the following criteria:

1. They were willing to participate in my study (parents, teacher and students).
2. Students had to be between the ages of 15 to 16 years (GCSE and A-level class) – students can be judged competent to understand what is being asked of them. Informed consent was sought of all students and parental consent was sought from all students (BERA, 2018), including those that participated in a language portrait activity.

Bertaux (1981) argues the smallest sample size in qualitative research should be 15 participants. In LE, the studies I have reviewed concerning my topic (e.g. Creese *et al,* 2008, 2011) sample sizes usually varied, depending on the size of the research team, between 12 to 75 participants. Other ethnographic informed case studies in the field of identity construction in complementary schools included much bigger sample sizes and researched two different

settings (Lytra, 2012; Gregory *et al,* 2012). However, other LE studies (e.g., Blackledge & Creese, 2017) focused on a much smaller sample (n=3) hence I conclude there is no prescribed sample size in LE research. It is argued that in the era of big data, especially language research that focuses on translanguaging practices should focus on small groups of people and study these people in depth (Li Wei, 2018). Regarding my research questions, the theoretical underpinnings of this study and the methodological choices (see section 3.3). I argue that focusing on smaller units (in my case n=5 + teacher) enabled me to conduct a meticulous analysis of the language practices of young people attending a German Saturday school and learn more about how they make sense of the world around them. As discussed, these students are representative of students attending a German Saturday school in the UK as well as other English-speaking countries and in what follows I reveal more about the young people.

3.5.2 Introducing the Main Participants

In this section, I introduce the main participants and this information is vital to make sense of the 'story' I tell with my data (Chapter 4). The narrative is constructed through various formal and informal interviews with the young people, their teacher as well as their parents. The five participants in this study all have at least one parent that is German. Except for two girls that are Arabic and were born in Germany. The participants' migration histories and ethnic and linguistic backgrounds across the families showed some variations in the sense that not all of them had an English parent. The young people come from considerably wealthy families and their economic status may be classified as middle-class. They thus participate in educationally privileged communities which affects their day to day lives. Most of the young people nevertheless attend mainstream schools and they appear to have adequate economic opportunities which affects e.g., their holidays and out of school activities. I further introduce the A-level class teacher that was a significant participant too. In what follows I thus describe each of the participants in a way it helps to make sense of the narrative in Chapter 4.

Chris

Chris (15 years old) was born in London, with parents who came to the UK in their twenties. His father is Italian, and his mother is German (from Bavaria). Early on his mother wanted him to be able to speak Italian, German and English. When he was younger his father spoke Italian to him and he would reply in Italian, however as he grew older this changed and he now solely speaks Italian after his Italian out of school club or when the family visits Italy. With his brother he communicates in English, however, his mother still speaks German to him, and he usually replies in German. He is interested in languages and history. He is the youngest of two boys and attends an independent boys' school in North London that focuses on languages. Chris is 15 years of age and next to German, English, and Italian, he studies French, Latin and Ancient Greek at school. The reason for attending the German Saturday school is mainly to study grammar and take his A-level exams. Chris took his AS-Levels and GCSE in German. He is a very lively boy and seems to enjoy his German lessons at school. He appears to be very analytical and a deep thinker. Out of all the participants he seems to be the one who does not mind speaking his mind and who appears to be standing behind his opinion and defends it if needed.

Johanna

Johanna is 15 years of age and was born in London. Her mother is German (from Bavaria) and has lived in the UK for more than 16 years. She was very young when she had Johanna. Her father is English, and she is the first of four children. They mainly speak English at home and her mother thinks they are a typical English family. During the summer they spend two weeks in Germany where all children speak German. Johanna mainly speaks English in class, especially when she communicates with her friends. During lessons, she appears to be reserved and only speaks when she is invited by the teacher to share her opinion with the class. At the time of my research, she felt pressured at school and was thinking about leaving as she felt the level of German that is expected from her does not align with the level of German she knows. Johanna

attends a girls' school in Barnet and until last year she studied French and Spanish at school. However, she dropped these two languages as she decided to take her A-levels in German. Johanna's mother sends her to the school as she wants her to be able to speak German fluently as well as take her GCSEs and A-levels in German.

Anna

Anna is 15 years of age and the first of two sisters. Both parents are German, from Bonn, and have lived in the UK for over 20 years. At home, she speaks German to her mother and English to her father. Her parents decided that they wanted her to be able to speak both languages from birth. With her sister, she communicates mainly in German as she wants them to keep up their German. She attends an Academy in East Finchley that was founded by parents five years ago. It is a public school and Anna does Spanish at school. She has been visiting the German Saturday school since kindergarten. During the summer the family regularly spends four weeks in Germany where they have plenty of German input. The main reason for visiting the school is to study German grammar and to prepare for her A-levels. Going to the German Saturday school on a Saturday morning is part of Anna's routine. She seems very organised and studious. She further seems to feel safe in employing her German in various contexts. One of the main reasons her parents sent her to the German school was to help her with her grammar and writing.

Safya

Safya is 16 years of age and was born in Germany (Munich). She was eight when the family left Germany, and she has been living in London since then. She is the oldest of five siblings and although she thinks it would be great to live in Germany, she very much enjoys living in London. At home, she speaks mainly Arabic, yet also a bit of German. Both parents are from Iraq and they like to use German phrases at home, which they 'brought' back from Munich. The family also listens to German radio. The family moved to the UK because the father had found a job in London. Safya has a German passport, however her siblings, the ones that were born in the UK, all have English passports.

Safya is currently preparing for her A-level exam which she is due to take this summer. During class, she mainly addresses the teacher in English and talks to other classmates in English too. She seems to be a very friendly, hard-working student. She goes to a sixth form school in Barnet and studies French and Spanish at school.

Jamila

Jamila is 18 months younger than her sister and is also preparing for her A-level exams at the Saturday school. She thinks in Arabic and English and communicates in English with her sister and her classmates. Other than her sister, she feels in Arabic and likes to listen to Arabic, Spanish, French and French music. She also studies Spanish and French at school. She speaks with an Iraqi dialect and her parents are originally from Iraq. During her summer holidays, she spends time in Iran. Jamila seems very open in lessons and makes the class laugh with her funny comments or questions regularly. She started attending the Saturday School in 2010, just after the family arrived in the UK. She is very friendly and kind. Jamila visits the same school as her sister and loves her life in London.

Mrs Bauer

Mrs Bauer was born in East Germany, in a region called Thuringia and has lived in the UK for more than 25 years. She has been teaching at the Saturday school for over 13 years and has been teaching Anna, Chris, and Johanna in Year 4 and Year 5. She works part-time as a German teacher at a school in Edmonton. She also works as a private German tutor mainly in North London where she focuses mainly on GCSE and A-level preparation. In an interview, she revealed that she could not imagine a life without the Saturday school. Her daughter has recently started to work as a teaching assistant in one of the younger classes. Mrs. Bauer is married to an English man and they speak mainly English at home hence she is open to use both languages in the classroom. She is a very friendly and laid-back teacher, who does not fear to ask students for help, especially when it comes to pronouncing words correctly 'man lernt nie aus' (learning never stops). Her relationship to students seems

informal as they are allowed to address her with ‘Du’ (informal you) which is unusual in German schools. In what follows I discuss my role as a researcher in the project.

3.6 Role as Researcher

Before I started my research and throughout the data collection process I had to reflect on several aspects of my complex identity and be aware of how these subjectivities impacted my research. Especially, in postmodern ethnography, it is vital to make visible the power relations in the field, as well as the relationships between participants and the researcher as these factors, impinge on the data in terms of how it is interpreted and conveyed into writing (representation) (Brewer, 2020).

I view the process of reflexivity as connecting my interpretations with the process by which these are expressed in my writing (Brewer, 2002). Reflexivity thus involves reflecting on the social processes that affect and influence the data that is being collected (Brewer, 2002). I understand myself as being part of the story and hence my subjectivities and how I related to participants as well as my data impacted my interpretations and respectively shape the story I tell with my data (Geertz, 1988). Creese *et al,* (2009) similarly stress the need to make visible the multiple subjectivities of the researcher that shape data collection, analysis and the narrative that is created with the data, especially in research on linguistically and culturally diverse classrooms.

The research site itself (as introduced in section 3.4) and the classroom have already been ‘complex’ whereby different dialects (High German, Thuringia Dialect, and Bavarian German), different language varieties (British English, American English), as well as different languages (English, German), were spoken. However, adding to this throughout the entire fieldwork, Swiss German and Austrian German were frequently spoken. I conducted my interviews with parents in standard High German, however, English was further used at times. With students, I conducted my interviews in a mix of English and standard High German, whereby we shifted between these languages organically. Adding to this we used a variety of chunks from other languages, varieties, and dialects

when we talked about students' language portraits. Around the school I used mostly standard High German, drawing on different discourses of spoken German e.g. formal depending on the situation. Early into my research, I was positioned as a researcher in the A-level class. This at times changed, but I felt that Mrs Bauer saw me more like a teacher in that way than as a student, as she asked questions, whenever she felt she didn't know the answer. I thus moved in and out of different identity aspects depending on the activity.

During the language portrait activity, for instance, I used different chunks from languages I had come across throughout my life (e.g., Arabic, Japanese, Polish, Dutch, Italian, French, Russian, secret school language). Through this I felt that I positioned myself as a citizen of the world who takes an interest in a variety of languages and helped students to get in touch with various aspects of their linguistic identities. I further managed to relate to the individual student on a more personal level regarding an identity aspect they would usually not show in class. For instance, with Anna, I was able to talk about the Netherlands and my Dutch knowledge, as I have started to learn Dutch. With Chris on the other hand, I talked about Italian and shared some of the Italian phrases I remembered from studying Italian at university. I could further make a joke, which my brother, who is fluent in Italian would usually make. With Jamila and Safya, I was able to share my Arabic knowledge, although it is very little, the two words 'mashallah' and 'inshallah' were brought up and the girls explained to me what they mean.

In my initial interactions with students, I was reluctant to use English, which I understand as my fear of not conforming to the schools' ethos where German should be the language of choice. However, throughout my fieldwork, I discovered that teachers, parents, and students used English as a common means of interaction hence I started to use more English too. This, I felt, made students more open to my presence. Although I am a speaker of different German dialects, I opted for using High German as this is the German, I speak with most of my students and their parents (private tutoring). Coming from Thuringia, I picked up on the dialect Mrs Bauer spoke and this was something that brought us together, as I was born in the city, she grew up in. In the second

week of my research, I had thus already formed a relationship with the teacher as we had something in common.

My relationship with parents was constructed through some identity aspects. First and foremost, we had in common that we all left Germany and started a new life in the UK. It did not matter which part of Germany we were from, and I was approached by all parents in German. Some of the parents further viewed me as a teacher of German as the headmistress had mentioned this as she introduced me to the community. Since the parents were not the focus of my study, my relationship with them went from being a researcher, to be a member of the community. They were very welcoming, and especially the mothers cared for my well-being. My positionality in the field was thus constructed through Germanness and Europeanness as well as Englishness in my presentation of the Self (Goffman, 1990).

Throughout my interviews, I ensured that I did not impose a particular language on participants and let them negotiate which language they wanted to draw on. Rampton (1995) reminds us that to open space for code-switching or language crossing the interaction can be eased and it is further important for its analysis. However, I took this further and in line with my desire to access students' translanguaging spaces I encouraged students to draw on their OLR and refer to this translanguaging (Li Wei, 2011). This was particularly useful during the language portrait activity and the follow-up interviews. I did this by drawing on chunks of language, language varieties and dialects I had learnt throughout my life e.g. Italian, French, Arabic, Australian English, Swiss German, Turkish German, Berlin dialect. Through this, I felt students were more open about their OLRs which created a level of trust to fully open up about their experiences. Although I was a researcher at this time, I further negotiated the role of a language learner myself, as while I was, for instance, speaking Italian, I checked with one student of Italian German origin whether I had pronounced it correctly. Throughout the entire interview process, I ensured students would feel safe to share their stories with me by sharing a story about my experience first. This, I felt, created a level of trust. During the interviews with parents and teachers, I employed code-switching (English and German) when necessary. I now move on and look at participant-observations in more detail.

My role as a participant-observer involved getting close to students and making them feel at ease with my presence which enabled me to record information about their identities and language practices (Bernhard, 2006). Throughout my fieldwork, I acquired an in-depth understanding of the classroom culture as well as the relationships among students (Geertz, 2009). This, however, does not imply my role as a researcher included participating as a student. A challenge was to focus on five students (A-level class) at the same time. However, since lessons were mainly set up in a way that one student would address the teacher at a time, it helped me to focus on the student that interacted with the teacher. However, I found it challenging to record, for instance, private conversations that happened between students and I had to choose as to which moment to pay attention to. I had to make decisions based on the particular moment in time, that I could not plan. I did this by reminding myself of my research focus and decided accordingly. I tried to jot down as much information as possible during lessons, however, at times I felt this was not appropriate, especially when I was sat next to a student. In this instance, I wrote my notes in a nearby coffee shop after I had left the research site.

Since my data collection took place on a Saturday, I could return to the academic environment and regain a sense of perspective and further reflect on my emotional involvement with students. Through this shift from practice to theory I was able to reflect upon my observations from an objective angle by bearing in mind my subjectivities (Clifford, Marcus & Fortun, 2010). This was particularly useful as it helped me to look at students as well as the setting with a fresh eye and focus on changes (Clifford, Marcus & Fortun, 2010) in, for instance, students' language use or teachers' interactions with students. An example would be the changes in the classroom dynamics I had observed after the language portrait activity in terms of the young people's language use. Further, these observations were useful to cross-check other data e.g. interview data to gain a greater understanding of, for instance, the organic repertoires students drew on during classroom interactions and these are related to their complex identities. It is argued that the observer can either have a positive or negative impact upon the observed and it is of value to adjust clothing and appearance in line with the context in which the observation takes

place (Robson, 2002). Being as I am very sensitive to others' needs, I ensured to give students and teachers enough space, so I would not come across as intrusive.

This was one of the 'grand challenges' of my fieldwork as especially in the first weeks I felt as if I was intruding on the community, hence I kept myself in the background which was at the time the only possible solution I had. However, after a couple of Saturdays, I warmed up with parents, students, and teachers and felt more at ease to immerse myself in the setting by keeping a healthy distance. I did this by setting a goal e.g. to talk to two students today, talk to a teacher every Saturday morning, which helped me to push myself and further practice my listening as well as informal interview skills. I started with students and parents who were not part of my study. Furthermore, especially within the first few weeks of my data collection, I had to practice to confidently talk about my study in a manner that was understandable by a lay audience, always prepared to defend my approach. I practiced this with my friends who had already finished their PhDs.

Finally, throughout my fieldwork, that spanned six months, my experiences of gaining access to information involved a process that Wax (1971) describes as role-playing in the field which derives from a post-structural perspective. Hence different roles grant access to different kinds of information (Wax, 1971). Adding to the various roles I negotiated during my data collection (see section 3.6) I was further a member of the Saturday school community in more general as I had worked as a teacher in a similar setting in West London. As I knew the chair of the association of German Saturday schools and had spoken to her before I started my data collection, I was aware of the various instances I had to talk to, to gain access to information. In what follows I look at the process of negotiating access.

3.7 Negotiating Access

In this section, I look at how I negotiated and gained access to the school and the participants. The relationships I established within the field defined my experiences with research participants which means, I was defined by first the

gatekeepers and on a smaller level by my participants in terms of identity 'categories' that are meaningful to them (Marcus, 1998). Hence, in the initial phases of my research, I was at the mercy of my gatekeepers as they defined the terms on which I was able to collect my data (Marcus, 1998). I reflect on this in more detail in Chapter 4.

Given this, I understand access as a process which, to use Glesne and Peshkin's (1999) words;

> *'refers to your acquisition of consent to go where you want, observe what you want, talk to whomever you want, obtain and read whatever documents you require, and do all of this for whatever period of time you need to satisfy your research purposes (p. 33).'*

Gobo (2008) foregrounds the difficulties ethnographic researcher may encounter when trying to gain access and he classifies this phase of research as the most difficult time of the ethnographic process. Luckily, I had no problems gaining access as the teacher was very accommodating to my research needs and the young people showed a willingness to participate in my study and were very open.

I had been in touch with Marie, one of the school coordinators, since the end of 2015 and because I felt my research idea was not solid enough to visit the school I waited until June 2018 to arrange a visit. For me, it was important that I had a clear research question in mind and that I knew exactly what I wanted to find and how I wanted to go about it. My first visit to the school went very well and everyone I had spoken to was very welcoming and interested in my study. The organising committee (one person) took an hour to speak to me and I was invited to their summer party two weeks after my initial visit. So far so good.

In line with the ethical requirements, before I began my data collection, I sought consent from the School's headmistress who introduced me to all parents. In September 2018 I attended a conference in Cambridge where I met the GCSE

classes teacher, Mrs Schmidt (although at that time, I was unaware of who she was and her role in the School). During a visit to the School in November 2018, I was introduced to her and we both recognised each other, and she, Mrs Schmidt, welcomed me to collect my data in her class. On the same day, I was also introduced to Mrs Bauer (the A-level class teacher) who also welcomed me to collect data in her class. My previous experience of both working in a German Saturday school and working with German-speaking parents in London helped me to gain parents' trust and they openly shared their experiences with me. Moreover, my research topic sparked their interest which in turn helped me to gain access to potential participants, in this case, their children. At the beginning of November 2018, I left leaflets outlining my study for a lay audience, with both the GCSE class as well as with the A-level class teacher.

In January 2019, I devoted the first day to seeking consent from parents, both teachers as well as the main participants. On this day I further learnt that most students attending the GCSE class were younger than 15 years, and I decided to focus on the A-level class instead, as most students were older than 15 years of age. I started my recruitment with a class announcement and all students aged 15 or over, willingly joined my research. Some appeared to be disappointed not to be able to participate, yet I reassured them that they would be able to join the language portrait activity. Throughout my fieldwork, Mrs Bauer was very welcoming, and the students appeared to be very friendly too. I reassured Mrs Bauer on several instances that she was not the focus of my study as I had the feeling she was trying to impress me at times or prove her teaching strategy to me. This I felt made my participation in the lesson much more natural and after a few weeks in the setting, everyone became used to my presence. The young people openly shared their writings with me and were further very welcoming in answering questions. On 2nd March 2019, the teacher allocated 30 minutes of her lesson time for me to conduct the language portrait activity with the whole class. Overall, I did not encounter any obstacles during the process of negotiating access. In the following section I outline the studies data collection methods.

3.8 Methods of Data Collection

The purpose of this section is to outline the choices I had made regarding the research methods that would be most appropriate to investigate students' situated language practices and respectively help to answer my research questions. Since I foreground the ethnographic aspect of this study to obtain an emic perspective of students' complex linguistic identities, I opted for data collection methods that would help me to understand how students perceive, make sense of and react to the increasingly diverse linguistic landscape in which they are 'moving' (Copland, 2018). I do this by investigating the function of students' OLR in the process of how they build a sense of personal biography, and following Blommaert and Backus (2013), I argue that these are best determined ethnographically. I start this section by presenting a summary of the data collection methods from which I then move on to talk about each method in detail.

3.8.1 Summary of Data Collection Methods

Main Research Question: What kind of linguistic identities do young people attending a German Saturday school construct or negotiate?

To answer my research question, I employed the following Data collection and data analysis methods. In the following section 3.10, I outline the data analysis process in more detail and further present the elements that my data corpus consists of.

Research Question	Method	Data Source	Data Analysis	Purpose
What role does the German Saturday School play in these constructions?	Participant-Observations (lesson, break-time)- and fieldnotes	Texts of fieldnotes	Post-structural Thematic Discourse Analysis	To identify the ways in which school ideologies impact upon students' linguistic identities
What role(s) do organic linguistic repertoires play in these constructions? What kind of languages, styles, accents, registers, linguistic and multimodal practices are involved?	Language Portraits Participant-observations (lesson, break-time)-fieldnotes	Students' language portraits Transcripts of audio-recordings Texts of fieldnotes	Post-structural Thematic Discourse Analysis Post-structural Thematic Discourse Analysis	a) To access students' translanguaging space b) To identify aspects of students' organic linguistic repertoires exemplifying certain linguistic identity aspects c) To identify socio-historical processes that shape these constructions
How can we understand students' identity construction through organic linguistic repertoires?	Language Portrait + semi-structured interviews (audio recordings, fieldnotes) Informal interviews (members-check)	Students' language portraits Transcripts of audio recordings Text of fieldnotes	Post-structural Thematic Discourse Analysis	a) To summarise themes which may indicate the ways in which organic linguistic repertoires influence students' identity construction b) To summarise themes indicating 'pedagogical' preferences in teachers, which may impact on students' linguistic identity construction

Table 2 : Data collection Methods

3.8.2 Participant Observations (Classroom)

To generate data about the role the German Saturday school plays in young people's lives, how it affects who they are and how they use language, I observed participants and their natural language use. Using this method helped me to further investigate students' language use during classroom interactions. Participant observations are central to ethnographic research (Werner & Schoepfle, 1989) whereby ethnographers are both observers of human activity and the setting in which the activity takes place (Angrosino, 2011).

Following Bernhard (2011) I view participant observations as the act of the researcher to go out into the field, stay there and experience the life of people that are studied. It is about 'stalking culture in the wild – establishing rapport and learning to act so that people go about their business as usual when you show up' (p. 258). Central to this is that researchers immerse themselves in the culture, yet at the same time remove themselves from it to think about what has been observed, put it into perspective and then write about it adequately (Bernhard, 2011). This I had hoped would help me to keep an etic and emic perspective. The process takes practice and I started to practice this on my first visit and my second visit in November 2018. Below is a timeline of the research process including the most important milestones.

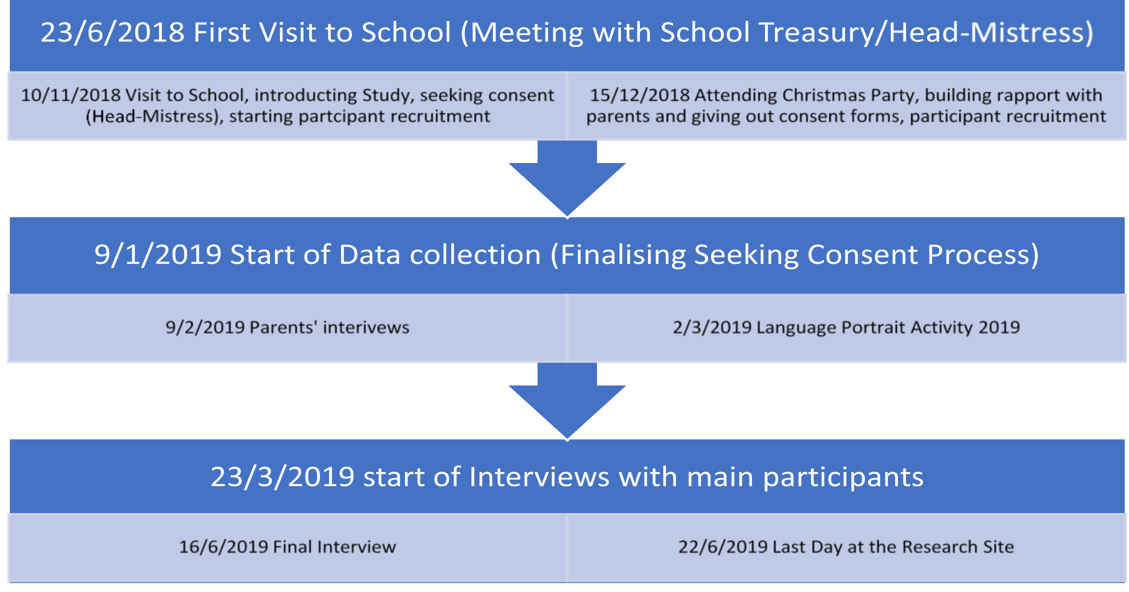

Figure 1: Research Timeline

In ethnographic research, researchers employ observations to make sense of the complexity of social life by trying to keep an open mind about occurrences and as argued before, to see actions – in my case language practices in natural settings. Every Saturday, before entering the school, I looked at open questions from the previous week and identified what I wanted to focus on. However, since my observations were unstructured, I also kept an open mind and tried to take in as much as I could to be able to draw a clearer picture. My main goal was to a) learn about how the young people want to be seen b) identify the role the German Saturday School plays in the way they create a sense of personal biography.

Hymes (1980), cited in Copland and Creese (2015), emphasises that we as researchers enter the field with prior views on what might be important and significant. I was aware of the data that I collected through observations to possess meanings that I had identified, and my subjectivities would always be part of this process (Angrosino, 2011).

In the following table (see next page), I present my prior thoughts about what to focus on. However, my observations were not just restricted to this plan.

Category	Student-teacher	Student-student
Language shifts	• Formal/ Informal • English/German/French • Registers • Styles • Accents	• Formal/Informal • English/German/French • Registers (e.g., slang) • Styles (popular culture e.g., rap music) • Accents (e.g., Swiss-German, American English)
Identity negotiation	• Which linguistic aspects become salient? • Different from student - student talk?	• How do students' identities change? • Which aspects?
Power	• Does the teacher exercise power? • In terms of language shifts, are certain 'languages' more valued than others? • Does the teacher allow students to creatively use their linguistic repertoires during interactions to create meaning?	• Do students resist power? • Deliberate use of different styles to create meaning that teacher does not understand? • Shift back to standard language when teacher observes students or interacts with students
Focus	Peer Interactions	
Language Shifts	• Slang words e.g. rap music (either English or German, or French) – innit, savage, Alter..	
Identity Negotiation	• Which identity aspects become salient during break time	
Power	• Parents/teachers • Other students??	

Table 3 : Plan for the focus of classroom observations

During these observational episodes, I particularly focused on aspects like language shifts or the communicative resources students use. My observations were recorded in the form of written fieldnotes (written at the time of observing and, where necessary, after the observation event). The observations particularly focused on the five key participants and their interactions with other students and their teacher. They were deliberately informal and interactive (i.e. I interacted with students as part of the observation activity, taking a fuller participant role). At times I participated in the class by making eye contact or contributing to the lesson. I further showed participation by nodding or laughing. I felt that these gestures positively impacted my role as a participant-observer. This method

aimed to gain a clearer picture of who the young people are and how this relates to their means of communication. However, it was particularly challenging to interact with students during lessons as I did not want to disturb the teacher. I tried to be as mindful about this as possible in terms of not coming across as an intruder. Luckily the teacher was very open about my study and therefore involved me in her lessons as much as possible. I observed 30 lessons in total and three out of school functioning, yielding fieldnotes of 30,444 words in total (see Table 6). One lesson equals one hour of teaching. In what follows I outline the process of writing fieldnotes and what fieldnotes mean in the context of my study.

Writing Fieldnotes

According to Geertz (1988) in ethnographic studies, researchers are more than 'just' fieldworkers *per se* as once the writing-up process starts, they become authors constructing their own writer identity. Geertz (1988) uses the metaphor 'signature' which depicts the authors' presence within a text. Another way of looking at the voice in ethnographic writing could be that of an impressionist tale. I can identify with Van Maanen's (2011) idea of impressionist tales and Geertz's (1988) signature most and regarding my study, I understand both terms as follows: I aimed to reconstruct the tale of my fieldwork experiences through meticulous descriptions of details necessary for the reader to dive into the story of five protagonists and what identity may mean to them at a particular time within a specific context. I did this by using specific vocabulary, rhetoric, a pattern of argument (Geertz, 1988, p. 9) in a way that is connected to my own identity and portrays my thoughts. I included words, narratives, and fieldwork experiences to recreate the full story and I aimed to maintain the authenticity of the culture i.e. a German Saturday school (Geertz, 1988), yet above all, I aimed to 'preserve' participants' voices. This I felt would help me to tackle the crisis of representation, that is a major construct in ethnographic research (e.g., Geertz, 2000), which I achieved through using my full linguistic repertoire, including everything I have learnt in the past 12 years in the UK

Geertz (2009) further argues that fieldnotes are a form of representation of social discourses through which the ethnographer 'turns it from a passing event, which exists only in its moment of occurrence, into an account, which exists in its inscription and can be re-consulted' (p. 19). Through writing fieldnotes

ethnographic observations accomplish the documentation of what on the one hand appears to be important to participants, and on the other hand helps researchers to describe their feelings, emotions, and beliefs (Copland & Creese, 2015). I am aware that other researchers e.g. Delamont (2002) classify fieldnotes as somewhat unsuitable for outsiders as they are incomplete, private writings. There are different kinds of fieldnotes, reaching from notes taken within the field to more personal, somewhat 'auto-ethnographic' notes, that are more reflective and personal. My writings in the field were a combination of all of these. I took fieldnotes as thoughts emerged within the field, or straight after the observation, as in certain situations it appeared inappropriate to take notes. From there I worked with different colours for reflective notes and notes about the research site. These notes were a mixture of German and English depending on the context as well as my emotions and feelings. This is in line with more recent views on ethnographies to offer an account of multiple, often contradicting voices by placing the researchers own interactions and emotional state at the heart of the study (Angorsino, 2011).

O'Reilly (2009) argues it is very important to write down first impressions of the field during the first visit. Hence, long before I started my data collection, I practiced taking fieldnotes by focusing on the way classrooms were organised, how students interacted with one another, the way the teacher addressed students and the relationships students had with each other as well as the teacher. I took fieldnotes over the 26 weeks I spent in the field. Early in my research, I was aware that focusing too much on writing fieldnotes would impact my fieldwork, as Jackson (1990) reminds us. Hence, I adopted a view on fieldnotes that was informed by Van Maanen (2011) who stresses the supportive nature of fieldnotes in terms of 'working out understandings' (p. 117), however, the thinking that needs to be done to arrive at such understandings will most likely not be found in 'daily' records. As in life, if we have too many facts or too much detail, we may fail to pay attention to deeper meanings and understandings of a situation (Emerson, Rachel & Shaw, 2009). Nevertheless, it is important to take notes while in the field because they are valuable in so far as they can help the reader to make links between the data and the argument hence it is vital to include them into the final piece (Copland & Creese, 2015).

Throughout my fieldwork, I became more experienced in taking notes and developed a strategy to get the most out of my observation. I started using prompts, or certain keywords that I had identified in the previous weeks. I further prioritised focusing on questions that emerged from previous observations and focused in more depth on interactions that would help me to find answers to those questions. Every Saturday before I entered the research site, I put post-it notes in my observation journal including foci points of the day ahead. Fortunately, during each lesson, I was seated at the same table that I had picked on my first day – in the righthand corner of the class, facing all students and the teacher.

My fieldnotes were taken in both German and English. Since I focused on students' language practices, I presented their voice in my fieldnotes. At times they had a mixture of German and English, or even used different accents, which I tried to capture in my fieldnotes. The descriptive notes about the setting or classroom happenings I took mainly in English, as this is the language that came most naturally. However, I also took some notes in German, usually when I wanted to capture something about a situation that I wanted to keep alive by maintaining its meaning. All notes directly relating to students' lessons were taken while I was at the school. Initially, I had thought this would cause problems, and I tried to make it less obvious, but as students got used to me, it seemed natural for me to take notes. I have reflected on this in section 3.6. I usually finished my notes in a nearby coffee shop where I had lunch after school had finished. I further used Saturday afternoon and Sunday morning to type my fieldnotes into a word document which for me was a good way to familiarise myself with the data and get an idea about my analysis. For a detailed example of the fieldnotes I had taken, please refer to Appendix C. I now move on and look at language portraits in greater detail.

3.8.3 Language Portraits (Sprachenportraits)

Language portraits are an altered version of psychological drawing tasks, in which a silhouette of a person is placed in front of students, and they are asked to colour in the silhouette picking one colour for each language they speak (Krumm, 2001). The method was used to generate data in answer to my research questions about the role students' languages play in the ways they construct and negotiate their identities, for instance, styles, language varieties or registers

students draw on, and how these can affect who they may be in this particular setting. The method is broadly understood as a ‘graphic visualisation’ tool where students can create visual pictures that relate to their language learning experiences whilst at the same time narrating these to the researcher. They have been used for over 25 years in schools and other educational organisations with their main aim to help students to reflect on language processes and further promote multilingualism across classrooms (Busch, 2018). Language portraits (see Figure 2) stimulate individuals to reflect upon their feelings and emotions concerning their linguistic repertoires by giving them a familiar task (colouring in).

Figure 2: My Language Portrait (Sprachenportait)

This method is particularly suited to research that investigates the diversity of linguistic repertoires (OLR) by taking on a view on these resources as reaching beyond ‘discursively produced categories and dichotomies, such as those between first and second language, or original and target language’ (Busch, 2018, p. 11) as well as minority or majority language. Similarly, Krumm (2009; 2010) stresses the potential of ‘Sprachenportraits’ as a starting point to investigate the language biographies of migrants and respectively the construction of their identities.

Busch (2017) argues that speakers do not realise they existence of their linguistic repertoire until they are made aware that others might perceive them as ‘speaking another language/language variety/accent/dialect’ as they may not be used in

their everyday lives. The focus here is on how the young people experience the 'named categories' or some of the made-up languages in terms of creating a bond or sense of belonging- Spracherleben (Busch, 2017). The focus is thus not on how many different languages one may speak, or how proficient one may be in these languages, it is rather about how different aspects construct belonging or difference.

I employed language portraits because I wanted to a) understand students' OLRs (how are they constructed?) styles, registers, and linguistic resources – learn about the wider socio-political influences (e.g. living in Britain, influences of family, school, popular culture) and b) explore students' identity construction in relation to their OLRs. As already mentioned, previous research has argued that language portraits stimulate individuals to reflect upon their feelings and emotions concerning their language repertoires which allows for developing a holistic view on their OLR and respectively their complex linguistic identities (e.g. Krumm, 2009; 2010, Busch, 2018; Seals, 2017).

Participants were asked to explore their linguistic repertoire which I explained on my own language portrait. I asked them to include the languages, accents, language varieties or any other means of communication and expression they may use. I left it to the participants to define what is considered as a 'language' and how different linguistic resources may be related (Busch, 2012). Through this, terms such as 'secret language' were included into the language portrait by some of the young people. The picture as a whole portrays different language practices, resources and attitudes.

However, through my own language portrait (see Figure 2), I felt that I promoted a view on languages as discrete entities and it would have been more helpful to emphasise that although different colours are useful to show the various aspects of one's linguistic repertoire, the focus here should be more on the young people's view on how their linguistic resources might be related, how this affects their communication and how they may feel about this. Foregrounding the organic nature of their repertoire where all parts are somehow interconnected making it into a whole 'piece of artwork' and somehow brining the portrait to live. This supports the fluid nature of languages that come together in a way they form a process as opposed to something static. Through LPW the complexity of young

people's emotions towards the languages they speak/know, yet further their culture in general may be accessed. Swain (2013) and Pavlenko (2015) foregrounds the often overlooked emotional and bodily dimensions of language and language learning.

During the activity, I walked around the classroom and talked to each student individually. I learnt a lot of interesting facts about their biographies and further observed students opening-up to their friends about their OLRs. I had hoped to stimulate language alternation by choosing topics that connect with the use of specific languages spoken by the young people, e.g. memories of activities, or a previous life in another country (e.g., Germany, Switzerland, Austria) or stories from their childhood (Codo, 2010) which students shared with me freely – see language portrait prompts as will be discussed in the following section (semi-structured interviews).

At the start of the research, I worked with some existing university students to pilot this method as well as some of my private German lesson students in London early in 2018 and during a final, more advanced piloting session in 2019, I had learnt that reducing instructions to colour in the silhouette by using different colours for different languages would narrow the scope of the produced data. Busch (2018) argues that we must be careful how we frame the invitation to produce language portraits and be mindful about prompts that link different colours to specific languages as these could result in an 'undesired reduction of complexity' (p. 7), which she directly linked to epistemological and theoretical understandings of language e.g., structuralism (bounded-systems) or ideological ideas about language and state and students' own language experiences (e.g. symbolic power). Since my research focus is on the complexity of students' identities concerning their OLRs, this was something I had to be mindful about. However, during the activity it was incredibly challenging to achieve this, as students automatically used different colours for different languages, and I will return to this in Findings, Chapter 4.

Every student reacted to the activity differently and every participant created their own meaning through the activity. I collected nine language portraits in total, five from the main participants and three from students that were old enough to participate in the activity and of whom I had sought informed consent beforehand.

I further collected one language portrait from the A-level class teacher. I return to this in Chapter 4. I now move on to talk about how I approached semi-structured interviews during my research.

3.8.4 Semi-structured Interviews

In linguistic ethnography, semi-structured interviews are especially popular amongst researchers who work with young people as their nature gives the conversation a structure, y*et al*so allows for a natural flow (Copland, Creese, Rock & Shaw, 2015). It helps the conversation to evolve naturally because the researcher does not stick to a strict interview schedule but to some interview prompts (related to general topics of investigation) that guide them through the process (Copland, Creese, Rock & Shaw, 2015). To me, it was important that the conversation evolved organically hence although I had some questions in mind, I followed the natural flow of the conversation in terms of finding answers to these questions. In fact, from former research (Grosse, 2011; 2015) I had learnt that semi-structured interviews make the 'interview' situation more natural hence the interviewee does not feel pressured to answer all questions and is more at ease with the process itself. Codo (2010) similarly stresses the importance of making individuals feel comfortable and able to talk openly about their views which can be achieved through semi-structured interviews in which the interviewee should be encouraged to draw on their full linguistic repertoire (Copland, Creese, Rock & Shaw, 2015).

This method was employed on several occasions across the research (see Table 4). The formal interviews took place between March 2019 and May 2019 during the young people's break with most interviews lasting into the second half of their school day. I used the computer room that was located on the same floor as the A-level classroom making it easily accessible. I conducted the parents' interviews in the school canteen on a day when the main participants were sitting a mock exam (9th February 2019). Informal interviews were employed throughout the study between January 2019 and June 2019. Table 4 below shows the frequency of my interviews with the participants, the teacher and the parents.

Interviewee	Semi-structured recorded (1 x)	Informal interviews (members check)

Mr M	✓	✓ (1)
Mrs R	✓	
Mrs T	✓	
Mrs B (teacher)	✓	✓(4)
Anna	✓	✓ (5)
Safya +Jamila	✓	✓ (2)
Safya		✓ (3)
Jamila		✓ (2)
Chris	✓	✓ (4)
Johanna	✓	✓ (4)
Other students/parents		✓ (11)

Table 4: Total Interview Data

The interview talk aimed to gain a deeper understanding of students' linguistic repertoires by having a conversation with them and provoking more spontaneous talk. I chose to draw on semi-structured interviews to a) supplement the 'construction' of language portraits, b) stimulate students' spontaneous talk to collect natural speech data c) understand the young people's OLRs d) establish links to their complex identities and e) they served as formal member's checks to validate my interpretations. Semi-structured interviews were also undertaken with one language teacher in the school (e.g. asking about her perceptions of language use and the role of complementary schools in language learning) and parents of five the main participants (e.g. asking about their reasons for choosing a complementary Saturday school and how they communicate with their children at home). I will elaborate on this in more detail later.

By drawing on semi-structured interviews in conjunction with language portraits I had hoped to access the young people's realities and understand which meanings they attach to certain linguistic practices. In other words, I wanted to make sense of the everyday experiences and meanings of the lived world of subjects (Kvale, 2007). I further understand semi-structured interviews as co-constructed dialogue (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2014; Holland & Edwards, 2013) between the participants and myself. Accordingly, I do not assume that I am a neutral interviewer that simply collects information (Freeman, 1998) as I understand semi-structured interviews are equal to a conversation rather than a

standard interview. This is in line with the ontological and epistemological stances of this study in which I view reality as a social construct, hence the knowledge I gained through semi-structured interviews is subjective and bound to the context in which the interviews took place i.e., a German Saturday school in North London. Accordingly, there is no external 'truth' for me to be found as my participants' opinions and knowledge are constructed during a so-called 'situated communicate event' (Codo, 2010, p. 162), which is the interview.

Before conducting my interviews, I created a loosely structured interview guide that included topics that I wanted to investigate (e.g., instructions regarding language portraits, language use, language repertoires) and I ensured that the questions to all participants were asked in similar order and format. Prompts were formulated in German and English so that the young people could use the language they felt most comfortable with at the time. Prompts were further informed by Busch's (2016; 2018) research with language portraits. The guides included questions like the following:

Whole class interview prompts:

'How do you use languages in different environments?'

'Where would you locate these on your silhouette?'

'Tell me a bit about your language use when you are with your family and friends.'

I also used semi-structured interviews to follow up on my initial language portrait analysis. These interviews took place after students' Easter half-term break 2019 into May 2019 and were partly guided by the following questions.

Main participants interview prompts:

'How did you feel after the language portrait activity? Did it change anything e.g. how you view the languages you know? Did you perhaps learn that you know more than you thought you would?'

'You said you think in Arabic. Tell me more about this. In which situations?'

‘You coloured your heart blue (German) does this mean you love Germany, or you feel in German e.g., you express emotions in German?’

‘Your heart is purple (Arabic), does this imply you feel in Arabic or you love Arabic?’

‘You speak Arabic (Iraqi dialect) how do you feel about the Iraqi dialect?’

I further employed semi-structured interviews as formal member’s checks in which I shared a brief summary of my findings with the young people to ensure my interpretations align with the students’ experiences. This method is common amongst linguistic ethnographic researchers (e.g., Gregory *et al,* 2013; Lytra, 2010; 2011; Lytra, Volk & Gregory, 2016). Albeit researchers commonly draw on semi-structured interviews to cross-check observation data, I further employed these to check whether my interpretations of students’ language portraits regarding their OLRs and complex linguistic identities aligned with their ‘realities’. As I have argued in section 3.2 students’ complex identities are not something I could objectively discover as they were constructed within situated language practices and me as a researcher played a part in these constructions (Hammersley, 2008).

Each interview was recorded on a digital voice recorder and fully transcribed and analysed in a more formal manner. I return to this in section 3.9.2 and in the following sub-section I present my data corpus that formed the foundation for my data analysis and interpretation.

3.8.5 Data Corpus

Employing the outlined methods of data collection yielded a variety of data. My data corpus was thus comprised of the following items that were included in my analysis, which I discuss in the following section (3.9).

- Transcripts of semi-structured interviews with students (2)
- Transcripts of semi-structured interviews (5)
- Transcripts of informal interviews with parents and teachers (7)
- Fieldnotes from classroom observations (30)

- Language portraits of key participants (5)
- Language Portraits of other participants (4)
- Transcripts of follow up interviews with key participants (5)
- Fieldnotes transcripts from informal interviews with key participants (6)
- Fieldnotes transcripts from formal functions (Carnival, Easter and Parents meeting) (3)

Activity	Number	Words
Lessons observed	**30**	
School functioning's observed	3	
Language portraits	10	
Parents' interviews	5	
Teacher interviews	1	
Interviews with key participants	5	
Email responses	6	
Fieldnote transcripts	33	30,444
Fieldnote transcripts informal interviews with key participants	6	
Transcripts informal interviews with teacher/parents	7	

Table 5: Data Corpus

3.9 Methods of Data Analysis and Interpretation

3.9.1 Introduction

The purpose of this section is to outline the data analysis and interpretation process in detail. To capture the complexity of the collected data, I decided to draw on a somewhat diverse approach in choosing analytical tools for this study. Given the nature of the variety of research traditions that inform LE, which I outlined in section 3.3.1, finding an analytical tool was challenging as each perspective prioritises certain analytical tools over others. I had to find a tool that would help me to a) capture the emic and etic perspective I intended to adopt b) apply to the translanguaging practices/moments across the classes, and c) would be relevant to analyse identity in terms of complexity and organic linguistic repertoires. For me combining elements of thematic analysis with elements of post-structural discourse analysis appeared to be most appropriate to reach my goal. In addition to my research question and sub-questions, the following two questions guided the analytical process: 1) What is going on here? and 2) How do you know that? (Copland, Creese, Rock & Shaw, 2015). In the following two sections I outline the data analysis process concerning my analytical tools and explain how two simple questions turned out to be rather demanding, yet very helpful throughout the process. Both questions helped me to investigate my

datasets (e.g. language portraits, transcripts of semi-structured interviews, fieldnotes). As I have discussed in section 3.3.1 linguistic data is often viewed as empirical accurate and somewhat logic, whereas ethnographic data is perceived as messy and by asking these two questions I could see beyond the linguistic structures of what has been said and dig deeper into what this means to the young people of my study.

In qualitative research, the very meaning of the term 'analysis' is contested amongst scholars (Coffey & Atkinson, 1996). Data analysis and data collection are an ongoing process (Merriam, 1997) and a reflexive activity (Coffey & Atkinson, 1996). Since no institution exists in a vacuum (Freeman, 1998), my analysis of the construction of students' complex linguistic identities attending a German Saturday school included an understanding of the larger socio-political context that I had to carefully include in my data analysis. It is important to outline the process of data analysis because I as researcher played an active role in first identifying themes/patterns, and secondly selecting themes that are of interest (Taylor & Ussher, 2001 cited in Brown & Clark, 2006). Moreover, concerning the ethnographic aspect of my study, I, as the researcher, was the main data collection instrument (as discussed in section 3.6).

My selection of data that I wanted to analyse was thus influenced to some extent by my research questions. For instance, I was interested in the young people's language practices i.e. which language varieties, accents or languages they draw on during their lessons. From this, I created a code 'organic linguistic repertoires' before beginning my analysis. The data analysis process was spread through the course of the entire fieldwork phase and beyond (eight months) by revisiting fieldnotes, looking at language portraits or listening to audio files. An example of this would be that of Chris' language portrait, as when I looked at it after the lesson I didn't see the depth of how he used the colour red (see section 4.3), however, a week after the activity had taken place, I looked at it again and thought that this might be of interest in terms of how French and English have been constructed socially. Another example would be reading through my fieldnotes again and finding a theme that I have not identified as interesting before e.g. translanguaging moment during a translation exercise in which Johanna makes the task meaningful to herself by drawing on both her English and German knowledge (see section 4.4.3). Notably, the language portrait activity that I had

recorded offered a lot of interesting themes that I identified as I was transcribing it and had listened to it multiple times. I return to this in the following sections in which I discuss the analytical approach I had taken to interpret my data.

3.9.2 PTDA of Data Sources: Language Portraits + Transcripts (Semi-structured Interviews); Fieldnotes (Participant-Observations)

In the literature, I engaged with, during my research design phase, (see e.g. Baxter 2008; Fairlough, 2013; Foucault, 1972; Van Dijk, 2006) I found many similarities between various analytical methods, although they each possess different names. Since this is my study and, it carries a unique identity, I wanted to highlight this through my research design. I understand that critical discourse analysis (CDA) and post-structural discourse analysis (PDA) have a lot in common and I acknowledge that critical discourse analysis paved the road to post-structural discourse analysis (Baxter, 2008). Furthermore, as Brown and Clark (2006) argue, thematic analysis overlaps with some forms of discourse analysis e.g. CDA (Braun & Clark, 2006) that are commonly used in linguistic ethnography (Copland & Creese, 2015). I thus decided to combine elements of a post-structural discourse analytical approach with elements of a thematic analysis.

Thematic analysis is commonly used by novice researchers (Braun & Clark, 2006) as the researcher can follow a step by step guide to identifying patterns and themes in their data. It is further viewed as a foundational method to qualitative research and especially for novice researchers, it is useful as it helps them acquire core skills for conducting other forms of qualitative analysis (Braun & Clark, 2006; Nowell, Norris, White & Moules, 2017). PDA has been of value in past research, aiming to analyse the changing symbolic order of multilingual educational sites (see e.g. Heller, 2006), by linking it to wider socio-historical processes (Baxter, 2008). Furthermore, it has been of value in applied linguistics and sociolinguistics, especially to researchers interested in language learning and identity construction (e.g. Walkerdine, 1990).

I justify this choice as follows: a) through thematic analysis I wanted to identify patterns or themes within and across different data sets, b) the use of a PDA would help me to organise and describe data sets in detail c) I could analyse intertextual discourses in spoken interactions (semi-structured interviews,

interactions) as well as other types of texts (language portraits) (Baxter, 2008), d) by drawing on post-structural principles, I could highlight the complexity, plurality, and diversity of my data.

I argue that a combination of both approaches was 1) useful to organise data sets and identify patterns and themes that 2) could be analysed in depth through a PDA and 3) helped me to develop reflexivity, which researchers have questioned in a solely thematic analytical approach (see e.g. Nowell, Norris, White & Moules, 2017). As Copland and Creese (2015) suggest, reflexivity in linguistic ethnography is achieved through discursive linguistic analysis, which in my case, I wanted to achieve through a PDA. In the following paragraphs, I outline which elements were of interest and how I understand these aspects concerning my data and respectively data analysis. I start by outlining the steps I had taken concerning a thematic analytical approach, followed by the steps I took in which I adopted a post-structural discourse approach.

Step 1: Thematic Analysis

The steps I had taken to analyse my data were the initial phases of a thematic analysis hence, I first familiarised myself with my data, from which I then generated initial codes and searched for themes. My experience throughout the analysis was that this is not a linear process in which I could move from one phase to the next. I thus had to refine my codes, categories, and themes as I became more familiar with my data. In Chapter 4, I describe these themes in more detail and in Appendix D Table 6 there is a detailed table outlining the coding process.

Since I had chosen to focus on students' translanguaging space that is brought to the fore through translanguaging moments (see Li Wei, 2011), my selection of data to be analysed was mostly, but not entirely, led by these micro moments. To recap, a translanguaging moment may occur between a teacher and learners in which they draw on their full linguistic repertoire (see section 2.2.2). While I chose excerpts from interactions (including semi-structured interviews) that were temporally framed around these moments that I thought would have the potential to reveal identity performances, I have also included interactions that would not necessarily form a micro moment in the sense that Li Wei (2011) used it i.e. 'a

moment can be a point in or a period of time which has outstanding significance. It is characterised by its distinctiveness and impact on subsequent events or developments' (p. 1224). I looked at a micro-moment from the point of view that, once it has occurred it becomes a reference point or a frame. From this, I established patterns by comparing these moments to other moments. I elaborate on the process in detail in the following sub-section. For me, this included any moments that had the potential to be descriptions of the young people's language practices as lived experience. I thus focused on the meaning-making act of individuals that for me first happens inside the individual (translanguaging space) and become apparent through interaction (translanguaging moments).

The processes involved six phases as defined by Braun and Clark (2006):

1. Familiarise with data
2. Generate initial codes
3. Search for Themes
4. Review themes
5. Define themes
6. Produce the report

Please refer to Appendix E, Table 7 for a table including the initial codes, from which I developed themes.

The first step I took was to immerse myself in the data hence I completed all transcriptions. Transcription in the sense of this study refers to the action of producing a written account of the interview data i.e. the spoken words (Lapadat, 2000). To me it was a technical task in which I listened to the audio recordings of the semi-structured interviews and typed verbatim what I could hear. I did not adjust the text and I attempted to keep the participants dialect and speech style as best as I could. If a person had switched between two or more languages, I kept these in the written account too. This was important as part of my research questions looked at the different languages, language varieties or dialects the participants may use. As part of the transcription process, I considered my research questions as well as my literature (deductive). This data transcription

process was useful to a) remind me of any reflections during the semi-structured interviews/classroom observations and b) improve my knowledge of the data. Since the language portrait activity happened later into my data collection process, I started my analysis with mainly classroom observation transcripts as well as semi-structured interviews with parents. After transcribing the data, I read my transcriptions again, to amend any initial thoughts about codes, categories, and themes I had while I was transcribing these (see Appendix D for an example). I then started to organise my data into NVivo under specific codes to give my data more structure.

These were deductive codes as at this point, they were driven by my literature and my research questions. In some cases, my initial codes did not accurately reflect what had happened in the classroom or what a participant had said. Later, in the process, I thus revisited coded classroom observations and semi-structured interviews (parents) to make sure I had captured the contextual understanding of the meaning. Although I used NVivo as a tool to organise my data, some of the analysis took place in an old-fashioned way whereby I used different colours to highlight codes, categories and later develop themes.

The language portrait activity transcript, along with students' language portraits, were analysed similarly. Although to analyse students' language portraits I used post-it notes that leaned on my literature and research questions to develop initial codes and categories from which I then developed themes. This I felt was more straightforward as I could place the notes directly on the spot of the portrait where it fit the spatiality of the young people's choice of language. It further appeared to be more useful to mark my ideas directly on the individual language portrait and it gave me an idea of what questions I may want to ask in the semi-structured interviews. In fact, I left my post-it notes on the portrait and took it into the interview, and this helped me to make sense of what the young person may have wanted to communicate through the language portrait. However, this analysis was an ongoing process and I further drew on inductive analysis as the more time I spent immersing myself in the young people's language portraits, the more themes became salient that were not related to my literature or research questions *per se*. Two weeks after the language portrait activity took place, I started to interview the young people and later transcribe the semi-structured interviews in the same manner as I had for other semi-structured interviews. It

was important to transcribe what was said and note any other aspects such as a long pause or laughter that somehow emphasised the meaning of what was said. This was very time consuming, yet it helped to familiarise myself with the data.

I created and used both inductive and deductive codes across data sets in NVivo. Deductive codes (e.g. symbolic power, language ideologies, language learning, and identity) were developed from my literature review. Hence, I simply organised the data to show patterns in semantic content, that I summarised, to help me to move on to the next step; PDA. Whereas through the second step, I developed further inductive codes, mainly for language portraits, yet also classroom observations as this helped me to make sense of the young people's language use. In Table 7 (Appendix E) there is a detailed outline of the process. I discuss this further in more detail in the following sub-section.

Step 2: Post-structural Discourse Analysis

Following the identification of initial themes which I did through thematic analysis (as outlined above) I drew on PDA to make sense of students' language use. To conduct my analysis I chose to draw on the following elements of PDA that can also be found in CDA; a) the performative nature of identity (as opposed to essentialist), b) the complexity of students' identities, c) construction of meaning is bound to context, d) an interest in deconstruction (e.g. labels such as bi/multilingual or heritage language learners) and e) it requires continuing self-reflexivity (question my assumptions about the analysis). In the remaining paragraphs, I outline how I used PDA within my data analysis.

According to Busch (2018), the interpretation of language portraits is grounded in an understanding of the image, the caption, as well as the spoken (or written) analysis of the image form 'a whole and that meaning, is created in the interplay between the presentational and discursive forms of representation' (p. 6). Also, in terms of capturing the 'complexities and ambiguities of classroom discourse', as Baxter (2008, p. 15) stresses, PDA was useful to construct a clear and systematic account of students' experiences by taking into consideration their backgrounds and life experiences, which is in line with the sociocultural stance I adopt to language development and respectively linguistic identity development

(see Busch, 2018). I further drew on the language portrait transcript itself to make sense of the young people's language portraits.

I was therefore concerned with somehow analysing the OLRs of students, that I understand as components of cultural and historical discourses as well as power-related modes of expression. Through analysing students' language portraits from a PDA stance, I hoped to be able to trace down the influences of societal discourses or language ideologies that shape students' repertoires by drawing on insights of post-structural theories to identity construction (as outlined in Chapter 2). This helped me to understand some of the competing and contradictory identity categories that rest at the centre of language ideological issues related to the monolingual mindset of British society. Furthermore, by linking language portraits to broader social relations and grounding them into historical as well as the local context, I hoped to be able to access the space in which the complex linguistic identities of students are constructed; that is the translanguaging space.

To better understand the translanguaging moments/practices, that I had identified through thematic analysis, I anticipated by drawing on PDA, I would be able to gain more nuanced insights into the complexity of students' linguistic identities. Through a meticulous examination of spoken classroom discourse in a traditionally German domain, my analysis took the form of detailed attention to how the young people co-construct shifting linguistic identities according to the classroom context. Next to a careful examination of the linguistic structures, I further grounded my analysis in a mixture of post-structural and sociocultural understandings to identity that stresses the flexible yet situated nature of identities that are embedded in the structures of the social setting as well as the wider socio-historical context in which the setting is located. The aim here was to 'change' the social and symbolic order by a) deconstructing some of the taken for granted categories, derived from various educational/political discourses e.g. bilingualism in relation to students' languages and respectively identities and b) opening up spaces for alternative viewpoints on e.g. young people attending a German Saturday school as well as OLRs. In the remaining paragraphs I outline the process step by step.

Since I had already familiarised myself with my data and organised it in a way it would reflect some themes that may be useful regarding my aim of making sense

of young people's language practices in terms of how these may define who they are or how they want to be seen, I approached the second step of my data analysis differently. It involved a detailed analysis of observation transcripts, language portraits and semi-structured interview transcripts whereby I paid attention to what was said and how the young people said it. All transcripts were produced in the same manner (as outlined in the previous sub-section). The analysis involved a careful analysis of linguistic structures of spoken classroom discourse as well as the young people's interviews. Although I had identified 'translanguaging moments' through thematic analysis, the data grouped under the theme did not resonate with my literature review. What I had identified as translanguaging moments in step 1, turned out to be creative language use during translation work of the young people hence I developed a new more appropriate theme. Hence the second analytical process was further an iterative one which meant adapting and further working with codes and categories developed in the thematic analysis. I then looked at the discourses in which these language practices were embedded and identified sub-themes accordingly (e.g. educational, cultural) (see Appendix F, Tables 8 & 9).

This step further included a meticulous analysis of the young people's language portraits in the sense of their life experiences. Again, although I had developed themes through thematic analysis, I combined looking at the young people's language portraits with an analysis of their semi-structured interview transcripts which helped me to identify the meaning beyond what has been said or drawn (language portrait). Through this analysis, I was able to form new themes that were the foundation to go back to the data I had previously analysed through thematic analysis. From these themes, I developed sub-themes that add more detail to these broader themes in the sense I learnt more about who the young people are and how they want to be viewed considering their language practices.

As with step 1, this phase of the data analysis was an ongoing process and continued throughout the writing up of my findings, which often go hand in hand (see e.g. Atkinson & Hammersley, 2007; Copland, Creese, Rock & Shaw, 2015). In the following section, I discuss the research design concerns in more detail.

3.10 Ensuring Research Quality

Although it has been argued that the terms reliability and validity are often replaced with criteria that focus on the standards for evaluating research findings (e.g. overall significance and relevance) (Morse *et al*, 2002) it is important to address the validity of my study and outline the strategies I have employed to ensure the legitimacy of my findings.

3.10.1 Strategies for Validating Findings

Hornberger and Corson (1997) stress that amongst researchers who adopt qualitative data collection methods, validity often triggers heated debates. From past research, I had learnt that several strategies help to reduce the effect of research bias and help the reader to gain confidence in findings (see Creswell, 2003). I thus employed different data collection methods that would help me to capture different perspectives of the complex linguistic identities of students and helped me to check the consistency of my findings (Pandey & Padnaik, 2014). The different approaches were used in an effort to compensate for the limitations each method holds, considering that each mode has its own feature for meaning-making (Kress, 2013 cited in Soares, Duarte & Günther-van der Meij, 2020).

Regarding the theoretical framework, I had chosen for this study (as discussed in section 2.2) I used different theoretical perspectives (Creswell, 2003) (post-structural, SCT) to examine and interpret my findings. An example of this would be the use of PDA to analyse classroom observations as it helped me to construct a clear and systematic account of students' experiences which I could cross-check with the SCT stance on language development and identity construction. This is another form of triangulation; theoretical triangulation (see e.g. Verloop, Meijer & Beijaard, 2002).

I further wanted to achieve external validity of my findings and following Hornberger and Corson's (1997) suggestion that the most appropriate way was by using a thick description. Through describing the students' identities in adequate detail, I started to look at the extent to which I could apply my interpretations to other complementary school settings. In terms of my study, I understand thick description as a detailed account of my field experiences and

the cultural as well as social relationships I had formed that helped me to ground my findings into context (Creswell, 2003). What I wanted to achieve with this was to assess in how far my findings could be applied to other settings by sharing this insight with people who employ similar methods yet conduct their research in different settings (Pandey & Padnaik, 2014).

Finally, I employed formal and informal members checks on various occasions to validate my interpretations (see e.g., Lytra, 2011). I would like to stress at this point that due to the philosophical and theoretical stances I had taken (see section 3.2) I do not cling to the conception that the young people's identities are out there to be truthfully and accurately captured through my research design; that is the methods of data collection/analysis I had employed. At times, opportunities for checking in with my members arose during observations, at other times, I deliberately asked the participants (in particular the young people) to read through interview transcripts. From former research (Grosse, 2011; 2015) and reading about validating findings (e.g. Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Pandey & Padnaik, 2014) with focus on language research (e.g. Copland, Creese, Rock & Shaw, 2015; Copland, 2018) I had learnt that I should ensure the words on my transcript matched the meanings that my participants wanted to bring across. Hence, I used these checks to cross-check my provisional interpretations (my reality) against my participants' reality.

I employed a combination of the techniques I have outlined in this section to establish a rigorous and acceptable interpretive study. I now move on to look at the ethical considerations of this study.

3.10.2 Ethical Considerations

Ethical considerations and many of our understandings about what makes our research ethical were developed from medical models and these have been the starting point in social science research when planning research (Copland, 2018). One of the main challenges every researcher must face is to, before the start of their data collection, identify how to produce valuable knowledge, without causing harm (BERA, 2018; ESCR, 2017; Hammersley & Trainaou, 2012). In research, harm refers to social psychological or physical and it is the researchers' responsibility to assess harm at the outset in terms of its probability and its degree

(Brooks, Riele & Maguire, 2014), which they do concerning their research context. Keeping this in mind, early into the research process, I started to develop an ethical sensitivity and attended an ethics training session at the University of Exeter with Dr Matt Lobley, the co-chair of the University's ethics committee. As my study is an investigation of situated language use and how this affects students' linguistic identities, it is highly contextualised. This, in turn, affected my role as a researcher and the relationships in the field, which increased the prospect of ethics-related challenges, that I had to be mindful of. In the following, I discuss the micro-ethics of my research practice and view these as the challenges of my study, that cannot be predicted and are less procedural than macro-ethics (Kubanyiova, 2008).

Micro-ethics (Kubanyiova, 2008), also known as 'ethically important moments' (Guillemin & Gillam, 2004) emerged after the ethics committee had approved my ethical application. Copland (2018) reminds us, research focusing on language in times of superdiversity, is particularly difficult in terms of predicting ethical dilemmas during the initial phases of the project design, which she stresses is a result of the 'complexity of the human relationships that are necessarily involved' (p. 145). Accordingly, instead of labelling the young people as 'vulnerable persons' that needed to be protected according to macro-ethical principles (see Kubanyiova, 2008), I viewed them as individuals, whom I observed in specific situations that required me to be mindful about the context in which their behaviours took place (Haverkamp, 2005) hence I had to alter my actions in line with the emerging ethically significant moments. For me, ethics were thus related to the decisions I had to make and how these affected the participants which involved reflexivity on my end. This is in line with the emic perspective that I wanted to gain through the ethnographic aspect of my study; that is to understand how students in a German Saturday school perceive, make sense of and react to various language practices and how this affects their linguistic identities. Furthermore, this view aligns with the post-structural nature that stresses the complexity and fluidity of my main theoretical constructs, language and identity.

Since it was the young people (as language learners) who were central to my research explorations, I had chosen to include young people who are considered old enough to make their own decisions about participating in the research. I ensured that all participants were fully informed about all aspects of the project

which I had planned to undertake (e.g., through a face-to-face whole-class introduction from the researcher). Furthermore, participants were handed an information sheet on which I ensured the aims of my study were communicated in the manner that students would understand, and I was available if for further questions from students, parents as well as teachers. All students were given enough time and opportunity to talk about their participation with a trusted adult before they decide to opt into the study. Since parents must stay at the school throughout their lessons they could decide with the help of their parents. The young people were told that they would be able to withdraw from the study at any time, should they wish to do so, and without having to give their reasons why.

Overview of consent seeking activities with different participant groups:

How will participants be informed and agree to consent?	Which participant group?	For which research activity?
Information sheet, whole class introduction by the researcher (face-to-face explanation) and consent form	Students in the two Saturday School classes	Whole research project (e.g. general observation in class)
Information sheet and consent form	Teachers	Whole research project – observations and semi-structured interviews
Information sheet and consent form	Parents	Semi-structured interviews (and information about the wider project)
Information sheet, the personal introduction from the researcher, consent form, ongoing consent conversations (e.g. during observation and at the start of interviews)	5 main participants	Language portraits, observation and interviews

Table 10: Consent Forms

In Appendix B there is an example of the information sheet and different consent forms that were handed out.

I further discussed my research design with my participants (Gobo, 2008) as I wanted to respect participants' autonomy (BERA, 2018) and actively involve them in the decision as to whether they wanted to participate in my study. Moreover, by making the process more transparent I wanted to ensure that students can make use of their right to withdraw at any point (ESRC, 2017) because it is argued that consent sought at the start of a project should be renegotiated as often the focus of a study changes (Copland & Creese, 2015) hence I thought that my participants may have not always been fully aware of what they were consenting to (Mauthner *et al,* 2013). Thorne (1980) argues the outcomes of an ethnographic study are hard to predict due to the flexible nature of the methods employed by ethnographers. At the outset of my study, I paid attention to the purpose of my project and ensured I communicated its focus in a language that was accessible to my participants (Copland & Creese, 2015). I, therefore, provided my participants with as much information as possible e.g., my identity, an explanation of my research focus and why I have chosen this particular institution, an outline of the steps I had taken to ensure confidentiality and anonymity, and finally how I had planned to report my data (Brooks, Riele & Maguire, 2014). Informed consent was sought (in English and German) at the beginning of the study from the schools' management, parents and teachers. In table 10 I have already outlined which form of consent I sought for various activities and different participants.

Because my observations included others in the class (alongside the five participants) and because the language portrait work was undertaken with the young people attending the A-level class, I ensured that fully informed consent was sought from everyone before the research could proceed. The participants were assured confidentiality in the project, although full confidentiality was not promised (in the case of a need to break this for the immediate safety and security of the participants). However, the participants were told how and when confidentiality would be broken (e.g., in the case of an emergency and when they were considered at risk) and how this would be dealt with (e.g. where possible they would be consulted first, but if not relevant support services would be involved). Anonymity was maintained, and students were asked to pick an alternative name for me to present in my thesis and any potential conference/journal/report outputs. I removed (as far as possible) the

opportunities for others to find out about the identities of participants from the compiled data, which I did in agreement with participants and stakeholders (VDSS).

As part of my research planning, I further had to think about how to show participants' appreciation for taking part in my project. In my prior discussions with the School's management team, it was decided that there should be a gift given to each of the main participants to show appreciation of the time and support given to the research. It was agreed that a £20 Amazon voucher would be suitable. This would not be advertised to students at the start of the project (i.e. in a way that could be regarded as bribery to engage in the project) but would be given to them as a token of appreciation after the study. Other gifts (e.g. cards to class members/thank you letters) were also used with larger/different participant groups where appropriate to do so and at various stages in the project. All things considered; I believe I complied with the general ethical codes, inclusive of seeking ethical approval (see Appendix A). I now move on and bring together the main points I made in this chapter, that are the foundation for what follows in Chapter 4.

3.11 Chapter Summary

In this chapter, I focused on the methodological choices that lie at the core of this study and how these helped me to work towards answering my research questions. I foregrounded the interactional nature of young people's complex linguistic identities and respectively their OLRs. I further stressed that language constitutes social processes in the sense that it forms part of social practices yet at the same time constructs social reality. Taking into account my research questions, central to this study is the understanding of how communicative processes operate in the German Saturday school and my focus is on the young people's situated language in use.

The methodological approach I decided to take is of ethnographic nature, and the specifics of this approach are grounded in a linguistic ethnography. Important here is that the relationships I established in the field impinged on the data in terms of how I interpreted and conveyed this into writing. To paint a clearer picture, I thus described the physical setting as well as the main participants and

further reflected on the various roles, I as a researcher took. I opted for data collection methods that would help me to develop answers to my research questions and maintain the emic perspective of the young people's complex linguistic identities meaning how they perceive themselves and make sense of the world around them.

I thus employed different data collection methods that helped me to capture the different aspects of the complex linguistic identities of the participants. I wanted to highlight the unique identity of my study through my research design hence I opted for an analytical approach through which I could convey this. I combined post-structural discourse analysis with elements of thematic analysis and outlined the steps I have taken to analyse my data. To ensure research quality, in this chapter, I further discussed the strategies for validating my findings including theoretical triangulation, thick description as well as formal/informal members checks. I ended this chapter with a discussion of the ethical considerations that had to be taken prior to starting my data collection. In what follows I focus on the data that was generated through lesson observations, semi-structured interviews and the language portrait activity and how each of these methods helped me to develop answers to my research questions.

4. Chapter Findings

4.1 Introduction

This chapter aims to provide details to each of my research questions as introduced in Chapter 1 (section 1.1) as well as starting to interpret these through the theoretical lens adopted in this thesis (see Chapter 2). The data presented in this chapter was generated through classroom observations, the language portrait activity as well as semi-structured interviews. It concerns itself with students' linguistic identities that are produced as well as enacted in the A-level classroom. The focus will thus be on the five main participants as well as their teacher and their language practices. However, to make sense of these practices I further focus on students' language portraits that reveal more about their language learning biographies and the way they shape their locally constructed linguistic identities.

To answer my research questions, I a) focused on students' language practices in the A-level classroom, whereby I further paid close attention to the underlying discourses that shaped students' interactions and b) looked at students' identity construction by analysing their OLRs. The most salient factors that seemed to shape students' identity construction were 1) the way they employ their OLRs and 2) wider power and authority structures e.g. A-level syllabus or discourses around languages. Taking these factors into consideration I structure this chapter as follows:

I start with an ethnographic description of the A-level classroom to provide information on the classroom discourse as well as wider discourses shaping students' local language practices. Following this, I turn my attention to each student and present their language portrait including a descriptive summary about their OLRs. I construct the narrative from fieldnotes and various interview conversations. This section will be the foundation for what follows and thus the data presented in this section is important to make sense of the main themes I present in sections 4.4.1-4, and 4.3. As outlined in section 3.8.3 as part of the language portrait activity students were asked to colour in a silhouette and create a visual picture that relates to their language learning experiences through which a space was created where they could talk to me about these.

The data in section 4.3, is taken from these portraits and students talk around their language portraits, hence the narrative is constructed from various interview conversations as well as my interpretations of students' drawings. In line with a view of OLRs as something creative, that lives, never quite a finished piece, leaning on Bronfenbrenner's (1994) ecological theory of human development, I divide the remainder of the chapter into a) macrosystem, b) microsystem and c) mesosystem. Each of these sections includes data from classroom observations, the language portrait activity as well as semi-structured interviews. The main themes portrayed in this chapter are a) experience and language use b) biography and c) creative language use. I have outlined the coding process in section 3.9.2 and there is a table in Appendix F. Finally, I summarise the findings I have presented in this chapter and bring together my findings in light of my first research sub-question; how can we understand students' identities through OLRs?

4.2 The A-level Classroom Context; an Ethnographic Description

In what follows I describe the classroom and locate the young people in the wider context of the German Saturday School. I do this because it lays the foundation for making sense of the present chapter's main foci i.e. students' language practices and the way they employ their OLRs as part of their linguistic identity construction.

The A-level class is the final class students visit at the German Saturday School. Young people at this stage will usually have taken their GCSEs and AS-Levels already. However, in this case, there were two students (Chris and Johanna) that were not sure whether they wanted to take their A-levels at school which seemed to influence their overall participation in their lessons. The class consisted of eight students of whom five are the main participants of this study. The curriculum was set by the teacher and confirmed with the school management at the start of the academic year. Mrs Bauer constructed the curriculum in agreement with the A-level requirements and included components of German literature, grammar work, and other topics that ought to be covered e.g. migration in Germany, German reunification and the European Union (focusing on Brexit). At the time of my research the class read the book 'Der Besuch der alten Dame' ('The Visit') by

Friedrich Dürrenmatt and they watched the movie 'Goodbye Lenin'. Each student had to undertake an independent research project in which they were asked to research one topic about Germany that they found interesting e.g. migration in Germany, Mercedes Benz or concentration camp Dachau. Lessons were structured in a way so that the teacher prepared students for their written and oral exams. The class used the Edexcel German book in which they worked extensively in the first part of the academic year (SEP-DEC) and since I had joined the class, Mrs Bauer focused on students' oral exam preparation as well as essay preparation i.e., German literature.

Throughout my fieldwork, Mrs Bauer focused on different aspects of students' upcoming A-level exams. First, she attributed particular focus to translation work, which is part of students' written exams. Furthermore, she prepared students for their oral mock exams, which they recorded and listened back to improve their language use. In such instances, the lesson would be between the teacher and one student whereby other students were required to take over the role as an examiner and raise questions at the end of the exam.

The classroom was small, and tables were arranged in a u-shape. Students would normally sit in pairs, facing the teacher and occasionally she sat next to a student if she didn't get enough copies for students. Students very rarely worked in pairs as most of the lessons were guided by Mrs Bauer and she included all students (one at a time) into her lessons.

In what follows I look at each participant in turn and focus on findings from the language portrait activity directly relating to students' organic linguistic repertoires. In Chapter 5, I revisit these findings and interpret these in line with the theoretical and epistemological underpinnings of this study.

4.3 Painting the Picture

In this section, I focus on the young people's language portraits. Each section will be structured in the same manner. I start by presenting the language portrait and focus on this in more detail. I do this because it will draw a picture of each student's linguistic background. This information is important to follow the narrative in section 4.4 and make sense of the data I present in this section.

The language portrait contains a key (see Figure 4 below) that helps to make sense of the colours that portray specific languages. Although all students seemed to have taken red to depict English this had no wider implications and the young people reassured me that the colours, they had chosen for each language did not imply how they felt about this language or what they associate with this language. Other research finds that different colours were associated with particular languages (e.g. Dressler, 2014; Seale, 2017) this, however, does not resonate with my findings.

Figure 4: Language Portrait Key

4.3.1 Chris's Language Portrait 'Mir war langweilig' (I was bored)

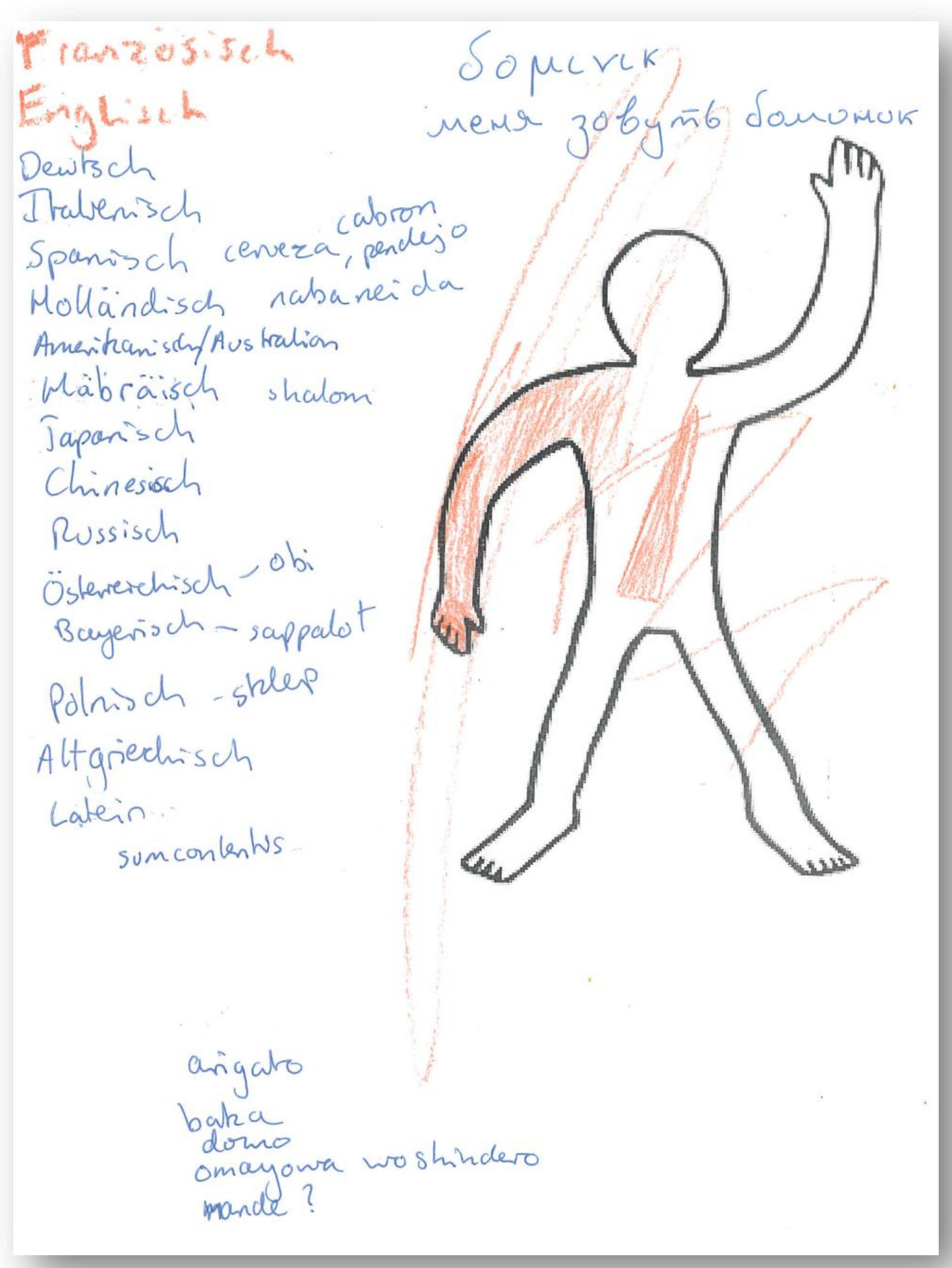

Figure 5: Chris' Language Portrait (2nd March 2019)

Chris's language portrait, compared to those of the girls, contains less colour, yet a lot more text. Furthermore, out of all students, Chris and Johanna were the only ones that used German-language labels. He explained this was because he did not know which language to use as he was not listening to the instructions I had given. He further revealed that the choice of the colour red happened

unconsciously. From Chris's language portrait it appears as if he wanted to present himself as using multiple languages and thus may want to come across as diverse. A possible explanation for this may be that Chris attends a language orientated school and studies Russian and French at school. Furthermore, coming from an Italian-German background, and growing up in London he speaks Italian, German and English which might be the reason for his 'openness' to a variety of languages. The language portrait depicts languages Chris picks up on holidays as well as through popular culture. Chris's language portrait shows the complexity of his linguistic identity which appears to reach beyond that of a speaker of German, English, Italian and a learner of French, Russian, Ancient Greek and Latin. It indicates that Chris's experiences may differ from those of the other participants in terms of his belonging to a variety of networks and knowledge communities through his schooling.

4.3.2 Johanna’s Language Portrait ‘Backslond’

Figure 6: 2nd March 2019 Language Portrait

Johanna, like Chris, used German-language labels as her key. She explained in the interview, that she thought they were meant to use German labels as she was not paying attention to the instructions. As discussed previously this was further the case for Chris. Interesting here is that for Johanna being in her German lesson appears to define the language she thinks she ought to use. She explained that she drew her portrait in a way it depicts her actual looks, with blond hair and blue eyes. Like Chris she included words or expressions from languages she knows on her portrait and in the interview, she stated, that some of these words are her favourite words in the language e.g. Pantalones (Spanish). Johanna is

surrounded by different languages that she mostly learns from her friends at school who come from mixed backgrounds. Out of the main participants Johanna was the only one who included a secret-language into her drawing, that she learnt at school and which I learnt, is solely spoken by a particular group of students. From her language portrait, the importance the specific languages may play in her life does not become apparent e.g. a heart for German.

4.3.3 Jamila's Language Portrait 'I speak Arabic and English to myself'

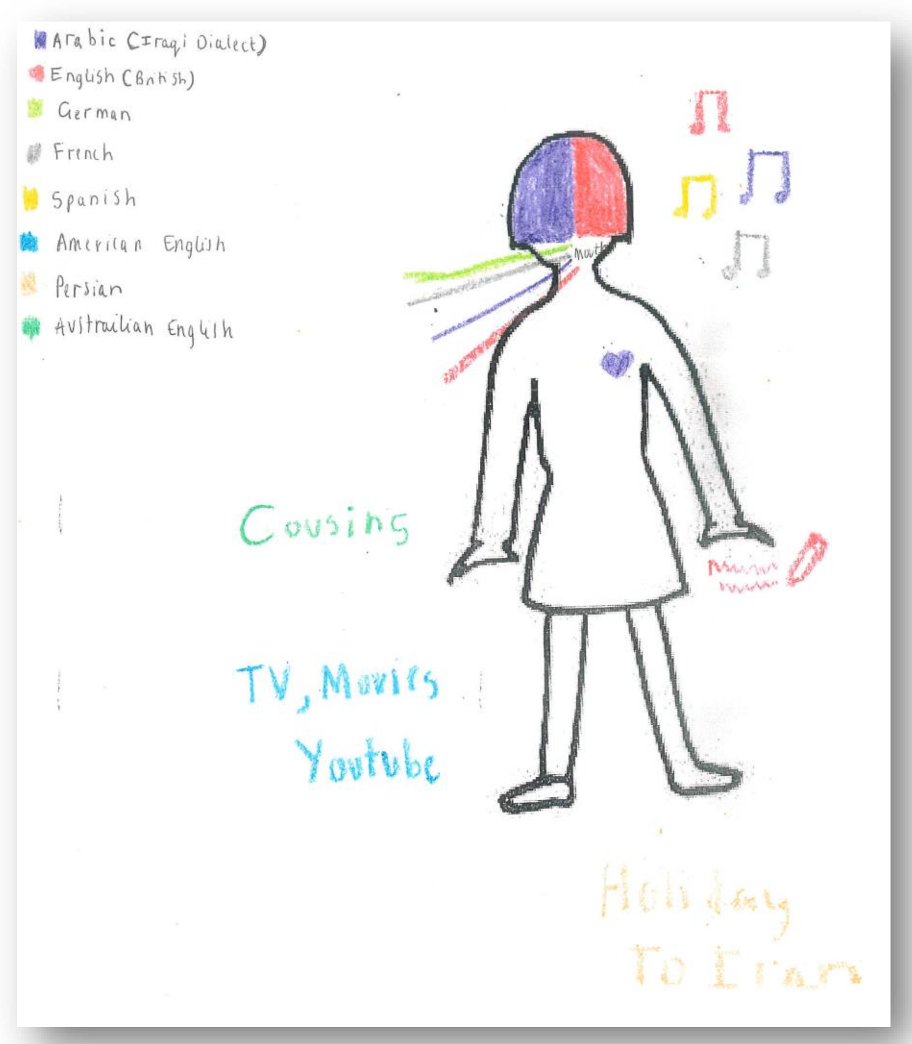

Figure 7: Language Portrait 2nd March 2019

Jamila's language portrait appears to be very precise considering the spatiality of languages in relation to the different activities that are portrayed. From her portrait it becomes salient that she classifies different language varieties, and dialects (e.g., British English, Iraqi Dialect). She explained to me that by colouring her

heart, and half of her head purple she wanted to portray the importance of Arabic in her life. Another vital part of her life appears to be English, as the other half of her head is coloured in red, depicting English, which she confirmed in the interview. However, it was more about where the languages were located on her portrait than about the colours, she had chosen to depict these. The lines coming from her mouth portray the languages she speaks at school and home such as German, French, English, and Arabic. Jamila further included keys in the colours of the languages she hears on the radio (English, Spanish, French, and Arabic). She also listens to the American variety of English on the radio, TV or YouTube. In the interview she revealed that through her cousins, she is exposed to Australian English as they live in Australia.

4.3.4 Safya's Language Portrait 'Salam Alaykum'

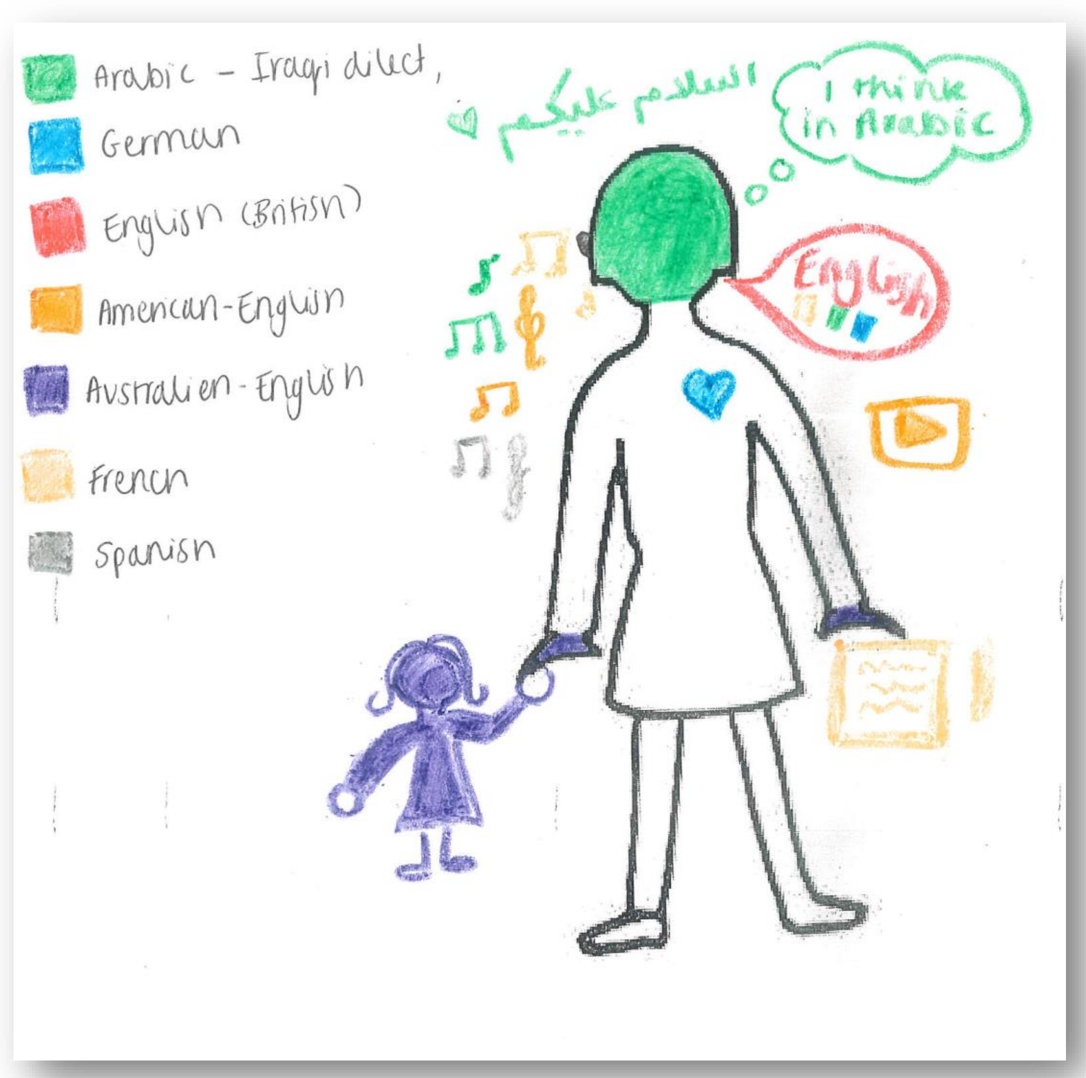

Figure 8: Language Portrait 2nd March 2019

Safya's language portrait seems similar to this of her sister in the sense that she portrayed the importance of specific languages through where they are located on her drawing. German appears to play an important role in her life, as she coloured her heart blue which she revealed in the interview. However, her mind is entirely Arabic, portraying the importance of Arabic in her life. She specifies Arabic with the Iraqi dialect (like her sister), and other students had not made this distinction in terms of e.g. the German they speak. In the interview, I learnt, that Safya included the Arabic expression for hello on her portrait, written in Arabic (Salam Alaykum). Furthermore, British English seems to play an important role in her life as she portrayed in her speech bubble by spelling out the word. Other

varieties of English seem to further play a role in her life such as Australian English which she had portrayed through the little girl on her hand, depicting her cousin. Safya also showed the importance of music in her life and how it affects her organic linguistic repertoire. Interestingly, other than her sister, for Safya German is very close to her heart and English appears to be less important to her than to her sister.

4.3.5 Anna's Language Portrait 'Ich will mit denen nichts zu tun haben/I don't want anything to do with them'

Figure 9: Language Portrait 2nd March 2019

Anna decided to draw her own silhouette. She wanted to draw a ballerina, and in the interview, she disclosed that she does ballet after school and she likes ballerinas. What stands out from her portrait is the German/English writing in the centre and of her portrait (Familie, Ferien, friends). Anna may thus feel connected to her friends through English as she speaks English with most of her friends. However, her family and where she spends her holidays i.e. Germany further seem to shape her OLR. She coloured her heart in the colour she had chosen for German, meaning that she may strongly identify with the German language and Germany. Like Safya and Jamila, Anna decided to draw a heart into her language portrait that I had not asked her to draw. From her thinking bubble, it seems that she thinks in both English and German. Although she had coloured her head in the colour, she picked to portray German, and during the interview she stated that this was solely related to the fact that she has blonde hair. At school, Anna uses French, German, English (American & British) as well as Spanish. Although Dutch is marked as a language in her key, Anna did not include Dutch in her drawing. However, she stated that her friend from school is Dutch and that she listens to her talking on the phone to her mother and picks up new words; mostly words that are similar in German and English. Furthermore, when the family drives to Germany in the summer, they pass through the Netherlands, where they usually stop to eat, and she orders in Dutch.

In what follows I present the themes relating to the young people's OLRs and how these affect the ways they construct a sense of personal biography and thus make their experiences meaningful.

4.4 Themes relating to OLRs & Complex Identities

This section aims to reveal more about the complexity of the young people in relation to the languages they speak/know. To analyse the young people's linguistic identities, I draw primarily on classroom interactions, language portraits, and semi-structured interview accounts. In line with my theoretical framework, I ground my analysis in broader sociocultural practices and understand the young people's language practices as highly contextualised and negotiated through language (SCT) (e.g., Vygotsky, 1978). My analysis is further guided by a view

on identity as a) socially negotiated and dynamic (e.g. Norton, 2000), b) socially and historically constructed within a web of power relations (Norton & McKinney, 2010) aligning with a post-structural view. Taking account of different classroom practices, the interactions that I analyse in this section include task-based interactions between students and the teacher (including one to one and whole-class interactions) as well as off-task interactions between students and their peers. My analysis is thus grounded in an understanding that foregrounds identity options as negotiable within different discourses (Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004). To make sense of the young people's language practices I further draw on a translanguaging theory, more particular, the translanguaging space (Li Wei, 2011; 2018) that I understand as possessing ever shifting boundaries and located in the individual's mind (Li Wei, 2018).

The themes I present in this section are organised around my theoretical understanding of organic linguistic repertoires (OLRs) as introduced in section 2.3.2. in which I had adopted Bronfenbrenner's ecological model of human development. I start to present themes directly related to the macrosystem in which I discuss beliefs and cultural as well as socioeconomic values assigned to various languages that seemed to a) shape students' experiences and b) influence their language use. In particular, I look at how some of these beliefs surfaced in the young people's classroom interactions. I then move on to discuss the microsystem which includes the most proximal setting in which the young people interact. My foci will be on students' language learning biographies and their relationships. This is due to the strong biographical aspect that sits at the centre of the broader term repertoire (Blommaert & Backus, 2011; Busch, 2012) and has informed the ways in which I understand OLRs (see section 2.3.2). The focus here will be on how the young people experience 'languages' rather than their competence in various resources.

To make sense of these, I discuss the importance of relations e.g., parents, siblings, friends as well as students' self-perception and the ways in which these affect how the young people experience 'language'. In terms of students' self-perception, the organic aspect of linguistic repertoires will be highlighted regarding my researcher identity and how it contributed to an altered awareness of the young people's repertoires. Since a significant part of the participants' interactions now takes place via technology, I further discuss the importance of

popular culture on students' language learning. Finally, I look at the mesosystem that I understand as interactions between individuals in terms of how they use their OLRs. I focus on students' creative language use and look at how the teacher appears to encourage creativity in the classroom as well as at how humour is used by the young people during their language lesson. I further discuss students' use of secret language/family language at home and with their friends outside the German Saturday school. Each of these sections further works toward strengthening the argument about the distinctiveness of OLRs to the broader term repertoire (e.g., Blommaert & Backus, 2011).

The narrative presented in this section is constructed using fieldnotes transcripts, the language portrait transcript (2nd March 2019) as well as data from semi-structured interviews (students/teacher). It consists of themes that were identified through the second step of my data analysis; PDA. As discussed in Chapter 3, the first step involved developing initial codes and categories through thematic analysis of classroom observations, the young people's language portraits as well as semi-structured interviews. However, these were adapted and refined through PDA in which I identified the meaning beyond what has been written (language portrait) or said (observations, semi-structured interviews). Hence the themes and sub-themes presented in this section relate to this second step taking account of the young people's language practices (inside and outside the classroom). In Table 11 (Appendix G), there is an overview of the findings grouped under each of my research questions.

4.4.1 Macrosystem (Experience & Language Use)

The first theme directly relates to the young people's language learning experiences that appeared to have shaped their language use and, in this section, I look at these experiences in more detail. An experience refers to an event that the young people participated in, either inside or outside the German Saturday school that impacted their language use. Overall, the young people's direct experiences (macrosystem), as introduced in section 2.3.2, with language affected the construction of their linguistic repertoire. Direct experiences here refer to cultural experiences, mainstream school and holidays and I look at how these experiences were embedded in wider discourses and how these discourses shaped the young people's language use and respectively the ways

in which they made sense of the world around them, meaning their thoughts and emotions. In fact, the emotional aspect is what shaped the way the young people experienced their 'languages'. Although I refer to named categories such as Arabic as part of the young people's OLRs the focus will be on how they experience these categories.

This section thus develops answers to the question of how we can understand young people's identity construction through OLRs by making sense of the participants' language learning experiences (SCT). I start this section by looking at external factors such as the A-level syllabus and the teacher's expectations of the young people's language use and in how far these shaped their language use. Hence, in the first sub-section, I develop answers to the research question that looks at which role of the German Saturday School plays in the young people's identity constructions (post-structural theory). Discourses surrounding various language varieties, dialects as well as languages in general shaped students' experiences. The young people's cultural experiences further appeared to play into their language use hence the aim of the second and third sub-section is to address these experiences and develop answers to the question of the role of young people's OLRs, in particular, which languages, accents, language varieties, styles, and linguistic practices are involved in their identity construction. The participants' language portraits were particularly useful here as they visualised the languages, language varieties, and dialects they speak through using speech bubbles or lines from their mouth, symbolising the aspect of their OLRs constructed through specific experiences and as a result shaping the way they use the language.

Educational Factors

In terms of which role, the German Saturday School plays in the young people's identity constructions, there was a significant amount of data suggesting the impact of wider educational factors on students' language practices and overall identity performances during their lessons. Wider educational factors refer to external factors such as the A-level syllabus and the impact this had on the particular language that was deemed to be appropriate in the classroom. These factors created expectations for the teacher in terms of students' language competences. Since the school is run mostly by parents, external factors further

refer to the parents' overall expectation. In contrast to the teacher's expectations the parents' overall expectations appeared not to have an impact on the way the teacher positioned students in the classroom. Linking this to the overall theme the findings suggest that the way the young people made sense of classroom interactions and respectively constructed their linguistic identities was shaped by the language(s) they were allowed to use in the classroom.

First and foremost, how the teacher structured her lessons appeared to be influenced by the A-level scheme of assessment and what is expected of students in terms of their competence meaning their knowledge of German. For students to obtain a high mark in their speaking exams they must use complex language and show knowledge of idioms as well as very good pronunciation and intonation (scheme of assessment, 2019). Students must further be able to control the language system and apply it confidently and accurately as independent speakers of the language (scheme of assessment, 2019). Mrs Bauer seemed to foreground this and focussed on students' developing their ability to translate from German to English and English to German; which has compatibility with what is asked of students in the A-level scheme of assessment.

Hence, the A-level syllabus and expectations of exam board in terms of students' language use appeared to somewhat shape students' interactions. This was further manifested through, for instance, the teacher's emphasis on students' use of idioms in their A-level oral presentations. As outlined in the requirements it is expected of students to make use of complex language, including a variety of tenses and a range of idioms (Pearson Qualifications (ANON), 2019). As a result of this, the language students used seemed highly contextualised, in terms of employing the appropriate idioms within the right context. Accordingly, students' linguistic identity construction appeared to be influenced through a) the way they employ their OLRs and b) wider power and authority structures i.e. A-level syllabus. The following excerpt portrays one of the obstacles students faced regarding their A-level preparation.

As the teacher introduces the topic, she points out that the class doesn't seem to have problems with translating from German to English, yet they seem to struggle with translating from English to German. She also explains that there are times

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when one cannot possibly translate one to one as some things are expressed differently in different languages. She tells the class that she put together a list of useful expressions students can use in their A-level exams and suggests that they'd translate the most difficult ones together, so everyone can learn them by heart

Excerpt 1: Fieldnotes, 2nd March 2019

The excerpt suggests that translation work was important, especially for students' A-level exams. It appeared to be important to the teacher to go through this with students as a class and she further suggested that students learn the most challenging expressions individually by heart for their exams. Hence this excerpt portrays the importance of translation work to the young people's success, y*et* also the struggle they may encounter to get there by learning expressions by heart. It further shows the value of translation work as a collective activity.

During lessons, Mrs Bauer further seemed to classify the language students should use according to 'GCSE Vokabular' (Fieldnotes, 2nd March 2019) or 'A2 Vokabular' (Fieldnotes, 30th March 2019) and expected students to translate in a way it reflects standard High German. Mrs Bauer appeared to expect, for instance, Johanna to possess a certain competence based on her GCSE exam as the following excerpt shows:

Ehm, es ist ein bisschen langweilig, weil manchmal verstehe ich es einfach nicht alles, aber, ja, ich glaube von GCSE zu A-level war es so ein Riesensprung, also, jetzt... ehm, I think she expects me to know a lot of stuff that I don't, because I kind of winged my GCSE.

Ehm, it is a bit boring, because I sometimes just don't understand, but, yeah, I think from GCSE to A-level was a giant leap, so, now…

Excerpt 2: Interview,11th May 20

Johanna rationalised her performance during the lessons by relating it to what the teacher expects of her in terms of competence, and she thinks it was a 'giant leap' from GCSE level to A-level. Mrs Bauer urged students to use complex

grammar to fulfil the A-level competence criteria (Fieldnotes, 9th March 2019). The teacher repeatedly urged students to use A-level vocabulary and further placed a lot of emphasis on the students' correct use of idioms. This is understandable as she *is* a teacher, and it is her job to conform to the school's ethos; that is to cater for the needs of young people from a German speaking background to ensure they pass their exams. In the remainder of this section, I outline parents' expectations regarding their children's German lesson as they are the main stakeholders. Parents' views appear to align with a more traditional view of language learning.

Although parents expected lessons to be mainly held in German, these expectations did not seem to impact students' language practices and respectively identity performance during their lessons. The following interview excerpts portray parents' expectations of what lessons should look like. I mainly include parents' answers to the question; 'hast du eine bestimmte Vorstellung wie der Unterricht gestaltet werden sollte, also in welcher Sprache?' *(Do you have a particular idea of what you would expect from lessons in terms of which language should be used?)*

TM: Also, aus unserer Sicht sollte es eigentlich Deutsch sein.. also, das Entscheidende ist die Grammatik. Also, Grammatik und Schreiben, deshalb kommen sie hier her. Das Sprechen ist nicht das Problem, weil, die sind...

(Well, from our perspective it should technically be German.. well, the most important thing is the grammar. So, grammar and writing, that's why they are coming to the school. Speaking isn't really the problem, because, they are..)

Excerpt 3: Interview 9th February 2019

JT: Ich denke sie sprechen hauptsächlich Deutsch. *(I think they speak mainly German)*

FG: Ja, klar, aber, ehm habt ihr da irgendwie...(cut off by interviewee) *(Yes, of course, but, ehm, do you have any…)*

JT: Ich find's gut wenn es nur Deutsch ist. *(I think it's good if it is only German)*

Excerpt 4: Interview 9th February 2019

SR: Nein, es war mir nie egal. Aber ich kenne ja die Lehrer jetzt und ich hatte Glück, dass er nur die guten hatte und ich weiß auch, was sie gemacht haben im Unterricht. Und eh, seit n‘ paar Jahren habe ich kein Auge mehr drauf, aber am Anfang habe ich schon geschaut, was im Unterricht passiert ..

No, it always mattered to me. But luckily, I know most of the teachers and I knew that he only had the good ones. Plus, I know what they did in their lessons. And, eh, for a few years I have not paid much attention to it, but at the start, I used to monitor what they did in their lessons…

FG: Also, findest du, dass die Lehrer wirklich alles auf Deutsch machen sollten und kein Englisch im Unterricht sprechen?

So, do you think that the teacher should really do everything in German and not use any English?

SR: Ja, das ist wichtig, wobei ich jetzt nun nicht weiß, was jetzt wirklich passiert da, im Unterricht. Also, da innen drin.

Yes, it is important, although I am not sure what actually happens in the lessons. I mean, inside the classroom.

Excerpt 5:Interview 9th February 2019

From all three excerpts, it would seem that parents emphasise instructions and content mainly being conveyed through the German language. To parents, it appears to matter that the teacher uses German during her lessons. Such a view may be explained with a more traditional understanding of language lessons that stems from a structuralist perspective on languages and how they ought to be learnt (e.g. De Saussure, 1966; Lyons, 1970). It further aligns with other complementary school research taking a closer look at parents' expectations regarding their offspring's language lessons (e.g. Lytra, 2011).

Contrary to parents' expectations of traditional language learning where the target language is used as the main medium for instruction, my observation data shows that especially during grammar tasks students and the teacher switched

between English and German. Furthermore, during translation work students drew on their semantic understanding of both languages and highlighted subtle shades of meaning in some of the terms (as will become clear in section 4.4.3). The material the teacher used was mostly bilingual and as my interview data confirms Mrs Bauer thinks switching between English and German is the best way to explain complex concepts. Moreover, I have found the teacher used a lot of filling words in English, and my interview data confirms that she did this without being aware of it. From this it would seem that Mrs Bauer's teaching experiences do not fully align with a traditional view on language teaching which may be related to her own migration biography.

The following excerpt supports this argument, and it is an example of students and the teacher working on their essays that they had written over half-term based on Dürrenmatt's novel. She found some grammar mistakes that had been done by all students and wanted to revise the cases in German. She did this by reading from each student's essay and correcting the most obvious mistakes with him/her at the whiteboard. Before she started the activity, she went through the most obvious cases.

Teacher explains grammar in English... 'the naughty accusative'. Students seem to know what she is referring to as everyone says 'ah ja'. The teacher calls each student to the board and does the corrections with him/her.

Excerpt 6 : Fieldnotes, 9th March 2019

In this instance the teacher appeared to draw on English rather than German to convey complex lesson content. She may have labelled it as 'the naughty accusative' because it is not always straightforward to identify the accusative as it takes similar prepositions to the dative case (Kern, 1998). In fact, on several occasions, I observed that the accusative is usually the case students get confused about, especially as it is sometimes not clear to learners of German whether to use the accusative or dative. I can further confirm this from over 10 years of teaching experience as a German teacher. Students understand the concept of using the accusative better if explained in English as it allows students to relate it to their knowledge of English and thus make links between concepts e.g., he (er) becomes him (ihm) (Kern, 1998). In terms of the young people's

language learning this shows that, although the teacher is conscious of a traditional model of language teaching, she encouraged students to make links between English and German which appeared to support their language learning. From this it would seem that Mrs Bauer's teaching approach, although it aligns with the A-level syllabus, allows students to use their knowledge of English to make sense of lesson content. This, as argued previously, might stem from her own language learning experiences and migration biography.

In conclusion, external factors such as the A-level syllabus, as well as parents' expectations concerning a traditional model of language learning, were apparent in the German Saturday school, however, these only partly impacted on the young people's identity performances in the classroom. This appeared to be related to the teacher's encouraging nature which may be a result of her language teaching experiences. In the following section, I look at discourses around e.g. language varieties and how these shaped students' experiences and impacted their language use.

Discourses around Languages (Accents & Dialects, Language Varieties)

Another dominant theme to emerge from my research relates to student and teacher perceptions of accents and dialects, as well as language varieties. This seemed to be something which impacted the way the young people acted in the classroom yet further how they made sense of their experiences thus creating a sense of personal biography. In fact, there were different perceptions of language varieties, dialects, and accents. These perceptions were a direct result of discourses surrounding e.g. Australian English or the Thuringia dialect. Discourse here refers to how e.g. the Australian variety of English is talked about in the UK or the Thuringia dialect is portrayed in Germany. The young people encountered these discourses through their language practices at school or home. I structure this section according to the most recurrent languages, language varieties, dialects, and accents starting with Anna's and Johanna's perception of languages.

Dialects and Accents

The young people in this study appeared to judge dialects as well as accents according to their popularity as well as their sound. Such judgements were framed around direct experiences and language use in either their community or through family and friends. For instance, Mrs Bauer's dialect resurfaced during interviews and informal discussions. Anna and Johanna said that at times they had to think about what Mrs Bauer said, as some words were different from what they are used to, and the pronunciation was different too. Johanna added to this and said that she thinks it sounds funny at times because it is different from the German she knows from her mother – her mother speaks standard High German with a very small Bavarian twang. Anna compared Mrs Bauer's dialect to that of her old teacher and concluded that, as her old teacher spoke standard High German, Mrs Bauer speaks completely differently.

Interestingly, Jamila stated that Mrs Bauer's dialect sounds like the German she had learnt in Munich and she cannot 'see the difference' (Interview 18th May 2019). An explanation for Jamila's perception of Mrs Bauer's dialect could be that she comes from a background where German is spoken as a second language and although her parents had lived in Germany for '15 or 16 years' their friends were mainly Arabic and Turkish. This could mean that they did not pick up on some of the prejudices that are held by Germans towards certain dialects (Hunfeld, 2011). Furthermore, Jamila revealed that both her mother and father speak German and English with an Arabic accent hence it may seem normal to Jamila to hear different accents. Although a dialect is not an accent, it could explain why Jamila did not judge Mrs Bauer's dialect, further indicating that both her parents speak neither German nor English like a native speaker.

Another factor influencing students' perception of dialects was related to their experiences e.g. holidays and family. Anna's awareness, for instance, seemed to be influenced by spending time in different parts of Germany during her holidays e.g. Cologne. She mentioned that her parents have friends who speak the Cologna dialect which she finds very hard to understand. Anna's perception of different dialects appears thus to be shaped through her formal as well as informal language learning experiences. This was further the case for Johanna who mentioned her grandmother's dialect.

JC: Ja, aber, ja ehm, es ist einfach komisch glaube ich, wenn alle so, andere Dialekten sprechen, also, ja wenn wir in Deutschland sind, und meine Oma spricht auch anders und wir sprechen anders, ja das ist einfach komisch.

JC: Well, but, yeah eh, it is just weird, I believe, if everyone speaks different dialects, so, ya when we're in Germany and my grandma speaks different from us, yeah, it is just weird.

Excerpt 7: Interview 11th May 2019

Johanna communicated that she thinks dialects are weird, especially when she spends time with her grandparents. Her grandma is from Bavaria and she speaks a Bavarian dialect. When I asked her what she meant by 'komisch' (weird) she said, it is just different, and she sometimes does not understand what is being said. By looking at the excerpts and comparing it to the data I have gathered through informal interviews it appears as if Johanna's attitude towards dialects was somewhat influenced by her immediate environment, in particular, her mother seemed to shape her perception of dialects.

Contrasting previous findings, Safya did not appear to judge the Bavarian dialect, she solely mentioned that she thinks it is very interesting and to her, it is sometimes hard to understand. It seems that, although she was born in Germany, she was not exposed to a variety of speakers of different dialects. This may be related to the fact that most of her friends were either Turkish or Arabic which impacted how she positioned herself in Germany. Another explanation may be that she has been exposed to German TV (still is) channels such as 'Kinderkanal', news channel (transcript language portrait activity 2nd March 2019) use standard High German that is used for communication between different dialects.

Although Johanna and Anna's perception of dialects was shaped through their sound and otherness this was not the case for Jamila who clearly stated that the Iraqi dialect is not popular, yet it is her favourite dialect.

) I think that the Iraqi dialect is one of my
ourite Arabic dialects, with my second favorite being
Lebonese dialect. In companison to the other
bic dialects its not as popular, but within my
munity, it is familiar. Also some words sound
nny and the expressions also are. Personally, I
ll understand other Arabic dialects, which others
y not understand.

Excerpt 8: Notes on Language Portrait 23rd March 2019

For Jamila, the Arabic dialect is one of her favourite dialects, followed by the Lebanese dialect. She claimed that although the Iraqi dialect is not as popular as other Arabic dialects, it sounds familiar, as it is spoken in her community. Although some words and expressions sound funny, she likes the Iraqi dialect. Jamila further marked the Iraqi dialect in her language portrait (see Figure 7), unlike Chris, Anna and Johanna, who had solely labelled German as German, without taking account of a specific dialect (see Figures 5, 6 & 9). This may be based on their perception of German and how their families position themselves or are positioned in the UK. Chris, Anna, and Johanna may solely view themselves as German because their parents do not have a strong accent. Furthermore, their parents are fluent speakers of English and may thus be positioned or position themselves in the UK as 'insiders' to the community of English speaker in London.

Safya on the other hand, like her sister, clearly marked the Arabic dialect in her language portrait.

Figure 10: Language Portrait Activity 2nd March 2020

Iraqi dialect makes up a really big part of my identity and personality. With this dialect comes family (because my parents/family speak this dialect), friends and lots of traditions. It was also the first dialect I was exposed to in my life so it's very important to me.

Excerpt 9: Notes on Language Portrait 27th March 2019

From this excerpt it seems that for Safya, the Iraqi dialect is very important. She associated with this dialect what is close to her i.e. her family, friends and cultural traditions. She appeared to link the dialect to her childhood and thus attaches a lot of value to it, which is a direct result of her experiences and use of the Iraqi dialect. It shows that Arabic, in particular, the Iraqi dialect, makes up a big part of her linguistic identity.

In terms of accents, I have observed Chris, Johanna and Anna making fun of Mrs Bauer's German accent on several occasions and Chris took it further by positioning himself as a more confident speaker of English by correcting her pronunciation. I return to this in section 4.4.3 where I look at students' interactions with Mrs Bauer in more detail.

Overall, it seemed to be the case that how the young people felt about certain accents and dialects was directly related to their experiences e.g. with their families and friends. This sheds light on how the young people positioned themselves in the classroom as their perception of accents and dialects appeared to affect how they identified with these. Furthermore, it sheds lights on linguistic identity aspects that were hidden inside the German Saturday school (e.g. Iraqi Dialect (Safya, Jamila). In terms of how one can understand young people's identities through their OLRs, what I have shown in this section, indicates that the dialect or accent the participants identified with, was shaped through past experiences which in turn influenced how the young people act in the present i.e. the A-level classroom. There may thus be a link between these perceptions and their identities as language learners. In the remainder of this section, I look at students' perception of language varieties and how they have been influenced through direct experiences and language use in general showing how this shaped their identities as learners.

Language Varieties

As well as students talking about their perceptions of accents and dialects, and this apparent link to their identities as language learners, students also talked in some detail about how language learning is directly related to their experiences with certain language varieties. There was a strong connection between students' ideas about language varieties and their direct experiences. Especially for Anna, Safya and Jamila different language varieties seemed to be important and this already became salient on their language portrait as all three students included e.g. American English and Australian English, whereby for Chris and Johanna this did not seem to be important (see sections 4.3.1/4.3.2). Language varieties thus appeared to affect how some of the young people make sense of their experiences and negotiate their way through the world.

Because Anna had included American English in her portrait, I asked her about her experiences with this language variety. Again, it was through one of her friends, that she is exposed to American English. Furthermore, her ballet teacher at school is American and another dance teacher from Canada. According to Anna, they both use different expressions or words to name things that she finds confusing at times. However, since her father has lived in the US for a long time, and speaks English with her, she is used to American English. Although he does not speak American English *per se*, he uses a lot of the expressions someone from the United States would use. Anna's perception of American English appeared to be mainly positive as she associated e.g., ballet with it. In fact, as Figure 9 shows, Anna seemed to like ballet which may be an indication of how she feels about this variety of English. She further associated it with her father.

Furthermore, from Jamila's as well as Safya's language portrait, their talk around the portrait during the activity as well as the semi-structured interview, it would seem that Australian English is part of their OLR. For example, both girls included their cousins in their portrait. Safya drew a girl she was holding hands with, depicting one of her cousins (see Figure 11), and Jamila wrote cousins on her portrait using the colour she had chosen for Australian English (see Figure 12).

Figure 11: Safya with cousin

Figure 12: Jamila wrote 'cousins'

During the language portrait activity, I asked both girls whether their cousins lived in Australia, as she wrote 'cousin' with the colour she had allocated to Australian English which and the girls revealed that their cousins live in Australia. We talked about our perception of Australian English.

Safya: ja, es klingt so anders, und unsere Kusinen lachen immer, wenn wir ‚Wasser' sagen, cos we say like ‚WAH-er'**. *(yes, it sounds so different, and our cousins always laugh, if we say 'water')***

Researcher: *wie sagen die das?* ***(how do they say it?)***

Jamila: Water (with Australian accent)

Excerpt 10: Language Portrait Activity 2nd March 2019

From this excerpt it would seem that perceptions about different language varieties, in this case, Australian English as well as British English, are different around the world. Safya's and Jamila's cousins think that the variety Jamila speaks sounds funny, whereas Jamila and Safya think the Australian English sounds 'different'. When I followed up on what 'different' meant to the girls, Jamila took over and said 'sie sprechen nicht wie wir, irgendwie lustig' ***(they don't speak***

like us, somehow funny) (Language portrait activity transcript 2nd March 2019). She then added she was not sure why, yet it just sounds 'ungewohnt' (***she is not used to it***). This implies that in terms of different varieties of English, Jamila's as well as Safya's perceptions may have been shaped through the environment and wider discourses around 'other' varieties of English that are commonly held in the UK.

During my research another student (Nick) also stated that he finds the Australian English 'very funny' (informal interview 2nd March 2019). In fact, his maths teacher is Australian, and he and his friends regularly count with Australian English to tease their teacher. British English is viewed to be the 'mother' of English (Clyne, 2005). My data show students' perception was mainly related to the sound of the language i.e. it sounds weird/funny (see e.g. Jamila & Safya), such a perception aligns with an essentialist view on language resulting in 'otherness' (see e.g. Davis, 2004). A possible explanation for this might be that British English significantly impacts on some of the young people's identity construction in the sense that it shapes the way they act in the world and make sense of their experiences. My data portray that through their experiences with British English they create a sense of personal biography and belonging which in their case is the UK.

Overall, the data I have presented in this sub-section may be interpreted through a sociocultural lens on language learning and the role direct experiences play in the construction of an individuals' linguistic repertoire (e.g. Bruner, 1972; Vygotsky, 1978). From the data it would seem that the young people's language learner identities inside the classroom were shaped through their experiences and language use outside the German Saturday School. From this one may conclude that the dialect, accent or language variety the young people identify with is a result of their out of school experiences and particular discourses around e.g. Australian English, Thuringia Dialect. Hence the construction of young people's ideas about dialects was influenced through their participation in certain activities or contact with their friends/family. Whereby the focus was on *how* they experienced various resources and the emotions these experiences evoked e.g. Iraqi Dialect feeling at home and safe. My data may further be explained with a post-structural perspective on official languages and standard varieties (e.g. standard High German) that are often superior to non-standard varieties

(Bavarian/Thuringia dialect) (Blommaert, 1999). As a result, the young people judged dialects according to their popularity and their sound. I now move on and look at a further theme; that is culture, which seemed to have impacted students' experiences through which they constructed their identities by identifying with certain cultural aspects e.g. German history.

Culture

The young people's cultural experiences seemed to be something that shaped their thoughts and emotions. In terms of which role, the German Saturday School plays in the young people's identity construction there was a topic that resurfaced in the classroom. How the students made sense of the world around them appeared to be shaped by wider cultural/historical discourses around 'the Germans' as well as terms such as 'die deutsche Rasse' (the German race). Additionally, the young people's language use seemed to be shaped by cultural experiences within the German Saturday School where various cultural discourses meet and thus shape their language use.

The following extract exemplifies the experiences of three of the young people in their English school regarding discourses around 'the Germans' that are embedded in German history. The teacher and the students were talking about history lessons and the teacher asked students about the topics they discussed. Most students had studied Nazi Germany and shared similar experiences.

Anna mentions 'ich mag es nicht, dass sie immer sagen, 'the Germans' haben das gemacht, or die Deutschen sind so boese. ***(I don't like that they always say the Germans did this, or the Germans are bad)*** Als ob alle Deutschen Nazi's waren. ***(as if all Germans were Nazis)***

Safya, Jamila and Johanna agree and say 'ja das nervt immer total.' (**yes that's always annoying)**

Excerpt 11: Fieldnotes 16th March 2019

It appears as if students felt that the Germans are not portrayed in the right light during their history lessons. Anna explicitly stated that she does not like the way her teacher talks about the Germans and added that it sounds as if all Germans

were Nazis. Looking at this from an angle of language conveying meaning it could further indicate the way the term 'the Germans' has been constructed in English history aligns with wider ideologies embedded in the history of the British Empire. Anna contested the British perspective on 'the Germans' by acknowledging it was not true that all Germans were supportive of the Nazi party which she had learnt during her research for her mock exam about the Olympic Games 1936 and the Nazi party. Safya and Jamila agree with her and add that they think this is very annoying. From this it would seem that all three girls disagreed with how the 'English' think and speak about the Germans, especially Nazi Germany, in the sense that the girls' understanding did not resonate with an English point of view and the way history has been constructed from this perspective. Hence, my data may be explained with a view on language and meaning that is bound to its context (e.g. Heller, 2011) which implies the way the term 'the Germans' is used in the UK might differ from what a German person may believe to be true about the term.

Linking to what I argued above it seemed to be the case that Anna further expressed her subjective feeling toward the UK as a country in an informal interview by stating that she wanted to leave the UK, because 'ich will mit denen hier nichts zu tun haben' (I don't want anything to do with them) (Informal interview, 16th March 2019). This could be indicative for her strong bond with Germany and as a result her strong identification with German culture. Safya and Jamila further seemed to feel strongly connected with Germany as they think it is annoying that Germans are portrayed in a bad light. A possible explanation for this may be that both girls were born in Germany where they lived almost eight years. Both girls further confirmed their love for Germany and the good memories they have about living in Germany. Although, unlike Anna, they prefer living in the UK and they are very happy here. What Anna, Safya, and Jamila experienced is something, that was familiar to me as when I first arrived in the UK, I had comparable feelings, and I heard similar comments about 'the Germans'. It would seem that all three girls feel strongly connected to 'the Germans' as a nation and thus constructed a particular notion of what is, which is a direct result of their prior experiences. The role of the German Saturday School in this sense could be to bring about a sense of belonging to one community and give students something to hold on to, at least temporarily. It would further appear that the cultural

meanings the young people hold, as well as the ones that are build when they are in this environment, were central to the young people's language learning.

The young people's language use seems to be shaped through experiences (e.g. growing up in Germany, attending a German Saturday school) which means that during these experiences some aspects of the young people's identity were constructed. This would explain why aspects of the young people's OLRs differ significantly from this from a young person from a non-German speaking background. The example strengthens this argument as the girls' subjective identification with Germany as a country may have been positively shaped through their experiences and as a result the particular aspect that became salient during the classroom interaction was constructed during these experiences. Hence, students from a non-German speaking background may not feel the same way about the term 'the Germans' being they have not had the same experiences and as a result do not identify with German as an ethnicity.

Developing the argument made above the interpretation of my data portrays that notions of what it might mean to be German and understanding/interpreting German culture were created in the momentary interactions in the classroom. Hence as well as impacting on how the young people approached and viewed language use, it was their language use itself, and the construction of words and meanings of words in collaboration in class, which worked towards these joint cultural constructions. The following excerpt strengthens this and is taken from another translation exercise in which students and the teacher worked on the topic migration.

The teacher continues to read out sentences in English and stumbles upon the expression the 'German race'. She says 'Wir dürfen nicht sagen, die deutsche Rasse' (***we are not allowed to use 'die deutsche Rasse'***) She seems distressed and talks to herself, how can we translate this? She settles for ethnicity and they carry on.

Then again, they come across the term 'Rasse' and the teacher reminds the class again 'wir dürfen das nicht sagen.' (***we are not allowed to say this*)**. She looks at me helpless and asks 'wie können wir das übersetzen?' I reply 'ethnischer Hintergrund' ethnic background and she thanked me. I mention 'es ist interessant,

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dass wir es in Englisch benutzen dürfen, aber nicht auf Deutsch; (***it is interesting that we are allowed to use it in English, yet not in German***). Safya and Jamila look at me and agree (Fieldnotes, 16th March 2019).

Excerpt 12: Fieldnotes 16th March 2019

From the excerpt it would seem that by repeating 'we are not allowed to say this' twice, the teacher communicated fear and my fieldnotes seem to confirm this as Mrs Bauer looked distressed during this interaction and she appeared to be trying to find a translation that would be politically correct. She used me as her last resort, hoping I would be able to find a more appropriate translation. In this instance, wider discourses may have affected what went on in the A-level classroom. Ideologies around language relating to Nazi Germany i.e., German history seemed to be impacting the teacher's momentary linguistic identity construction. This in turn may impact students' OLRs as in the future they might not want to use the term 'die deutsche Rasse' (the German race). Furthermore, by using 'we' the teacher seemed to assume that everyone in the classroom strongly identified with the German nation and German history. From a post-structural viewpoint this may mean that the teacher's experiences with the term 'die deutsche Rasse' were moments, perhaps throughout her own educational journey in Germany, in which a part of her identity was constructed through internalising the terms as something forbidden, a somewhat laden term. Hence to her it made more sense not to use the term as it carries a negative meaning. From my experience of growing up in Germany and studying German history from a German perspective, I can confirm that the term 'Rasse' is not used throughout the literature and we were taught about German history with a sense of guilt about what 'the Germans' have done. Accordingly, the term 'die deutsche Rasse' appears to be as now being constructed with a negative connotation portraying how meaning of words are constructed collaborative in class, working towards joint cultural constructions.

The following excerpt further portrays the young people's understanding/interpreting of German culture that was created through momentary interactions in the German Saturday School. It is an example of an off-task interaction between the teacher and the whole class. It was Anna's

birthday and she baked a birthday cake that she brought into school. The whole class sang a birthday song for her.

Then the teacher asks whether we should have the cake now or after the lesson. The class decides to have it now, and the teacher suggests singing a song. She starts 'weil heute dein Geburtstag ist…' and the whole class, including myself starts singing with her. Then the teacher comes up with another song, that I know is usually only sung in east-Germany. 'Hoch soll sie leben, hoch soll sie leben, dreimal hoch' Yet again the whole class sings along.

Excerpt 13: Fieldnotes 9th February 2019

Based on my experiences the two songs the students were singing are songs that are usually sung by German children. Nevertheless, the entire class knew the songs and happily sang along. In fact, it is a song from the DDR (German Federal Republic) ("Weil heute dein Geburtstag ist - Lieder aus der DDR - Kinderlieder, Pionierlieder", 2019) which is well known in East-Germany. Whereas the second song is a folksong and was first printed in a German song book in 1924 ("Hoch soll er leben | Volkslieder-Archiv (10.000 Lieder)", 2019). There are different versions sung of this song, and especially in East Germany children used to sing the song by repeating 'hoch soll sie leben, hoch soll sie leben, dreimal hoch' (high she should live, high she should live, three times high). This may mean that the teacher brought herself, her cultural identity, into the classroom as she grew up in East-Germany (e.g., Interview 30th March 2019) hence the way she acted may have been influenced through East German culture, which forms a significant aspect of how she made sense of her experiences and thus created a sense of personal biography.

Students knew both songs by heart and my fieldnotes confirm that they were all very jolly and enjoyed the small 'concert. An explanation of this could be that Mrs Bauer has been teaching at the German Saturday School for over a decade and has taught some of the young people when they first started at the school because she used to teach years 1-5 (Interview 9th February 2019). Students like Chris and Anna who have joined the school in kindergarten may have learnt the song during their time at the German Saturday School. This may mean that the resources students drew on during this micro-moment were shaped through their

attendance at the German Saturday School. My fieldnotes confirm that students had learnt the song in the school, as shortly after they finished the song, I had asked students whether they had learnt the song at school or elsewhere. The data show that the young people's understanding of the German culture was created through their attendance at the Saturday school. The example shows that the young people's language use and the meaning of in this instance 'hoch soll sie leben' was constructed collaboratively in the German Saturday School which works toward their understanding of German culture. This shows students' OLRs and respectively their linguistic identities were partly constructed through their language learning experiences in the German Saturday School, which may be explained through a sociocultural perspective of language learning (e.g. Vygotsky, 1978; Lantolf, 2000) that foregrounds the collaborative nature of language learning.

In sum, what I have shown in this sub-section is the importance of culture and how it was brought into the classroom, yet at the same time shaped in the learning environment, as well as how language meaning was negotiated. Mrs Bauer appeared to play an important role in shaping the learning environment as well as the German Saturday School as an institution feeding into the emergence of the young people's OLRs. The young people's language use seemed to be shaped by the teacher's experiences of growing up in Germany as she brought cultural resources from East Germany into the classroom in forms of e.g. songs. The focus here was thus on how the young people experienced these cultural resources which was shaped through aspects of the teacher's linguistic identity that she brought into the classroom. This supports the organic aspect of linguistic repertoires in terms of the interconnected nature of all systems hence the teacher's experiences as an external factor influenced the meso-system. In the following section, I discuss the impact of students' biography and relationships regarding the overall topic of how language shapes the way the young people make sense of the world and thus construct their identities. I further look at how the young people make sense of these experiences through language and thus create their personal biography.

4.4.2 Microsystem (Biography)

One recurrent topic that students talked about was directly related to their biographies and relationships which revealed more about the second part of the second sub-question i.e., what kind of languages, styles, and registers are involved in their identity construction. This means that how the young people experienced the plurality of resources they came across throughout their lives shaped the construction of their OLRs. The biographical aspect was brought to the fore through the language portrait activity. Most of the young people visualised languages they identify with by colouring a heart into their silhouette, depicting the language they feel the closest to. These feelings appeared to be a result of their biographies. I present these below to introduce the remaining themes as this was something that stood out from students' language portraits as, I had not asked them to colour a heart. The young people's biographies further seemed to have an impact on their language use in the classroom which I discuss in section 4.4.3 leading to answering the overall research question of the kind of linguistic identities young people construct and negotiate in a German Saturday school. As part of the microsystem, that includes the young people's most proximal setting in which they may interact, focusing on the young people's language use, the recurrent themes I discuss are the importance of relations as well as the young people's self-perception, that fed into the creation of their sense of biography. Furthermore, popular culture appeared to impact the languages the young people used to make sense of their experiences and thus create their personal biography. Hence it was about their lived experiences with a variety of resources that they actively negotiated inside and outside the classroom supporting the dynamic nature of these resources that is capture through the term organic.

As already mentioned, the young people visualised how they feel language defines and determines them, using a heart which they painted with the colour(s) representing a particular language. Safya (Figure 13), Jamila (Figure 15) as well as Anna (Figure 14) painted their hearts with the colour they had chosen for e.g. German or Arabic.

Figure 13: Language Portrait Safya

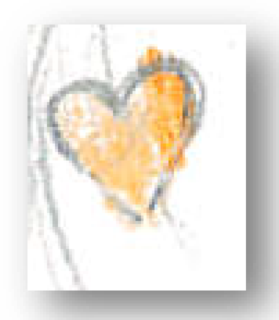

Figure 14: Language Portrait Anna

Safya painted her heart blue, the colour she had picked to depict German. In an interview, she explained that this was related to her being born in Germany. It is interesting, as in the way she explained this, she further used both German and English.

Safya: Ja, ehm, ich glaub weil (laughs), ich dort geboren war und ich bin auch ehm, *I was like raised there, like I spent my early years there, so I think that's probably why my heart is German, because, ehm it's the core.*

Excerpt 14: Interview 18th May 2019

It seems that to Safya having been born in Germany means to feel German at her core. This is an interesting rationalisation and may mean that German plays an important role in her life because this is the language that was used during the early years of her life and she thus strongly identifies with it. However, during the interview, English further appeared to impact how she positioned herself (becoming salient especially during classroom interactions) hence English seemed to play a role in determining who she is as a person. A reason for this

may be that, since she now lives in the UK it is through the English language that she makes sense of the world around her. I return to this argument in the sections (importance of relations, self-perception).

Similarly, as Figures 9 and 14 show, the colour Anna has chosen for her heart depicts German and she stated that this is related to her German background as the following excerpt shows:

Anna: Ich finde es eine schönere Sprache, ein schöneres Land, meine Familie ist da, also fühle ich mich viel wohler und ich finde einfach alles besser in Deutschland. Ich finde das Schulsystem besser, wie es da ist.. also mir gefallen einfach, ehm mir gefällt einfach Deutschland besser als England,

Anna: *I think it is a more beautiful language, a nicer county, my family is there, hence I feel much more at ease in Germany and I just find everything better in Germany. I am finding the school system better, the way it is in Germany, so, I just like, ehm, I like Germany better than England.*

Excerpt 15: Interview 4th May 2019

For Anna, German appeared to be a 'more beautiful' language. Her feelings towards German seemed to be related to Germany in general and the fact that most of her family lives in Germany. Furthermore, she seemed to favour the German school system as well as the way things are in Germany. As a result, German appears to play an important role in constructing a sense of personal biography and respectively in who she is as a person. A possible explanation for this may be that Anna associates positive experiences with Germany as her family lives in Germany and as a result she may feel more at home in Germany. This in turn may shape how strongly she identified with Germany as a country which impacts on the way she makes sense of her experiences in the UK as she may judge them against her subjective feelings toward Germany. Again, I develop this argument further in the following sections.

Unlike Safya, Jamila coloured her heart in purple (Arabic-Iraqi Dialect) portraying her feelings towards the language and how this determines who she is.

Figure 15: Jamila Language Portrait

For Jamila the particular dialect she speaks made up an aspect of her identity. As the following interview excerpt confirms:

Jamila: ehm, I don't know, I think, ehm, because originally, I'm Arabic and I would like to keep that in my heart.

Excerpt 16: Interview 18th May 2019

From the excerpt it seems that for Jamila the heart stood for her roots, she felt that because she is Arabic (originally), she would like to keep this aspect of her identity in her heart. This may mean that for Jamila, Arabic plays an important role in making sense of the world around her as it appears to be deeply rooted in how she constructed her biography by making sense of past experiences.

Furthermore, the teacher's portrait, as well as two of the students that participated in the language portrait activity, yet were not my main participants, showed this pattern i.e. heart (see Appendix E). Some students coloured their hearts using one colour, others used several colours, portraying their feelings for several languages as the following example shows:

Figure 16: Language Portrait Nick

Nick coloured his heart with three different colours, green depicting American English, blue English and grey Gujarati. Interestingly, Nick made a clear distinction between American English and English in general, and from an informal conversation during the language portrait activity, I learnt that English in this sense refers to British English (informal interview 2nd March 2019). Although his father is German, Nick did not feel that German makes up a big part of his heart. Nick's mother is originally from India yet grew up in the US and he feels strongly connected to this part of his family. He was born in London and at the time of my research attended an English school which he said to be the reason for including British English into his heart. It may thus seem that Nick created his sense of biography through the British English language as this is the language through which he makes sense of his everyday experiences e.g. at the mainstream school. Furthermore, his immediate environment appeared to determine how he perceived himself and how he wanted to be perceived. During the language portrait activity, he further disclosed that he speaks solely English with his father which might be an explanation for German making up a small of his heart.

Not all students visualised their language use in the same way, as for example Chris and Johanna who did not colour a heart into their silhouette as the figures below portray.

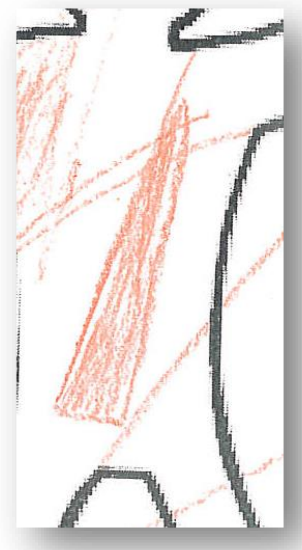

Figure 17: Language Portrait Chris

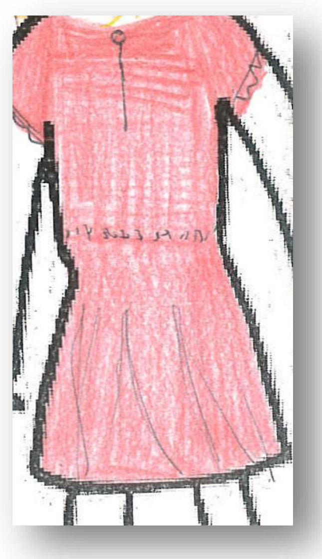

Figure 18: Language Portrait Johanna

As Figure 17 shows, for Chris, there did not seem to be a connection between his feelings towards a language and how this affects him as a person. From his language portrait, it would seem that the thick line depicts his heart, going all the way down to his stomach. However, when I talked about this to Chris in his interview, he said that he was just bored. Johanna's language portrait (Figure 18) similarly does not seem to reveal more about how a particular language impacts who she is as a person or how she wants to be perceived. In the interview, she stated that she coloured the dress red because she likes red dresses. She laughed at her drawing and said 'super hässlich' (it's very ugly). It seems as to her the drawing was more important than the activity itself i.e. reflecting on her language learning experiences. Again, there appears to be no direct connection between where the colour red is placed in the language portrait and her feelings towards English.

In what I have shown in the previous paragraphs, three of five main participants, as well as one other student, visualised how they feel language determines them as well as how they want to be seen drawing a heart into their portrait. It supports the biographical aspect of OLRs that is tied to the emotions various resources may evoke within them. This suggests a connection between the complexity of young people's identities and their OLRs, and I further this argument in the following section. For example, in Chris's case it appears as if he wanted to come

across as diverse, meaning, unlike the other participants, he listed all the languages he knows without portraying how he feels about languages. It may also be the case that he approached the task from a more pragmatic angle. In the following section, I look at the importance of students' relations and the way these shape how they view themselves and how they want to be perceived.

Importance of Relations

The data generated during my research seems to demonstrate that students placed an important emphasis on relations with family and friends and how this impact on their own perceptions of and use of language. The focus of this section will thus be on demonstrating the link between the young people's OLRs and their identities meaning their 'Spracherleben' (Busch, 2017) and how this affects the resources they identify with as part of their language development (main research sub-question).

The following excerpt is taken from an interview with Johanna in which we talked about her language portrait, Turkish in particular, and how she learnt this language. It portrays the importance of relations in the construction of her organic linguistic repertoire.

Johanna: ehm, ich glaub das ist Türkisch. ***(I think it's Turkish)***

Interviewer: und wo hast du das gehört? ***(where did you hear this?)***

Johanna: Also, ehm, mein, ich hab, ok, so my neighbour, from like when I was really little, he was Turkish, and he was like my first boyfriend.

Interviewer: Oh, that's so cute and he…

Johanna: ja, and he used to, well we used to have street parties on my old road, because it was a little ehm like u-bend, so everybody was like really friends with each other in that road. But we moved around like last year, but we were like really close friends and his family was all Turkish and everything. I really like the sound of Turkish.

Excerpt 17: Interview 11th May 2019

From the excerpt it would seem that Johanna learnt Turkish through her first boyfriend and she remembered the street parties that brought together families that lived on the same road. She likes the sound of Turkish and she was very close to him and his family. In the interview, she further revealed that a friend of hers is from Colombia and that she picked up some Spanish words from her. Although most of her friends are from England, she also has friends from Poland. This implies that the way Johanna views Turkish, Spanish and Polish might be directly related to her relationships with her friends. In terms of how she views herself this could imply that she chooses to identify with these languages over others hence she included these on her language portrait. Relations with her friends and/or presumably vice versa may thus shape the way she understands herself in the world, and thus makes sense of the world around her, which I conclude from her drawing regarding the languages it depicts.

Another example that strengthens this argument emerged from an interview with Safya. I have already discussed that Safya seemed to feel a strong connection to Germany as she was born in Germany and spent the first years of her life in Germany. She thus experienced the earliest memories of her childhood in Germany.

Interviewer: vermisst ihr Deutschland manchmal? ***(do you sometimes miss Germany?)***

Safya: Ja ***(yes)***

Jamilia: ein bisschen ***(a bit)***

Safya: wir hatten so viele Freunde dort und war so wie eine große Familie, und dann sind wir aber alle weggegangen. ***(we had so many friends there and we were such a big family, and then we all left).***

Excerpt 18: Interview 18th May 2019

From the excerpt, I have identified that one of the reasons why Safya may have felt such a strong connection to Germany is that she experienced a sense of belonging while she was living in Germany. However, she was not talking about family *per se*, she referred to her friends as ‘eine große Familie’ (big family). In the interview, Safya further talked about that when her family left Germany, most of her friends moved to the UK too and they are still in touch with them. Out of

her siblings, Safya was the one that knew the most German, as she spent more time in Germany than her younger siblings. Although she did not have German friends, she felt a sense of belonging which may have shaped the way she feels about the German language. In a follow-up informal email exchange, she emphasised again that she had lots of friends that became her family (informal interview 13th July 2019). From this it would seem that the way she wanted to be seen may be shaped by the strong connection she feels with Germany and thus the German language as a direct result of the positive memories she holds in her mind about her childhood. German as a language appears to play a role in how Safya makes sense of the world around her and it further helped her to create a sense of personal biography.

However, the way Safya and Jamila understand the world, was further shaped through their family and the languages the family uses at home. The following excerpt reveals more about the girls' language use.

Interviewer: welche eh, ehm, zu Hause, wie sprecht ihr untereinander? Welche Sprache sprecht ihr**? (which language do you speak at home?)**

Safya: English

Jamila: English

Safya: Arabisch und ein paar deutsche Wörter (laughs) (**Arabic, and a few German words)**

Excerpt 19: Interview 18th May 2019

From the excerpt, I have identified that the two girls mainly use English at home, yet they further draw on Arabic and a few words in German. Interestingly here, Jamila replied first by solely referring to English which may indicate that for her English is more important than Arabic and German. Both parents are Arabic, and their father wants all children to become fluent in Arabic. My fieldnotes confirm this, as I have observed the father speaking Arabic to his children during breaktimes. Furthermore, I spoke to him and during this informal discussion, Jamila functioned as a translator as he did neither speak English or German to me. This may mean that Jamila's, as well as Safya's language use, was

influenced through their migration biography, which in turn shapes their language use at home. As a result, both girls appeared to be at their core Arabic, German and English, whereby Safya identified more with the German language than her sister, which may be related to her having lived in Germany longer than her sister. From their language portrait I thus conclude that the girls may have wanted to be seen as Arabic, German and English because these languages are the languages, they use at home, hence they play an important role in the girls' daily lives i.e. their relationships. There may thus be a strong link between these three languages in terms of making sense of their everyday experiences.

For Chris, similarly to the other participants, the topic of the importance of relations appeared to play a role in the way he wanted to be seen. English and French were the first languages in his portrait, followed by German and Italian. The reason for asking him about Italian was that I had learnt from interviewing his mother that his father is Italian, and he speaks Italian at home. However, his mother further emphasised that since Chris has started secondary school, he replies in English to his father as his vocabulary is not as developed as English and German. Chris's mother speaks German to him and with his brother, he speaks English. This may mean that for Chris, as he attended an English school, English plays the most important role in making sense of the world and his experiences.

Additionally, at school, Chris studies Russian, French, Latin and Ancient Greek. At the time of my research, Chris attended a language orientated school and he and his friends teach one another chunks from the languages e.g. Spanish they take at school. The following excerpt reveals Chris's answer to my question where he learnt Spanish.

Chris: nein, einfach so, überall. Ich hab auch Freunde in der Schule die Spanisch gemacht haben, statt Russisch und manchmal machen die ehm, Chinesisch, die können auch Deutsch machen in der Schule, aber ich habe einfach Russisch genommen und wir haben uns es gegenseitig beigebracht.

Chris: ***No, just, everywhere. I have friends at school that took Spanish, instead of Russian and sometimes they ehm, take Chinese, they can also***

take German at school, but I just picked Russian and we teach each other the languages.

Excerpt 20: Interview 16th March 2019

From the excerpt it seems that Chris learnt Spanish and some Chinese from his friends. Out of all participants, he was the only one who included languages that he hears, and an explanation for Chris's diverse language portrait may be that he pays more attention to the various languages in his environment, furthermore, he may be more aware of these different languages as a result of his attendance at a language orientated school. For instance, he picked Polish up from visiting Polish shops around North London and making friends with the shop keepers, whereas he heard Hebrew on his way to school on the tube, where he would see the same family every morning. Since Chris lives in the Borough of Barnet it is very common to see Jewish people and according to the Census 2011 54,084 Jews, accounting for 20.5% of all Jews in the UK, currently live in Barnet (Graham, Boyd & Vulkan, 2012). He further claimed that other varieties of English i.e. American and Australian-English can be heard everywhere. Chris also regularly visits his grandparents who live in Bavaria. His mother is originally from Bavaria and when he spends his summer holidays there, he can hear the Bavarian dialect, although his family speaks High German. Thus, the importance of his relations in constructing a sense of biography become apparent. Regarding his language use and how he wants to be perceived, what I have illustrated in the previous two paragraphs, may explain why he wanted to be perceived as diverse (see language portrait) as well as how he views himself and makes sense of his environment. It may be that due to the diversity of friends, family or people he regularly sees he experiences a variety of languages that feed into how he constructs his biography.

Anna on the other hand appeared to identify with German over all the other languages she speaks. What stood out most from her language portrait are the words 'Familie, Ferien & Friends' (family, holidays) (see Figure 9). I focus on the topic 'Ich fühle mich Deutsch' (I feel German) as this seemed strongly related to her biography and thus portrays the importance of relations in the construction of aspects of her linguistic identity. As I was talking to her after the language portrait activity had taken place, Anna stated: 'ich will mit denen nichts zu tun haben, ich

will nach Deutschland ziehen, wenn ich gross bin' ***(I don't want to have anything to do with them. I want to move to Germany when I grow up)*** (informal interview 16th March 2019). The use of 'them' in this sense referred to the English and the following excerpt reveals more about what Anna means.

Anna: Ehm, also hauptsächlich fühle ich mich Deutsch, weil meine ganze Familie in Deutschland wohnt, alle sprechen Deutsch, es ist die erste Sprache und auch meine erste Sprache, ehm und ich fühle mich überhaupt nur Englisch weil ich hier wohne und sonst eh nicht wirklich, also ich würde viel lieber, als Deutsch gesehen, als als Englisch. Ich habe auch einen deutschen Pass und keinen Englischen und dann ehm....

Ehm, I mainly feel German, because my whole family lives in Germany, they all speak German, it is the first language and my first language too, ehm, and I solely feel English because I live here, so I would rather be viewed as German than as English. I also have a German passport, not an English one and ehm…

Excerpt 21: Interview 4th May 2019

The excerpt suggests that Anna may have a strong connection with Germany and the German language, confirming previous findings. Her family lives in Germany and her first language is German. Anna further has got a German passport and she solely feels English, because she lives in the UK. Contrary to the other participants, it appears as if Anna, although she currently lives in the UK, felt very strongly about her German roots. She associated feeling English with living in London, and she would rather want to be viewed as German than English. From this I conclude that although English appeared to be a dominant language in Anna's life in terms of making sense of her experiences, she appeared to have created her sense of personal biography and understanding of herself through the German language. It seemed that her German language knowledge was constructed as part of her relationships with her family and thus comes to take on meaning and significance for her. An explanation for this may be that her parents are both German and that her extended family lives in Germany.

From a sociocultural perspective to identity my data suggests that the young people's identities, values as well as language knowledge have been constructed through their interactions with peers, as well as adults (Vygotsky, 1978). It seems that language was constructed as part of the young people's relationships and thus took on meaning and significance for the young people through these relationships (e.g., Bruner, 1972) emphasising the complexity of emotions towards their languages and cultures. Through the young people's interactions with their peers and families they used particular resources helping the participants to make sense of these experiences and thus construct their identities which could be explained with Lave (1996) and Wenger's (1998) theory of communities of practice. Additionally, especially for Chris his language learning and respectively how he understands the world around him can be looked at through an ecological model of language development (e.g. Hornberger, 2002; Van Lier, 2000) taking account of the environment in which learning takes place. In the following sub-section, I look at how the young people perceive themselves and the role of language in the construction of these perceptions.

Self-perception

Some of the data generated during the semi-structured interviews appeared to demonstrate a link between the young people's biographies and how they perceive themselves in terms of their language use. In this section, I present two contradicting views on how the young people view themselves or want to be perceived and the role of language in these constructions.

Anna, for instance, explicitly explained how she feels toward Germany revealing more about why she feels German, as shown in the previous section.

NM: Ich finde es eine schönere Sprache, ein schöneres Land, meine Familie ist da, also fühle ich mich viel wohler und ich finde einfach alles besser in Deutschland. Ich finde das Schulsystem besser, wie es da ist.. also mir gefallen einfach, ehm mir gefällt einfach Deutschland besser als England, obwohl, obwohl es hier, ehm, obwohl es hier manchmal viel bessere Schulen gibt, aber ehm trotzdem finde ich es insgesamt in Deutschland schöner. Auch habe ich das Gefühl, also von das was ich weiß, dass die Leute viel netter sind. Also jedes

---

Mal, wenn ich in den Urlaub gehe, dann sagen mir immer alle ‚Hallo' und fragen ‚wie geht's' während wen ich das hier sagen würde, würden mich die Leute total komisch angucken.

I think it's a nicer language, a nicer country, my family is there, so I feel much more comfortable and I feel that Germany is just better. I am finding the school system better, like it is in Germany, so I just like, ehm, I just like Germany better than England, although, although here, ehm, although there are sometimes better schools here, but ehm, overall, I think Germany is much nicer. I also have the feeling, from what I know, that people are much nicer, when I go on holidays, then they all say 'hello' and they ask, 'how are you', but if I would say this here, people would look at me weirdly.

Excerpt 22: Interview 4th May 2019

In the excerpt, Anna repeatedly talked about that Germany is better than England. She listed everything that she believes to be better e.g., the language is nicer, the school system is better, and people are much nicer. How she feels about Germany and German, in general, may be related to her direct experiences with the country and people. As she stated, she spends her holidays in Germany, and she talked about this during an informal interview (16th March 2019) as well as in the interview above, extensively. I further asked her whether it could be that people in London appear less friendly because it is a big city and people, in general, are different from people that live in a small town or village. She agreed to this and said that this may be possible.

The repetition of the word 'although' (3 x) before she finished her thought about the schools in the UK may indicate that Anna finds it hard to state something positive about the UK which she may do because she identifies with her parents' view on the UK and thus struggles to acknowledge the good things in this country. This, in turn, may influence how she makes sense of the world and understands herself in a UK context. From the interview with Anna's father, I learnt that he is against obtaining a British passport because he thinks it is too expensive and he does not see the value of being in the possession of a British passport. The following excerpt reveals more about the way Anna feels about the UK.

Interviewer: Also, du hattest gesagt, ich will mit denen nichts zu tun haben, das hattest du das letzte Mal gesagt. Was meinst du damit? ‚Ich will mit denen nichts zu tun haben'?

So, you said something about, that you don't want anything to do with them. What do you mean by this?

NM: raises her voice – ich weiß nicht, es interessiert mich einfach nicht, was hier so... (pause) ehm... nicht was hier passiert, aber was die Politik, die Politik, damit will ich nichts zu tun haben. Ich find nich, das ehm, also, wenn ich älter bin, dann werde ich sowieso nach Deutschland ziehen und deswegen muss ich mich hier nicht groß daran beteiligen.

I don't know, I am just not interested, what happens here .... (pause) ehm.... not what happens here, but the politics, politics is something I don't want anything to do with. I don't find, that, ehm, so, when I am older, then I will move to Germany anyway and I, therefore, think I don't have to take part in anything here.

Excerpt 23: Interview 4th May 2019

Anna clearly expressed her disinterest in the UK. In particular, she talked about politics and that she does not want anything to do with this. She started by saying that she is not interested in what happens in the country, which she seemingly did not feel comfortable with and thus changed it into the specific subject politics. It appeared as if Anna was having difficulties with answering the question as she moved from the present i.e. what happened in the UK at the time of the interview to the future by talking about leaving the country and thus justifying why she does not need to take part in anything that happens at present.

From the interview with Anna, I also learnt that her friends from school all came from non-English speaking backgrounds and held similar opinions. This is important because, based on what she had told me, I wondered whether she felt excluded at school or any different than her fellow students. Since many of her friends also come from diverse backgrounds, Anna is exposed to many different languages and language varieties, which she had not thought about before the language portrait activity. She said that she realised how diverse her school is

and how much more she knows than she thought. I asked Anna whether this increased awareness had changed how she perceives herself, she replied that she still feels German. She also said that she does not want to lose her German and for this reason, she speaks mainly in German to her siblings, because she wants them to practice their German too. Anna thus seemed to position herself as a speaker of German, not just at home, yet in relation to the UK as a country. From this it would seem that at the time of my research, she wanted to be perceived as German rather than English which may be a result of her strong bonds to Germany and the positive experiences with the German language through which it becomes meaningful to her. This means German may play a significant role to her in constructing her personal biography hence she may identify with German more than English.

Safya, on the other hand, talked about her future and how she perceives herself in wider educational discourses regarding the languages she speaks. This was triggered through the language portrait activity as she appeared to have learnt to value the languages, she speaks, meaning through reflecting on her languages she understood how this shape her everyday life and herself as a person. German and Arabic seemed to be the two languages that she thought to be special. The following extract is taken from the interview in which I asked her to tell me more about herself.

Safya: what's important about me, well, at the moment I guess it's exams and that sort of stuff and getting into uni and applications, but maybe, well I think I'll be better at uni cos I speak so many languages, I think when I go and tell people how many languages I speak, then they go like 'wow you speak German and Arabic' and I think that's really important and I guess this is what makes me stand out.

Interviewer: So, weißt du schon, was du studieren willst. ***(So, do you have an idea what you'd like to study?)***

Safya: ich will, ehm I like Sciences, so maybe medicine, I'm gonna apply for medicine anyway.

Excerpt 24: Interview 18th May 2019

In the excerpt, Safya talked about her plans, and how she perceives herself in the context of higher education and getting into university. Firstly, she seemed to be very confident, that because she speaks different languages, she will be better at university, and it will make her 'stand out'. This may mean, that to her, the languages she speaks, determine who she is in the sense that she will be somewhat different. Standing out in this sense may relate to her academic performance or her positioning in higher education i.e. gaining access to university. The way she perceived herself may have been constructed through how others positioned her by providing feedback regarding her ability to speak different languages; 'wow' you speak German and Arabic'. It seems as if Safya attached a lot of value to German and Arabic which may be an indication for how she views herself in an English-speaking environment. From what I have shown so far it seems that how Safya created a sense of personal biography and makes sense of the world is influenced significantly through the German and Arabic language, yet *also* the positive feedback she received from others about these languages.

In terms of how Safya perceives herself, I have further identified that the Iraqi dialect plays an important role in the construction of her linguistic identity.

Iraqi dialect makes up a really big part of my identity and personality. With this dialect comes family (because my parents/family speak this dialect), friends and lots of traditions. It was also the first dialect I was exposed to in my life so it's very important to me.

Excerpt 25: Notes on Language Portrait 27th March 2019

From the excerpt, I have identified that to Safya, the Iraqi dialect is very important. She seemed to associate with this dialect what is close to her i.e. her family, friends and cultural traditions. She further linked the dialect to her biography by stating it was the first dialect she was exposed to. Interestingly, Safya used the words identity and personality as she talked about the Iraqi dialect. From this it would seem that the Iraqi dialect plays a significant role in making sense of her experiences and as a result it appears to be vital in the construction of her personal biography. This in turn may have shaped how she perceives herself i.e. as a speaker of Arabic (Iraqi dialect), and as a result this language might

determine who she is at her core, as well as how she wants to be viewed by others being it makes up a big part of her biography.

In this sub-section, I have looked at how two of the young people perceived themselves at the time of my study and want to be perceived as a result of their biographies as well as relationships. The language students speak appeared to shape their sense of personal biography as well as how they negotiated their way through the world meaning how the young people positioned themselves in e.g. education as well as the UK as a country seemed to be a direct result of the languages they use in their everyday lives. This could be explained with Joseph's (2004) theory that understands identity as the foundation as well as the outcome of language practices meaning language shapes the way individuals act in the world and construct their identities, yet *also* how it is through language that they make sense of their experiences and thus create a sense of personal biography.

From a sociocultural viewpoint the data indicate the way the girls perceive themselves may be constructed through a) interactions with peers/parents, b) participating in a distinct society and c) feedback they receive from others. Especially for Safya the feedback she received from others seemed to have shaped how she makes sense of the world around her, which could be explained with Vygotsky (1978). Yet my researcher identity and the way the language portrait activity was approached further shaped some of the young people's self-perception, supporting the dynamic aspect of the term OLRs that foregrounds the importance of the researcher's identity. In what follows I look at how popular culture shaped the young people's language use.

Popular Culture

Some of the data generated during the language portrait activity appeared to demonstrate a link between the young people's biographies and popular culture in terms of how, for instance, the music and movies shape the languages they 'know'. It further includes other semiotic resources as for example, YouTube and Netflix. To 'know' here refers to having an awareness of certain phrases without necessarily understanding what it means. Still, the language becomes meaningful to the young people through the experiences surrounding it, which means for example, by listening to it while they sit in the car with their parents. In

many ways, the language portraits and the accompanied interviews drew parallels with one another. There was a subtle difference in how students described themselves through their drawings. Across all of the different data sets I generated with my research; popular culture came out as a major theme.

There was a recurrent focus on music the young people hear, which was portrayed through clefs.

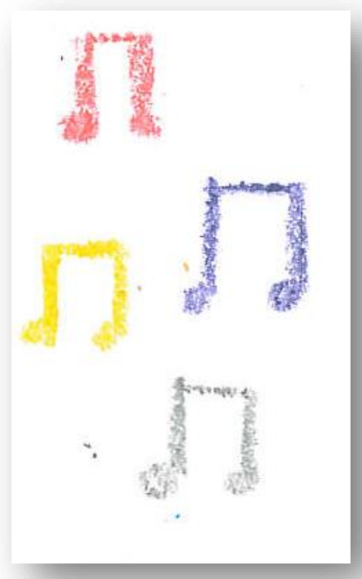

Figure 19: Language Portrait Jamila

Figure 20: Language Portrait Safya

As Figure 19 shows Jamila listens to English (red), Spanish (yellow), French (grey) as well as Arabic (purple) music. Unlike her sister (Figure 20), she did not specify the English variety i.e., American English she listens to on the radio. During the language portrait activity, I asked the girls which songs they knew in Spanish and they started to sing 'Despacito'. They also joined me in the song 'Súbeme la radio que esta es mi canción' and the three of us acknowledged that we sometimes just sing the lyrics without knowing what they mean. The girls said that 'Súbeme la radio que esta es mi canción' reminds them at the summer and the BBQ's they had with their family. Both girls further listen to French music because they think it helps them to understand the language better and they like the sound of it. At home and in the car, they listen mainly to Arabic music as this is what their father likes to listen to.

The language portraits display the role of popular culture in the girls' lives which appears to link with their migration biography. Both girls' linguistic identities seemed to be shaped through the German as well as the Arabic language and thus determining how they understand the world around them. Furthermore, popular culture appeared to play a role in constructing their OLRs for other languages e.g. Spanish and French, that the girls understand partly and aspire to learn. Popular culture in the sense of certain songs they hear on the radio thus seemed to be significant in making language meaningful to the girls, especially regarding the experiences they have with it.

Anna, on the other hand, included the music she listens to in her speech bubble, as Figure 21 shows. To her, German played a significant role.

Figure 21: Language Portrait Anna

By solely looking at the speech bubble it is somewhat difficult to determine which languages Anna hears on the radio. However, during the language portrait activity, she stated that the family listens to German radio stations at home. In fact, she listens to a radio station that plays both English and German music.

Anna: Also bei NDR2 hast du die 80iger und ehm die neusten Hits, aber beides auf Deutsch und English.

Anna: *Also, with NDR2 you get the '80s and ehm the latest hits, but both in English and German.*

Excerpt 26: Language Portrait Activity Transcript 2nd March 2019

According to Anna, some German songs include French words and one got stuck in her mind. It was played on the radio in 2018 and it was sung by Namika 'je ne parle pas Français'. Anna also mentioned that in the song the girl uses English. She could remember the refrain 'aber bitte red weiter, alles was du so erzählst hört sich irgendwie **nice** an.' (but please carry on talking, everything you talk about does sound somehow nice) (Informal interview 2nd March 2019). The song was in the German charts for 88 weeks, making it 172 days ('Namika - Je Ne Parle Pas Français', 2019) and Anna listened to it many, many times. This may mean that Anna's parents' desire to listen to a German radio station shapes the languages she is exposed to, which she uses to make sense of her experiences and as a result create her personal biography i.e., she identifies with certain languages over others. Furthermore, French and English seemed to play a role

in these constructions hence the languages that she identified with may to an extent also be constructed through the direct experiences she has with these e.g. listening to it on the radio.

Another topic was TV and how it shapes young people's OLRs and thus the languages they identify with. This was the case for most students and during the language portrait activity, they disclosed that they watch German TV, especially channels such as KIKA (a children's channel) that shows programmes as 'die Sendung mit der Maus' (a children's series). The excerpt below portraits one of the informal conversations I had during the language portrait activity.

Safya: und dann haben wir deutsches TV. **And then we've got German TV**

Researcher: Ihr habt Deutsches Fernsehen? Haben eure Eltern in Deutschland gelebt? **You've got German TV? Did your parents live in Germany?**

Safya: ja**. yes**

Excerpt 27: Informal interview 2nd March 2019

Again, there appears to be a link, in this case, between Safya's language use of German, and how she constructed her biography. From the excerpt it would seem that Safya identified with German as a language as well as Germany as a country. Her parents appear to make an effort to keep German in their children's lives through e.g., German TV. As a result, Safya may identify with the German language as it is something that is familiar to her as it is part of her home life. Hence the experiences she has at home with German make it meaningful to her and she uses German to construct a sense of personal biography; an identity.

To Chris, popular culture appeared to play a much bigger role than for the other participants, although he did not show this in his portrait. From the interview, it became clear that the virtual world and online platforms such as YouTube and Netflix shaped his language learning/use. Chris disclosed that he spends a lot of time watching Netflix movies, or clips on YouTube. During my classroom observations, I observed that he regularly used his phone to either research a particular topic or help the teacher with a difficult translation (see e.g. 24th March 2019). When I asked him about where he hears the American and Australian

variety of English, he replied: ‘Naja, Akzente. Die hört man hier doch überall, oder online bei YouTube’ (***Well, accents you can hear everywhere, or online on YouTube’)*** (Interview 16th March 2019). Although, I had asked about the variety of English, to him this seemed to be an accent.

For Chris it thus seems that he engages with a variety of sources all of which teach him different languages/language varieties/accents. It may thus be the case that Chris’s language portrait was more diverse than the others as he is exposed to a variety of e.g. languages which play into the creation of a sense of personal biography.

We further talked about the Japanese words that he had written on his language portrait. We went through each word and he revealed its meaning.

ME: OK, was hast du hier noch, oh Japanisch. Sag das mal was du hier geschrieben hast. **Ok, what else have you got there, oh Japanese. Tell me, what you wrote here.**

DR: Das heißt Hallo – aregato**. That means ‘hello’.**

Me: ok, und was heißen die anderen Sachen? **Ok, and what do the other things mean?**

DR: Das heißt Idiot, das heißt, danke, das heißt du wirst sterben oder so etwas und das heißt warum. **This means, ‘idiot’, that means, ‘thanks’, that one ‘you are going to die’ or something like this and this one means ‘why?’.**

Me: Wow, wo hast du das denn alles gelernt? **Wow, where did you learn all this?**

DR: hesitates... ja, ehm, ich hab mir einmal so etwas angeschaut eben. **Ehm, I’ve watched something.**

Me: Ah, ok, das kriegst du auch wieder aus dem Internet wahrscheinlich, oder? **Ah ok, so you get this from the internet?**

DR: laughs, ja. **Yes.**

Excerpt 28: Interview 16th March 2019

From the excerpt, I have identified that Chris learnt some Japanese words from watching 'something' on the internet. From Chris's initial hesitation before he replied, I understand that he may not feel comfortable about picking up Japanese from the internet. In an informal interview with his mother, I learnt that there were tensions between Chris and his parents about the time he spends on the internet, particularly the amount of time Chris spent on his phone which was a big issue and caused some distress at home. In fact, according to a report from 2017, the British teenager is part of the world's most extreme internet users (Campbell, 2017). My data, however, contests this, as the excerpt portrays, because the internet can have some benefits regarding young people's language learning.

Chris further revealed that, at the time of my fieldwork, he watched a Spanish Netflix series where he learned Spanish. During the interview, I asked him what made him watch a Spanish Netflix series and he said that he had watched most of the 'cool' ones that are in English hence he decided to try a Spanish one. Because he speaks Italian and French, he finds it easy to understand Spanish. Again, in this instance, the internet and the opportunities to access material in different languages seem to positively impact the development of Chris's OLR and effectively how he makes sense of his experiences, and thus constructs his identity. The analysis of my data points towards the positive role of popular culture in shaping how Chris views himself as well as how he may want to be perceived by others; in this case as diverse.

Overall, my findings portrait the role of popular culture in the young people's lives and how it may impact their language practices. The young people in my study appeared to have access to languages such as German, Spanish, French through the radio, TV, YouTube or Netflix. As a result, students seemed to develop their OLRs by picking up certain terms through either music, TV series or movies they watch. Through language portrait work, the young people's awareness of the languages they are exposed to daily, appeared to have been increased which in turn may further shape the way they will perceive themselves in the future, as well as how they want others to view them i.e. which resources

they may use to create meaning. From an organic perspective it may be that this was also shaped through my researcher identity as some of the participants and I were singing together and as a result triggering emotion that we may connect with certain songs. In terms of the young people's biographies the data suggest that the languages the young people identified with appeared to be shaped through movement across different spaces e.g. countries or online (YouTube). This could be explained with Blommaert and Backus' (2011) theory of mobility meaning the movement of learning environments. The impact of popular culture on the young people's identity construction demonstrates how popular culture appears to be embedded in the young people's everyday lives and thus shapes their language use in terms of making sense of their experiences (see e.g. Rampton, 2006, Sultana & Dovchin, 2016). In the following section, I look at the mesosystem and students' creative language use in the German Saturday School.

4.4.3 Mesosystem (Creative Language Use)

A major theme to emerge from the data generated during classroom observations was that of young people's creative language use. Concerning the role of young people's OLRs in their identity construction, in particular the kind of language practices in the A-level classroom, the data suggest a link between the complexity of young people's identities and their language practices. It appeared as if the young people were playing with language which happened during collaborative activities in the A-level classroom. My data show how students manipulated language and seemingly broke imagined boundaries, especially during translation work. Mrs Bauer appeared to use translation work as a collaborative activity and construct meaning together. The teacher thus seemed to play an important role in the young people's momentary identity constructions in the A-level classroom. In terms of the young people's creative use of language it seemed as if they would manipulate the language linking their prior e.g. grammatical understandings of English such as verb endings, with their German knowledge, and thus making the language learning more meaningful.

My observation data suggests that the teacher played a role in the young people's creative use of language in so far, that through her teaching approach, that to me appeared to be flexible in terms of language choice, she seemingly encouraged

creativity. Regarding the role of the German Saturday School in the young people's identity construction the data generated through observations appeared to demonstrate a link between Mrs Bauer's attitudes toward teaching and how the young people use their languages. This will be the first theme I look at. Regarding the previously mentioned research sub-question, I then turn my attention to students' use of humour to create meaning which was another dominant theme to emerge from my classroom observations. Humour seemed to be employed by the young people to make their language learning meaningful and my focus will be on students' interactions with one another and the teacher. The data generated during the language portrait activity, observations as well as semi-structured interviews suggests that the young people used language for different purposes e.g. creating bonds with their friends or to position themselves as 'outsiders' and I will look at this theme in the final sub-section.

Encouraging Flexible Language Use

In terms of the teacher's relationship with the young people and the way she interacted with students, from my observations it seemed that for the teacher it was important to create an environment in which students felt safe. Furthermore, during interactions, she appeared to show an understanding of students' flexible use of language and thus encouraged their language learning. Although, my data does not reveal whether or not she did this consciously or unconsciously, from my own language learning experiences, I have seen teachers acting out their 'power', instead of allowing for flexible language use and it is this argument I develop in the following paragraphs. Power in the sense of my findings refers to imposing a particular language on language learners which in this case would be German being data was generated in a German Saturday school.

What struck me most during my first hours in the classroom was the fact that all students could approach the teacher with the informal 'du' (you) (fieldnotes, 12th January 2019). Usually in Germany students from the age of seven must approach their teacher with the formal 'sie' ("How do children address their teachers across the globe? | Expatica", 2019). Mrs Bauer claimed she prefers it this way being she has worked and lived in the UK for such a long time that it would feel 'komisch' (awkward) (informal interview, January 2019) if students would approach her differently. From this it would seem that through establishing

an informal, friendly relationship with the young people, Mrs Bauer created a safe learning space.

At times, I have further felt that the teacher positioned herself as a learner of English and allowed students to negotiate an expert role; 'wie sagt ihr das auf Englisch?' 'what do you say in English?' (Fieldnotes, 16th March 2019). Through this, the teacher seemingly created a safe environment in which the young people, as well as Mrs Bauer herself, may have felt at ease to learn German, or in her case improve her English. This, in turn, may have shaped the way the young people used their language as they may have felt they could experiment with language without yet having to know the majority of resources of German to successfully participate in their lessons. My data suggest that Mrs Bauer empowered students to use language in a way they felt comfortable which may in turn have encouraged the young people's creative language use and it is this argument that I develop throughout the following paragraphs.

The following excerpt shows an example of an interaction between the teacher, Safya and Chris which foregrounds the collaborative nature of language learning through which Mrs Bauer appeared to create a safe learning environment. The class was talking about an incident that happened in Leipzig where followers of the right-wing party hunted down immigrants which ended in a bloodbath. The teacher was looking for a translation of the word 'Hetzjagd'.

Teacher: 'Hetzjagd.' Safya asks what a Hetzjagd is and the teacher tries to explain it but can't come up with an explanation. Chris interferes saying 'It's a witch hunt, without the witches.' Teacher: Oh ja, danke.

Excerpt 29: Fieldnotes 24th March 2019

From the excerpt, it seems that Chris drew on his knowledge of English to assist the teacher with a translation. My fieldnotes confirm that especially Chris tended to use his phone to google words or facts of which the teacher was unsure (e.g. Fieldnotes 24th March 2019). I have already discussed in the previous section 4.4.2, that the use of technology may support students' language learning. In this case, it was the teacher who actively allowed him to use his phone during the lesson, which is another example of challenging traditional power relation, as the

use of phones is usually prohibited during lesson time (see e.g. Mason, 2019). The UK government wants to ban phones in UK schools and release new guidance for schools (Mason, 2019).

Furthermore, Chris, in particular, seemed to like to correct the teacher's pronunciation and she did not mind turning to students if she was unsure about how to pronounce a word. The following fieldnote excerpt confirms this. It is taken from an exercise, students had to do in their workbooks as part of their A-level preparation. It was another translation exercise, which I have grouped under this theme, as it adds more detail to how students' identity performance is influenced through their interactions with Mrs Bauer in the sense that she creates a safe learning environment which in turn appeared to shape the young people's overall language practices.

The teacher moves on to another sentence and reads it out in English as she comes across the word 'scheduled' <chedschelded> Chris turns to her and corrects her pronunciation, it's '**sche**d**u**led.'

As Mrs Bauer comes across another difficult to pronounce word 'inadequate' students help her to pronounce it properly. Chris takes up another word and jokes around pronouncing 'schedule' like Mrs Bauer had pronounced it before 'chedschule'

Excerpt 30: Fieldnotes 24th March 2019

From the excerpt, it would seem that Chris in particular functioned as the teacher's helper, especially in terms of helping her with English pronunciation. This is another example of the teacher encouraging students to experiment with the language as she appeared to be unsure about the pronunciation of certain words. From the excerpt it seems that Mrs Bauer positioned herself as a learner of English which may have empowered the young people as they saw that it was 'OK' not to know e.g. how to pronounce a word. It appears as if this sort of empowerment was useful to the young people's overall language use as it may have encouraged students to flexibly use their language knowledge. It further appeared to avoid the usual classroom power games as it allowed students to be in direct dialogue with the teacher and in this case, Chris's proficiency in English

seemed to aid him to construct an expert identity. My fieldnotes suggest that Mrs Bauer allowed him to negotiate this aspect of his identity which in turn may empower him to become more confident in his use of German in the future.

My data further suggested a link between the use of English and German and the creation of an environment in which the young people appeared to feel safe and at ease. Although especially during translation tasks the use of two languages is normal, the fact that Mrs Bauer seemed to allow students to determine which language they wanted to speak, appeared to shape the young people's language practices. In fact, students' overall language use appeared to be affected and it further encouraged the use of humour (I will discuss this in the following sub-section). It seemed that the young people felt more confident during their classroom interactions as they could make interactions meaningful by drawing on their semantic as well as grammatical understandings of both English and German. This in turn appeared to shape their overall language learning experiences in a positive way. Moreover, the young people's sense as language user/learner appeared to be influenced in a way they felt more confident to experiment with German. The extract below confirms my observation findings and further portrays the teacher's thoughts on the topic.

Interviewer: Ja, das ist mir halt aufgefallen und da fühlen sich die Schüler einfach angenommener und es ist besser für sie zu lernen. Das ist meine Meinung.

Yes, that's what I picked up and students feel more at ease and it is better for them to learn. That's my opinion.

Mrs Bauer: Ja, also Druck darf man auf keinen Fall ausüben mit der Sprache. Das muss die Entscheidung der Schüler sein.

Yes, so, you shouldn't put pressure on students with the choice of language. It has to be the students' decision.

Interviewer: Ja, und das machst du halt auch überhaupt nicht, und ich habe das Gefühl, dass diese Umgebung eine sichere Umgebung, um Deutsch zu lernen. Sie werden halt nicht kleingemacht, wenn sie es nicht wissen oder können.

Yes, and you're not putting any pressure on students, and I have the feeling that this creates a safe environment to learn German. Students are not put down, if they don't know something or if they cannot yet do something.

Mrs Bauer: Nein, so ein Ansatz bringt auf keinen Fall etwas, wenn man etwas erzwingen will.

No, an approach like this would not get you anywhere, if you want to force something.

Excerpt 31: Interview 30th March 2019

The interview excerpt suggests that the teacher did not want to put pressure on students in terms of which language to use during the lesson. Mrs Bauer seemed to hold the view that to force students to act a certain way would not be beneficial and she believes that it should be the individual student who decides which language they want to speak. This suggests that by giving students the choice as to which language they wanted to speak the teacher allowed them to negotiate the aspects of their identity that they felt most confident with at the time. The data may be explained with a post-structural approach (Blackledge & Pavlenko, 2004) as it points towards Mrs Bauer allowing the young people to exercise their agency in form of which language they may want to use. The analysis of my data suggests that within the A-level classroom, although there were dominant discourses at play (e.g. exam culture) (Heller, 2007), the young people had relative freedom in their language choice. Through this, Mrs Bauer may have empowered students in their language use and language learning in a way that they felt safe to experiment with German and perhaps encouraged the young people's flexible language use.

The ways Mrs Bauer related to students and the use of English and German in the classroom suggests that this may be something that she has experienced herself. Mrs Bauer speaks German and English at home, due to her migration to England more than 20 years ago (interview 30th March 2019), hence the use of English during lessons seemed to be natural. Furthermore, she works in an English school as a German teacher where she drifts between English and German regularly (informal interview 2nd March 2019). As I have already discussed in previous sections (4.4.1), Mrs Bauer deliberately used English to

explain grammar to students and from an informal discussion with her I have further learnt that she thinks using English to explain complex concepts supports students' learning of German (fieldnotes, 2nd February 2019). Overall, the teacher appeared to be very accommodating to students' needs during their lessons.

The following excerpt supports my interpretation and depicts the encouraging nature of Mrs Bauer and further demonstrated students' flexible use of language. It may be the case that Mrs Bauer's 'easy going' nature was conditioned by the setting i.e. a complementary school where there appears to be less pressure on teachers and more freedom in terms of lesson planning.

Jamila Oral Exam preparation: The following question deals with whether a multicultural Germany could have a negative impact upon the German culture. Student says 'ich denke nicht das es die deutsche Tradition impactiert' (I don't think it's got an influence on German traditions), Teacher smiles and says 'du meinst beeinflusst' (you mean impacts). Jamila: Oh ja, ich meinte impacted, yes.

Excerpt 32: Fieldnotes 26th January 2019

It seems that Jamila used an English verb, with German verb endings for the present tense in the gender 'es' (it). In German, there is a 't' added to these verbs. After the teacher corrected her, she acknowledged her mistake by using the English verb and agreeing with the teacher in English. Jamila appeared to draw on features of her English and German repertoire to manage this interaction. My interpretation of this reaches back to what I have argued in terms of the relationship between the young people and Mrs Bauer and its impact on their overall language use. It appears as if Jamila felt safe to experiment with German by drawing on her knowledge from English and thus helping her to make language learning meaningful by drawing on English to create meaning for herself. It further appears as if Jamila was playing with the rules of language which she may have done unconsciously as a result of feeling safe in the classroom. Playing with the rules of language in this case suggests combining German and English verb endings in a way they make sense to Jamila in this moment and thus making the language learning meaningful. Furthermore, the collaborative nature of students' language learning and how Mrs Bauer may have

empowered the young people becomes salient through this excerpt. The teacher did not seem to create pressure or make Jamila feel bad about her ‘mistake’, instead she smiled and corrected Jamila by telling her the right term.

Overall, the data presented in this sub-section suggest that the way the teacher positioned herself in the classroom as well as how she interacted with the young people positively impacted their language use and language learning. Mrs Bauer seemed to encourage students’ flexible language use through a) using translation work as a collaborative exercise, b) negotiating a learner identity, c) positioning students as experts (e.g. pronunciation) and d) allowing students to choose which language they want to speak. Mrs Bauer further encouraged the use of technology which may have impacted the overall relationship (informal) she had with the young people. Mrs Bauer may have thus affirmed students’ identities as learners and users of German as well as confident speakers of English. This may be explained with a sociocultural understanding of language learning in the sense that translation work happened collaboratively (e.g. Lantolf, 2000; Lave & Wenger, 1991) and it was through this that the young people appeared to try out ideas as they felt safe to do so. It further appeared that Mrs Bauer scaffolded the young people’s language learning which may be interpreted with Vygotsky’s (1978) notion of the ZPD. Scaffolding in the sense of my data may be explained by combining e.g. verb endings of German and English. Adding to other complementary school research (e.g., Lytra, 2011), my findings suggest that through Mrs Bauer’s encouraging nature the young people’s language practices were influenced in a way that supports their overall language learning pointing toward the socially constructed nature (e.g. Vygotsky, 1978) of such interactions.

Furthermore, the way the young people constructed their identities appeared to depend on Mrs Bauer’s willingness not to conform to certain power struggles that at times appear in a language learning context as suggested by e.g., Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004). Mrs Bauer seemed to affirm students’ identities and respectively their OLRs through the way she positioned herself, as well as the young people in the classroom discourse. My findings add to e.g., Cummins (2001) and Schecter and Cummins (2013) in the way that through Mrs Bauer’s informal relationship with the young people she appeared to empower students as well as affirm their identities through the encouragement of flexible language use. It appears as if the young people’s language use and respectively

development were positively framed around Mrs Bauer's encouraging nature. Nevertheless, we must take into consideration the setting which may have conditioned Mrs Bauer's empowering nature, as complementary schools with their informal learning environments often create a safe space for young people to experiment with language (see e.g., Li Wei, 2006). In what follows I look at more examples of the young people's language use in the A-level classroom.

Use of Humour

Humour also seemed to play an important part in the young people's collective language learning, which might also be regarded as further evidence of their creative use of language and play with words. Through playing with language the young people appeared to shape it according to their existing understanding and to use it in a way which helped them to construct meaning. This appeared to be a struggle over language in terms of everyday usage and their attempts to make it meaningful whilst still conforming to what was expected of them as students regarding their school and exam performances. The young people challenged the teacher's understanding of words as well as 'correct' use of either GCSE or A-level phrases by making it their own and thus pushing and breaking boundaries between named languages.

An example of how humour was used to create meaning surfaced during a translation practice on the topic migration.

As the class translate a word comes up that nobody can translate 'krankenhausreif', Chris, Jamila, Safya and the other students ask what it means, Teacher translates 'brutally'. Then Jamila comes up with the expression 'worthy to go to hospital'. The class laughs and says, ja das macht mehr Sinn.

Chris asks again what 'Krankenhausreif' means and Mrs Bauer again repeats 'brutally' he shakes his head and says, 'das macht doch keinen Sinn.' (that doesn't make sense). Again, the whole class agrees with him and Johanna says, 'I liked the other translation better'.

Excerpt 32: Fieldnotes 2nd March 2019

From the excerpt I identified, firstly, students were unable to translate the word ‘krankenhausreif’, and my fieldnotes confirm that throughout my study there were many instances in which students needed the teacher’s help to translate words they have not yet come across. Mrs Bauer translated the word, according to what it could mean in the context of the big protest that took place in Chemnitz. The excerpt suggests, that for students this translation was not enough, and Jamila translated it directly into ‘worthy to go to hospital’. To me this appears to be a creative translation as it shows that the person has suffered such severe injuries that they were ‘worthy’ i.e. ‘having or showing the qualities that deserve the specified action or regard’ ("worthy | Definition of worthy in English by Oxford Dictionaries", 2019) to go to hospital. Hence it appears that, for Jamila, the person showed the qualities that deserve the kind of medical attention that is provided in a hospital.

In this moment Jamila’s translation may be explained with the concept translanguaging space (see Li Wei, 2011), located in Jamila’s mind and by voicing this, she constructed a new way of looking at the word ‘krankenhausreif’ that appeared to make more sense to her and the other students. She seemingly challenged the teacher’s translation by making it her own. Again, it looks as if Jamila was occupying a space ‘in-between’, somewhere between English and German and it looks as if the other students moved into this space too, to make sense of the word ‘krankenhausreif’. Although in English this expression does not exist, students seemed to be able to relate to this more than the translation provided by the teacher. This translation appeared to make more sense to the class, and thus help students to grasp the meaning of the word ‘krankenhausreif’ more than the teacher’s translation ‘brutally’. The direct translation of ‘krankenhausreif’ is ‘to require hospital treatment’ ("krankenhausreif | German » English | PONS", 2019), whereas brutally denotes ‘brutal’ in German, which is an expression that could imply that the person would then have to go to the hospital, yet it does not refer to the outcome as such, whereas ‘krankenhausreif’ does. Chris’ objection of ‘das macht doch keinen Sinn’ may indicate that to him, this translation did not make sense, probably because it does not refer directly to the outcome i.e. to go to the hospital.

Again, this translation portrays students’ creativity and further indicates the way Jamila used her understanding of English to scaffold the emergence of her

German knowledge and thus create meaning for herself as well as the other students. Some might argue this is not ‘good’ language learning as it is ‘incorrect’ use of language, however pursuing such an argument would go beyond the scope of my thesis which does not aim to identify what is ‘right’ or ‘wrong’ language teaching. The excerpt suggests the inner struggle of the young people in terms of language and how it shapes their identities, meaning students’ understanding of the word appeared to be mostly bound to the English language (as explained in the previous paragraph) and to make sense of the German word, Jamila seemed to draw on English to create meaning for herself and construct her identity. Further, the young people appeared to draw on their full OLR to decide what they deemed appropriate to make the translation meaningful. Through this they appeared to create a space in-between German and English. Full OLR in the sense of the data refers to the young people’s semantic knowledge of English and German. As I have discussed in the previous section, this was only possible as the teacher allowed students to flexibly use both languages to construct meaning for themselves. The following extract is taken from a conversation between the teacher and the students, directly relating to the topic as the class worked on the topic migration crisis and how migrants came to Germany.

Safya: wenn das Schiff ertrunken wurde. **As the ship got drowned.**

Teacher: das Schiff ist gesunken, die Menschen sind ertrunken. **The ship sank, the people drowned.**

Safya: OK, danke, ehm die ‚oekonomische Auswirkungen fuer das Land waren sehr significant. **Economic effects for the country were significant.**

Teacher: You mean wirtschaftliche Auswirkungen? **You mean economic effects?**

Safya: Yes, economic Auswirkungen**. Yes, economic effects.**

Teacher: sei vorsichtig mit der translation, you can’t always translate directly from English. **Teacher switches between English and German**.

Anna raises her hand and asks: ‘Ines, was meint ‘the meaning of life’ in German?’ **Ines, what does the meaning of life mean?**

Teacher: wo hast du das gesehen?**’ Where did you see this?** student shows. Before the teacher gets the chance to reply Johanna shouts ‘die Meinung des Lebens! **(direct translation: the opinion of life).**

The class giggles and Mrs Bauer translates, ‘It means, the purpose of life’.

Excerpt 33: Fieldnotes 9th March 2019

From the excerpt, several things stand out to me. First, the teacher appeared to allow students to draw on their ‘full’ OLRs and she set an example by doing so herself. In this sense, full OLR refers to students’ use of English and German, including its grammatical rules. However, it further seems as if students struggled at times with the meaning of certain words and how to appropriately use these in German. This aligns with my interpretation of the previous excerpt in which the young people’s inner struggle regarding language use and how it shapes who they are became salient. However, it does not imply, that students cannot communicate in a manner that they are understood. For instance, in her sentence, Safya drew first on her knowledge of English by using the word ‘wenn’ (when), instead of ‘als’ (when). It is called a ‘Falscher Freund’ (false friend), as the words look similar. To me it appears that during this incident Safya negotiated aspects of her linguistic identity without being aware of it which might be an example of the struggle the young people had in terms of appropriate language use.

She further tried to bring her point across by saying ‘the ship got drowned’. What is interesting here is that to her, the ship drowned like a person. Even more interesting is that the drowning process to her is a passive act, by which other forces help to make the ship drown. It would seem that for Safya there may have been outside causes that made the ship sink such as other people that did not want the ship to reach its destination. This could be an explanation for her word choice and my fieldnotes confirm that Safya was very passionate about the topic of migration. This may be an example of a much wider struggle in terms of migration and what she associates with the topic, that may be related to her and her family’s migration history.

As she moved on, Safya drew on her knowledge of English again, which seemed to be prevalent and directly translated two words from English to German. Although the word economic can be translated as 'Ökonomisch', it is more appropriate to use 'wirtschaftlich', as the economy is in fact 'die Wirtschaft' in German. Furthermore, the word significantly, which Safya translated into 'signifikant' translates into 'bedeutend', although in German the word 'signifikant' is sometimes used, however, this happens very rarely. The teacher pointed this out to Safya by explaining that she cannot translate directly from English to German. Although Safya did not seem to purposely mix English and German, in this task her knowledge of English became apparent which she seemed to use to scaffold her learning. It appears to me that through this exercise, what surfaces is an inner struggle in terms of appropriate language use, which in turn may have shaped aspects of Safya's complex identity. It seems to portray the dominance of English in Safya's thinking at this moment in time, although my interview data confirms her first language to be Arabic and at school, she mainly thinks in Arabic (interview, 11th May 2019). It may also be the case that Safya believes the English language to be more important, as at the time of my research she was living in an English context hence English may have been more dominant in her thinking.

Further, the excerpt provides more detail to the overall struggle I have highlighted regarding the young people's language use and how they somehow made it meaningful to them. Anna, for instance, seemed unsure about the meaning of the phrase 'the meaning of life' hence she asked Mrs Bauer. However, before the teacher got the chance to reply, Johanna had already thought of a translation 'die Meinung des Lebens', which to me appeared creative, yet very humorous too. From a more metaphorical point of view, merged with the words' direct translation ('Meinung' usually refers to opinion) in this context, it could refer to which opinion life has. To me, this seemed very creative, however when I asked Johanna (as I was sitting right next to her) whether there was a reason for her to take 'Meinung' she said 'oh, ich weiss nicht, aber das war einfach das erste Wort *that I could think of because they sound alike*' (9th March 2019). From her reply it would seem that it was the first word she could think of as they sound alike. Further, it appears that, at the time of my fieldwork, the English language was quite dominant in Johanna's life, as she spoke mainly English at home and she attended an English school. My fieldnotes further confirm that Johanna regularly spoke English with

her friend and from an informal interview with her mother I learnt that she prefers English over German as it seems more natural to her. Furthermore, Johanna's mother prefers to speak English, which revealed a more profound struggle she had been going through where she chose to leave Germany and start a new life in the UK. One explanation of the dominance of English in Johanna's life may be that her mother identifies more with the English language and Johanna may have picked up on this and thus felt more connected with English than she did with German.

Overall, the excerpt portrays that students' linguistic identities were apparently influenced through the English language and although they were having a German lesson the teacher allowed students to negotiate this identity aspect. I have already discussed that this may be related to the teacher's biography and language learning experiences. In this case, the teacher herself switched between English and German as she explained to students that they could not always translate directly from one language to the other. Mrs Bauer appeared to organically move in and out of different identity aspects which may have encouraged the young people to switch between English and German.

The following moment took place during Safya's presentation on the topic migration, as part of her preparation for the oral A-level exam. It depicts Anna's use of a somewhat sophisticated idiom which the teacher doomed as an important requirement in the A-level exam ("Scheme of assessment", 2019).

Anna uses another idiom to help Safya with her presentation. Anna: 'viele haben Schwein gehabt, dass sie es über das Mittelmeer geschafft haben.*'(**many had pig, that they made it across the Mediterranien sea)**.* Mrs Bauer reminds her ‚oh da musst du aber aufpassen.**'(*oh, you ought to be careful with this)*** Anna: warum? Ist doch wahr? **(why? It's true?)** Sie hatten Glück, dass sie es geschafft haben? ***(they were lucky that they made it****)* Mrs Bauer: ja, aber man nutzt ‚Schwein gehabt' besser nicht in diesem Kontext*. **(yes, but you better don't use ‚Schwein gehabt' in this context)*** Chris: I think it's funny. The rest of the class agrees and laughs. The teacher moves on.

Excerpt 34: Fieldnotes 30th March 2019

From this excerpt, it seems to me that Anna drew on an idiom to assist Safya with her presentation. Safya was talking about migrants and that they had used boats to cross the Mediterranean. According to Mrs Bauer's interpretation, the idiom Anna used appears to be inappropriate in this context. She pointed out that it would be better if this idiom would not be used in the context of people attempting to cross the Mediterranean to flee their country. For Anna, the idiom seemed to be appropriate as she may not have used it enough to understand the context it would usually be used in. It seems as if to her the idiom denotes that the migrants were lucky to have made it across the sea. From this it would seem, that Anna drew on her understanding of the use of the idiom, which is usually used in an informal context, and applied it to a formal context. She further appeared to draw on her British sense of humour and applied the idiom to the context. British humour is marked by irony and considerable sarcasm (Tan, 2013). If looked at it from this angle it makes sense to use the idiom in this context as it implies that the refugees were fortunate to have made it across the channel. Chris interrupted the conversation saying 'I think it's funny' seemingly took the tension off the interaction. He commented on what has been going on by switching to English. The rest of the class seem to be able to relate to Anna's use of the idiom and understood the irony behind it. This to me appears to be an example of the young people's struggle in terms of language use and how they made it meaningful to them, yet at the same time conforming to what was expected in terms of appropriate A-level language use. It seems as if the young people struggled with the use of German idioms in the sense that they may have not had enough experience with their application, hence they have not yet learnt how to use idioms 'appropriately'. Nevertheless, it seems as if by applying these idioms to the context of their A-level exam the young people made it meaningful. To me it appears that the young people constructed aspects of their English identity using humour, and thus making sense of what is expected by the school i.e. the topic of migration.

In the following excerpt something similar happened, this time the teacher did not take up on the use of the idiom any further. The excerpt relates to Germany's migration politics which was a potential topic in students' oral A-level exams.

Mrs Bauer uses the idiom, 'die Regierung hat nicht Geld wie Heu.' (the government has not got lots of money) and Anna finishes her sentence ,und genau da liegt der Hund begraben.'(and that's where the problem lies). The whole class laughs, but the teacher comes up with another way to use the idiom. Anna looks at me shrugging.

Excerpt 35: Fieldnotes 30th March 2019

In the excerpt, Mrs Bauer talked about the government and that it does not have an abundance of money and Anna finished her thought by adding to it that this is where the problem lies. Although it looks as if the excerpt portrays a similar moment of interaction, to me it would seem that this time Anna used the idiom in the correct context. By saying 'und genau da, liegt der Hund begraben' (that's where the dog is buried – that's the heart of the matter) she may have referred to the fact that the German government does not have enough money to pay for all the immigrants, and she creatively interpreted this by saying that this is the core of the problem. The class reacted again with laughter and Anna reacted by looking towards me. My fieldnotes show that Mrs Bauer moved on to the next thought and did not pay much attention to what Anna had said. She further appeared to not get Anna's sense of humour that to me seemed to once again be very creative. Shrugging her shoulders could have been a sign for her being unsure as to why the teacher did not engage with this further. It appears that Anna's struggle regarding the use of language in an appropriate way becomes salient through the interaction. The idiom she used is part of the A-level requirements and it seems that in order to make it meaningful, she tried to apply it to the context of migration. Further, she may have attempted to show the teacher her proficiency and prove that she was able to use a wide range of idioms and thus conform to what is expected of her in terms of A-level exams. It appears as if the class would collaboratively make sense of the language and apply it to varying contexts by using humour as a means to scaffold their knowledge. It would seem that language was central to the construction of meaning and this is done through moment interactions between the teacher and the young people.

In this sub-section, I have discussed various moments in which the young people made the German language somewhat meaningful to themselves using humour

and thus appearing as creative language users. My findings add to Conteh and Meier (2014) who viewed language learners as creative meaning-makers in the sense that creativity, might be understood in terms of employing humour as a means to make language meaningful. There appeared to be an inner struggle, for these young people, in terms of everyday language use and applying German to specific contexts that align with the A-level syllabus. The young people further challenged the teacher's language use and understanding of e.g., idioms using their sense of humour, yet at the same time conforming to what is expected in terms of A-level exams. Jamila was pushing boundaries between English and German in the sense that she made it her own by translating a word in the way, so that it would make sense to her.

Although in English this particular expression i.e. 'krankenhausreif' does not exist, the students seemed to be able to relate to this more than the translation provided by the teacher and thus constructed this particular meaning collaboratively. This may be explained with a sociocultural theory of language learning (e.g. Vygotsky, 1978) that foregrounds the collaborative nature of language learning, yet my data further suggest that during these collaborative activities e.g. translation work there is room for creative language use adding to Corcoll López and González-Davies' (2016) findings in the sense that translation work may also be useful in a complementary setting, creating a sense of community and working towards creating meaning. My data further show how the young people's proficiency in English and German may have affected their interaction with the teacher and the rest of the class. The data portray that students seemed to have a different level of understanding than the teacher which seemed to affect how they made translations meaningful and use language to construct their identities as language learners using both English and German. The interpretation of my data further suggest that students' seemingly created spaces in-between two languages to make sense of translations and seemed to overcome the struggle of everyday language use and A-level expectations. This might be explained with Li Wei's (2011) translanguaging space, in the sense that these students seemed to alternate between English and German, yet their understanding of appropriate use of the German language may need further development which might not be possible in solely the A-level classroom, implying they may need more meaningful experiences with the German language to develop their German language

knowledge and the accompanied aspects of their linguistic identities. The following section looks at students' creative language use in terms of secret languages the young people used at home and school.

Secret-Language

In terms of creative language use there was a recurrent topic that only became visible through the language portrait activity. There was a widespread view between the young people that language could be used as a secret activity. Furthermore, for some of the young people, the role of a secret language may be that it makes interactions with their parents meaningful. The young people seemed to use German as a secret language, yet they further came up with their secret language spoken amongst their friends in mainstream school. In the case of the young people who personalised language within the family, communication was more complex than other forms of personalised language. The following excerpt is taken from an informal discussion that happened during the language portrait activity in which I talked to Johanna about the role of German in mainstream school.

Researcher conversation with JC and her friend.

JC: Ja wir machen das auch mit der Geheimsprache. **Yes, we do this with the secret language too.**

Researcher: Und warum macht ihr das? **And why do you do it?**

JC: Ehm, weil es lustig ist. **Ehm, because it's funny.**

Researcher: Ach so, ihr geht auf die gleiche Schule? **Ah, so you go to the same school?**

JC: ja. **Yes**

Researcher: dann habt ihr ja auch eure eigene Geheimsprache, Deutsch, die versteht ja keiner. **Then you've also got your own secret language, German, that no one understands**.

JC: Ja, genau. **Yes, exactly**.

Excerpt 36: Interview 11th May 2019

In terms of secret language at school, it may be that Johanna used it with her friends to create a community and thus feel a sense of belonging that solely her friends and Johanna can feel. Regarding German on the other hand, which she also used as a secret language it may be that she drew on German to distance herself from others and as a result feel different. She may have wanted to come across as different and this might be achieved through drawing on German. Both topics further resurfaced during the interview I conducted with Johanna. The first excerpt directly relates to the secret language Johanna and her friends spoke at school, in which she explained how it works. The second excerpt shows that Johanna used German as her secret language when she talked to her sister at home.

Johanna: Ok, also, Ok, well I think after each syllable, heveg and then you put liver and then hello.. (thinks), hm… ach keine Ahnung, man muss es einfach sprechen und dann kann man es ganz leicht **learnen**. Also, this benutzen wir in der Schule, wenn wir über jemanden sprechen wollen und ja. (… **I have no clue, you just have to speak it and then it is very simple. So, this we use in school, when we talk about some one and well.)**

Interviewer: und, ehm, das heisst, das benutzt ihr mit deinen Freunden?

Johanna: Ja, ja, ja.

Interviewer: aber können andere die Sprache? Oder das ist nur die Sprache, die du und deine Freundinnen euch ausgedacht habt? **But do the others also speak the language? Or is this solely the language you came up with, with your friends?**

Johanna: ja

Interviewer: Total cool. Aber das ist einfach, ehm, jede Gruppe hat dann ihre eigene Sprache in der Schule, oder? **But his is solely, ehm, does each group have their own language at school, or?**

Johanna: Also, ehm, in primary school we had a different one, but then when we went to secondary school, our friends taught us this one. We had a different one in primary school und es heißt uelegu, also, ehm… jetzt kann ich es nimmer sprechen, aber, ja, es gibt so viele Veränderungen. **I can't speak it anymore, there are so many changes.**

Excerpt 37: Interview 11th May 2019

As this excerpt suggests Johanna learned a secret language at primary school, and a new secret language is spoken amongst her friends at her school. As I have already mentioned through this language the group of girls who speak the language may have created a bond and they may have felt closer to one another when they spoke 'their' language. It would appear that in this instance language was central to the girl's friendship practices and that this secret language enabled them to create a sense of belonging and define friendship.

Johanna's secret language is called 'Backslond', although she was unable to explain why it is named 'Backslond'. Another, student, who had taken part in the language portrait activity also reported knowing a secret language, called 'Idig', spoken at her school (informal interview Emma 2nd March 2019). She claimed that most of her friends knew how to speak the language, aligning with Johanna's experience and that when she went to primary school, she had learnt a different 'secret-language'.

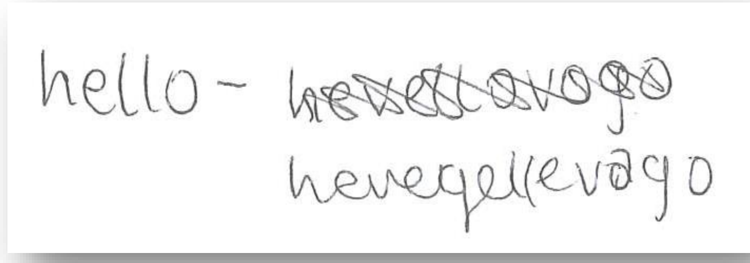

Figure 22: Language Portrait Johanna

Figure 23: Language Portrait Emma

Both languages seemed to consist of letters from English words, that were then combined with ‘evge’ and ‘evago’ or for idig, the syllabus ‘idig’ were added to specific letters that make up a word. Both girls claimed that it is hard to explain the language, you have to just speak it (Interview 11th May 2019; Informal interview 2nd May 2019). This may mean that if one wanted to speak the language, they would have to be part of this particular ‘speech-community’. In terms of the young people’s creative language use in the German Saturday School, this may mean that through the secret languages they made up at school they can play with words, meaning and grammatical rules hence the young people might be accustomed to creatively use their OLRs to achieve communicative competence – especially regarding aspects of their English knowledge. It might further imply that the young people created a sense of identity through language as they used it in a way it became meaningful to them.

Another secret language that seemed to play an important role in Johanna’s life was German. Although German was not a secret language *per se* when someone around her does not understand it, she uses it as such.

Interviewer: … Und ehm, dann wollte ich noch fragen, zu Hause mit deinen Geschwistern sprichst du Englisch oder Deutsch? **And, ehm then I wanted to ask, which language you speak at home with your siblings, do you speak English or German?**

JC: Also, ja meistens Englisch, aber manchmal Deutsch, also wenn sie Freundinnen haben und dann ehm, ich möchte was sagen, dann spreche ich einfach auf Deutsch, weil die das nicht verstehen können und so**. So, ya, mostly English, but sometimes German, so when they have friends around, and**

then ehm, if I want to say something, then I sometimes just use German, because they cannot understand it.

Interviewer: Geheimsprache? **Secret-language?**

JC: ja,ja, ja.

Interviewer: laughs

JC: das ist richtig cool so eine Geheimsprache zu haben. **It's really cool to have a secret-language.**

Excerpt 38: Interview 11th May 2019

From the interview excerpt it would seem that Johanna likes being able to speak German, which in this case functioned as her secret-language. She usually spoke English with her siblings, yet when they had friends around, she spoke German, because they were not able to understand what she was saying. The 'ja, ja, ja' appears to support the question 'Geheimsprache?' (secret language?) and by saying 'es ist richtig cool eine Geheimsprache zu haben' (it's really cool to have a secret language), Johanna may have revealed that she thinks it is something special to have a language that others cannot speak. This complements the previous interpretation I made in terms of her drawing on German and thus positioning herself as an 'outsider'. Johanna used German at her mainstream school with her friend, who also attended the German Saturday School. They rationalised this by acknowledging that nobody can understand them, and it makes it easier to talk about private topics. This may mean that the girls positioned themselves away from the usual classroom language as they wanted to be different and further kept their privacy i.e. to discuss topics no one else should know about. Language, to the young people, may have thus also functioned as a means to consciously position themselves as outsiders to a community and keep some form of privacy.

Another topic that had already surfaced as the language portrait activity took place was of family language, through which the young people's creative use of language came to the fore. Jamila and Safya, for instance, talked about the language they speak at home, and since their parents want the girls to speak Arabic at home, the girls and their siblings sometimes turn an Arabic word into an

English word. In the interview, I asked the girls whether they could tell me more about their ‘family language’. In the following extract, the girls explain how the language works with their family and friends.

Interviewer: könnt ihr mir ein Beispiel von nem Verb geben mit **‚ing‘.** Ihr könnt ruhig auch Arabic and then the **ing**. **Can you give me an example of a verb with ‘ing’. You can do it in Arabic and then add the ‘ing’.**

Safya: ok, (يسبح (yasbahh) and then you just add ‘ing’ to make it **shower’ing**.

Jamilia: Like I am **showering** is **يسبحing (yasbahhing)**

Interviewer: und dann sagt ihr das I am auch auf Arabisch? I am or, it’s just **And then you also say this in Arabic?**

Jamilia: Ja, we would say I am **sevahring**, but sometimes we just say it in Arabic.

Interviewer: But, ehm aber eure Eltern verstehen das? Machen das eure Brüder auch? **But your parents understand it? Do your brothers do it too?**

Safya: Oh ja, und die machen das auch mehr als uns. **Oh yes, they do it too, more than us.**

Jamilia: Ja.

Safya: und unsere Freunden machen das auch, ja wir sind so alle*.* **Yes, our friends do it too, we all do it.**

Jamilia: Ja, everyone who speaks English und Arabic, we just all kinda do it.

Excerpt 39: Interview 18th May 2019

At the time of my research, the girls used this particular style of speaking not solely in London, they also used it when they went to Iraq. During the interview, I have further learnt that their cousins seemed to find the way the girls speak amusing, because they mention the fact that ‘they start laughing’ (interview 18th May 2019). Jamila’s and Safya’s parents understand the words they use, and their siblings also use this way of speaking. The girls played with English verb endings and added them to an Arabic verb to communicate which action they

were performing in the present moment. The girls appeared to purposely mix English with Arabic; thus, it seems that they identified with both languages. In the interview the girls revealed that although it is 'kinda weird' everyone does it. From this it would seem that through this way of speaking the girls created a sense of belonging and further constructed their experiences through moment to moment interactions. It may also mean, that English was used to make conversations meaningful, as the girls may not have known all verb endings. I justify this interpretation with the fact that their brothers did it more and from the interviews I have learnt that they were all born in the UK hence they may identify more with the English language. Further, it may be the case that English was the brother's dominant language hence they got more practice. As a result, they have not been confident with conjugating Arabic verbs that they then fill with English verb endings. On the other hand, it might be easier to simply put an 'ing' on the verbs as this may be more natural as English was the dominant language in the girls' lives. In terms of the girls' classroom performance, this may mean that they are accustomed to playing around with language and making it their own and this might be a strategy they use as part of their language learning experiences. The girls further claimed that friends who speak both Arabic and English draw on the same style. This may indicate that, similar to the secret languages I have discussed, through this way of playing around with language the girls may have worked to create and define their relationship with their friends and family.

For some of the young people, then, a secret language may be used to create some private space in public worlds and thus to differentiate themselves from others. Contrary, the secret language was further employed to the strengthening of bonds of friendship through exclusive practices with those who share the same privileged knowledge and understanding. Explaining my data with Lave and Wenger's (1991) theory of speech-communities it may be that the young people created these linguistic resources to establish a bond and feel closer to one another. Some of the young people also used German within an English context to maintain their privacy, whereas English was used in a German context as it felt more natural to talk in English. This might be explained with a view on identity as being asserted, modified and challenged during interactions (e.g., Ting-Toomey, 1999) as through the use of secret languages the young people appeared to modify their linguistic identities in a way it served the purpose of the particular

interaction. Similarly, for Safya and Jamila, English appeared to be a strong determinant in their identity formation at home, especially when they talk about things happening in the present. However, rather than being bound to a specific language the girls' identity appeared to be determined by different resources from e.g., English, and Arabic. The girls seemed to play with language and made it their own and this might be interpreted through a translanguaging lens (e.g., Li Wei, 2017) in terms of pushing boundaries between English and Arabic. Adding to this, the girls appeared to push grammatical structures and may have thus constructed new, complex identities that are hard to capture through conventional labels. Overall, the young people seemed to be accustomed to using language in creative ways which may have been the foundation for their creative language practices in the A-level classroom.

In what follows I summarise the main points (see also table 11, Appendix G) from this chapter and this will be the foundation for the following chapter, that is the discussion.

4.5 Summary of Findings

This section aims to summarise the findings I have presented in this chapter and brings together my findings in light of my first research sub-question; how can we understand students' identities through OLRs? Through my data analysis I have identified three main themes a) macrosystem relating to how the young people's experiences have shaped their language use, b) microsystem showing the importance of language in building a sense of biography for the young people and c) mesosystem depicting the young people's creative use of language inside and outside the classroom. In what follows, I summarise findings from students' language practices during their lessons as well as findings from the language portrait activity and the accompanied semi-structured interviews, directly relating to the young people's OLRs.

In terms of the young people's experiences and how these have shaped their language use, it seemed that the German Saturday School played a role in shaping these (first sub-question). Several external factors thus appeared to impact the young people's identity performances in the classroom. These factors included the A-level syllabus which in turn seemed to influence the teacher's as

well as the parents' expectations. Another theme to emerge from my research suggests that the teacher's as well as the young people's perception of dialects, accents and language varieties impacted their language practices and interactions in the classroom. These perceptions were shaped through different discourses around e.g. Australian English and discourse in the sense of my data referred to how it was talked about in e.g. the UK. This seemed to be something that shaped how the young people made sense of their experiences and thus construct a sense of themselves. Finally, how the young people made sense of the world around them appeared to be shaped by wider historical/cultural discourses around 'the Germans', yet at the same time the German Saturday School seemed to be a place in which various cultural discourses met and thus constructed the young people's moment to moment language use.

In terms of the young people's biographies the interpretation of my data suggests a link between the importance of their relationships in shaping their language use and hence constructing a sense of personal biography. The young people visualised the languages they seemed to identify with through the language portrait activity which appeared to be related to their personal biographies and how these shaped how they perceive themselves. Another factor that appeared to shape the young people's language use was popular culture and my data suggest a link between the young people's biographies and the impact of music, the Internet and movies in terms of constructing a sense of life story.

Regarding the young people's classroom interactions there was one major theme to emerge from my data which relates to their creative language use. There appeared to be a link between the complexity of the young people's identities and their language practices. Central to these language practices seemed to be translation work used by the teacher as a collaborative activity. Mrs Bauer appeared to play an important role in encouraging the young people's flexible use of languages which seemed to support students' creativity. This I had identified as a result of Mrs Bauer's informal relationship with students through which she seemingly constructed a safe learning environment. The young people's use of humour was another recurrent theme to emerge from my data which seemed to me as something that stood out as creative in terms of the young people's ability to shape language according to their existing understanding and thus aiding them to make lesson content meaningful. Finally, one topic to emerge from the

language portrait activity was this of using language as secret activity. In this respect language also seemed to be employed by some of the young people to make their interactions with their parents more meaningful.

Overall, my findings suggest that the young people's OLRs can be associated with the ways in which the young people make sense of the world around them, yet further create a sense of personal biography. However, we further have to add the researcher's identity to the mix as some of the findings have been co-constructed with me supporting the organic nature of young people's language practices and as a result their OLRs. In what follows I interpret these findings and discuss their significance in relation to previous identity research undertaken in complementary schools and indeed other settings.

5. Chapter Discussion

5.1 Introduction

This chapter consists of two parts considering the findings as presented in Chapter 4 all relating to my research questions. It aims to discuss and make sense of my findings in relation to theory and wider literature. As outlined in Chapter 1, the motivation for this study was to learn more about young people attending a German Saturday school, in terms of what linguistic identity means to them in this context, both as real-life experience and as a theoretical concept (RQ). To understand what linguistic identity means in this context it is thus important to further look at the young people's identity constructions outside the classroom. Hence in order to make sense of the young people's language practices inside the German Saturday School it is vital to learn more about their OLRs.

My interpretations reflect my theoretical framework hence I view the young people's language practices as highly contextualised and negotiated through language (SCT) (e.g. Vygotsky, 1978). My discussion is further grounded in a post-structural view on identity as a) socially negotiated and dynamic (e.g. Norton, 2000), b) socially and historically constructed within a web of power relations (Norton & McKinney, 2010). The young people's classroom interactions are grounded in an understanding of identity options as negotiable within different discourses (e.g. Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004). This means the young people used resources from languages, including the particular discourses within them e.g. historical discourses, through which they constructed and negotiated their identities surfacing in the way these discourses shaped their thoughts and behaviours. To make sense of the young people's language practices inside the classroom, as well as their language learning experiences inside/outside the classroom I draw on a translanguaging theory, more particular, the translanguaging space (Li Wei, 2011; 2018). Each of the following sections develops answers for a specific research question that I introduce at the beginning of each section. This chapter will be the foundation for Chapter 6 in which I discuss the theoretical and methodological contributions of my study.

Research Question: What kind of linguistic identities do young people attending a German Saturday school construct and negotiate?

Sub-questions

a) What role does the German Saturday School play in these constructions?
b) What role(s) do organic linguistic repertoires play in these constructions?
c) What kind of languages, styles, accents, registers, linguistic practices are involved?

5.2 Organic Linguistic Repertoires

This section aims to work towards answering the question of 'How we can understand students' linguistic identity construction through organic linguistic repertoires?' and further to address my overarching research question; 'What kind of linguistic identities do young people attending a German Saturday school construct or negotiate?' To achieve this, in this section, I consider data directly revealing the role of students' OLRs in their lives as well as understanding what kind of languages, styles, accents, registers and linguistic practices constitute their repertoires (third sub-question). As part of finding answers to my overarching research question, I aimed to learn more about students' complex identities through shedding light on their organic linguistic repertoires. I thus added language portrait work in conjunction with semi-structured interviews, to my data collection toolkit. This I felt would help, in line with my definition of OLRs, to stress the 'harmonious relationship between the elements of a whole' (different resources) and portray 'the organic unity of the integral work of art' (Oxford University Press, 2018)- looking at the language portrait as a whole.

The construction of the young people's OLRs seemed to be shaped through their backgrounds (microsystem), meaning their migration biographies appeared to have an impact on the e.g. languages, language varieties they identify with. The term background in this context constitutes the young people's migration biographies, parents' status e.g. both parents from Germany, growing up in the UK and their relationship with friends/ family. Furthermore, the young people's direct experiences (macrosystem) with language seemed to affect the construction of their OLRs. Direct experiences here refer to cultural/historical

experiences, mainstream school and holidays. These patterns were identified through the language portrait activity and semi-structured interviews.

In the young people's account, there seemed to be a link between their biographies and e.g., a language variety or dialect they identify with, which seemed to be related to how they experienced these resources and what kind of emotions they evoked. However, two of the young people with a much more complex migration history showed more complex patterns in their OLRs, meaning the language dialect they identified with was based on their parents' origin (Iraqi Dialect of Arabic), yet they were born in Germany and they appeared to strongly identify with German (standard High German). At the time my research took place they were living in London, hence both girls further seemed to identify with English. This suggests a possible variation in the complexity of young people's repertoires regarding their migration biography.

I commonly observed that the young people's direct experiences led them to identify with several languages and different communities of practices in which they participated for instance through their out of school activities e.g., ballet, as well as spending their holidays in Germany or Iran. Hence different aspects of their OLRs constructed a sense of belonging, yet also difference as it was the case with their secret-languages. I further identified a strong link between popular culture and the young people's OLRs. It seemed as if they picked up expressions from different languages via the radio, however, there was one case in which YouTube and Netflix played a much bigger role in the learning of various languages e.g. Japanese. This suggests the possible impact of popular culture on young people's OLRs. Finally, I observed a connection between the young people's learning experiences in terms of what they learnt about the war from a critical and self-reflective German perspective and their strong identification with the German culture suggesting that history possibly affected the young people's OLRs. On the other hand, it further appeared as if the young people used moments to construct and reconstruct meanings around the German identity. In what follows I relate these findings to literature and show the originality of my findings in a complementary school context.

5.2.1 Factors shaping Organic Linguistic Repertoires

The following discussion focuses on the factors (as outlined above) that seemed to shape the young people's direct perception and awareness of languages in relation to how these have been constructed in wider societal and historical discourses. I discuss these findings in this section as it will be the foundation for making sense of the following section i.e., complex identity construction.

Focusing on how the young people experience their linguistic repertoires through the strong biographical focus of language portrait work the organic aspect of their resources became salient i.e., language as a lived experience. Busch (2016; 2017) similarly observes that there is a link between young people's repertoires and their language learning experiences which became salient through language portrait work. My data strengthen what is often argued from a SCT perspective in terms of linguistic identity and its fluidity which is a direct result of an individuals' participation and learning within specific communities (Lave & Wenger, 1991). This was the case for many of the young people as they mostly acquired their language knowledge through interactions within their environments (families, school, and friends). This matches Lave (1996) and Wenger's (1998) theory as students reflected on certain activities e.g. skiing, spending time with friends all of which were central to their language learning and respectively the ways in which they made sense of the world and constructed a sense of personal biography by identifying with certain linguistic resources.

Although such a view suggests students' belonging to one community of practice (Lave 1996, Wenger, 1998) my findings extend this view to various communities of practices students were part of, these included their families, schools, sport activities as well as friends. My data further support an organic perspective of students' linguistic repertoires and strengthens an understanding of these as something that lives, which is never quite a finished piece, as suggested by Blommaert (2014). This means that, similar to previous research, using language portraits as a research – or indeed as an educational tool – makes visible a developing narrative and awareness of past, present and perhaps potential future language learning experiences (see e.g. Soares, Duarte & Günther-van der Meij, 2020) (although this was not reflected through my data) and practices that shape a person's biography. It further foregrounds the young people's emotions towards

their ‘languages’ and cultures that were partly captured through the language portrait, yet further stimulated through their talk around the portrait- supporting an organic view of their linguistic repertoires as something that ought to be looked at as a whole. The portrait became alive through their talk around it which then shaped how the young person perceives themselves.

The young people’s emotional dispositions were brought to the fore through their localisation within the language portrait e.g., associating the family language with the heart (see Figures 13, 14 & 15). My data seem to match the hypothesis of other research employing language portrait work as a data collection method that foregrounds a link between where languages were placed on the portrait and the allocated parts of the body such as the mouth or heart and thus reflect on their identity development (e.g., Bristowe, Oostendorp & Anthonissen, 2014; Seals, 2017). There further seemed to be a link between participants’ feelings towards certain languages and where the young people placed these in their language portraits e.g., heart (e.g., Busch, 2017; Seale, 2017). However, this was not the case for all portraits as Johanna reminded me that I was reading too much into her portrait. Through the language portrait activity, space was created, in which students were able to visualise their language learning experiences, reflect on their biography and as a result think and talk about their full OLR.

My findings reflect the social construction of students’ disposition of certain accents, dialects, varieties of English as well as languages in general (e.g. Busch, 2017), and in my study dialects (e.g. Iraqi) and varieties of languages (e.g. Australian English) were depicted on the young people’s language portraits. My data illustrates some of the categories were defined by the young people in terms of what counts as a language e.g. secret language. Similar Busch (2012) suggests young people’s representation of languages generated terms such as ‘secret-language’ which in my study appeared to be e.g. ‘Backslond’ (see Figure 22). From an organic perspective these ‘categories’ were created by the young people to construct belonging or difference. The combined findings suggest that amongst languages and language varieties, secret-languages might be associated with young people’s linguistic identities.

Again, language portraits appear to be a useful educational tool through which educator or indeed researcher can learn more about student’s language learning

experiences (Melo-Pfeifer, 2015). The analysis of my data thus seems to confirm findings from other research employing language portrait work in identity research (e.g. Botsis & Bradbury, 2018; Busch, 2016; 2018, Bristowe, Oostendorp & Anthonissen, 2014, Dressler, 2014, Melo-Pfeifer, 2015; Seale, 2017; Soares, Duarte & Günther-van der Meij, 2020), although these studies were not conducted in a complementary language school context *per se*, their foci are comparable to this of my study, i.e. learning about the linguistic identities of young people from diverse backgrounds. The combined findings suggest, however, that learners with diverse German backgrounds in London generate similar insights into their language biographies and narratives in the sense that they talked about activities such as skiing as well as spending time with friends. One difference being that German history seemed to have a particular effect on their understanding of themselves in the world. I return to this in section 5.3.2.

In terms of different varieties of English for instance, my findings show, the British variety was favoured over e.g. Australian English (language portrait transcript, 2nd March 2019). My analysis revealed students' perception was mainly related to the sound of the language i.e. Australian English sounds weird/funny (Jamila & Safya), such a perception may be explained with an essentialist view on language resulting in 'otherness' (see e.g. Davis, 2004) as we usually perceive something that sounds unfamiliar or different as weird. It further directly links to cultural resources, in this case, a language variety, to a community of practice (Lave & Wenger, 1991) hence language may indeed be bound to speech communities (Gumperz, 1982) and if one is not part of a specific speech community, the language might be perceived as different. My findings suggest that e.g. Jamila and Safya may have perceived the Australian variety of English as something that is weird, because they were part of another community as they lived in London. Compared to their cousins who lived in Australia. Hence, they were outsiders to the Australian community and more accustomed to the sound of British English, which may have influenced how they perceive Australian English. From this I deduce that without moderation the language portrait could lead to stereotyping of certain groups based on their languages, as well as to self-deprecation based on perceived low status of a language or a language variety. This was the case during my study as regarding the Australian variety of English, and my personal view on this variety, I agreed with the young people and said it

does sound weird. Through this I strengthened a belief about this language variety.

On the other hand, through the activity certain stereotypes that are already existing might be made visible and by exploring these stereotypes, with young people, there is a chance to deconstruct these. Similar, Bristowe, Oostendorp and Anthonissen, (2014) describe that through the language portrait activity negative stereotyping in relation to South African language communities was made visible which they could address in dialogue with the participants of the study. Whereby Botsis and Bradbury (2018) discover the 'fragmentary effects of colonial languages' (p. 428) and lower value ascribed to indigenous language was made visible through the language portrait activity and the location of these in the body. Busch (2012) argues that language is often experienced through discourses of what counts as a language, and which languages are valued. From the findings it would seem that the young people did not just use a range of resources, they also had the ability to critically reflect on e.g. language varieties, accents or dialects. Again, this suggests a possible benefit of language portrait work in deconstructing stereotypes by first visualising these and then reflecting on these collaboratively.

Regarding different dialects or varieties of German, Safya, and Jamila (p. 232) were not able to make a distinction between e.g. the Thuringia dialect and standard High German to the extent Anna, Chris and Johanna could distinguish between these. This affected how the young people positioned themselves in the classroom. My findings align again with Dressler's (2014) study conducted in a German Saturday school in Canada in the sense that she finds students' expertise as well as affiliation to determine how they view themselves in the classroom. Expertise in the sense of my data may refer to Safya's and Jamila's expertise in German that appeared to differ from this of e.g. Anna to the extent that, they may have not been exposed to an array of different dialects or varieties of German hence they were unable to make distinguishing judgements about these. In terms of affiliation, for instance Anna showed an identification with the standard High German variety as she associated this variety with her family who live in Germany as well as her parents. The combined findings suggest that there is the possibility of young people's language expertise as well as affiliations with certain language varieties to be linked with aspects of their linguistic identities

that are a result of their prior language learning experiences. A possible explanation for this could be that e.g., standard High German was used to build a sense of personal biography by making sense of the experiences with family members that live in Germany hence standard High German evoked feelings of belonging.

Contrary to other contexts, my findings show that it was not the teacher who judged the young people based on their dialect, such as in Cruickshank's (2014) study. It was the young people's judgement about certain dialects/accents, presumably shaped through other people's opinions, that influenced how they positioned themselves. My data further show the importance of foregrounding young people's voices in offering nuanced understandings of the way they view themselves concerning the languages they speak. This was achieved through my research i.e. observations and language portrait work as it helped to shed light on how the young people perceive language as being important and how they might develop as language learners with different levels of confidence. My findings add to Peñalva's (2017) ethnographic study, conducted in a complementary school in an English-speaking context (US), that was also grounded in a SCT to language learning and identity development in terms of combining ethnographic observations with language portrait work. She also acknowledges the voices of participants in learning about the complexity of their identities and how these are related to languages and language varieties. This suggests that raising awareness about languages and language varieties and status associated with these may be an important role of Saturday schools, or educational institutions more widely. This may be achieved through language portrait work.

Furthermore, it was through language portrait work, that I was able to shed light on some of the beliefs held by students regarding specific language varieties, accents, and dialects. I was further able to develop more nuanced insights into the ways in which these beliefs may affect which language varieties the young people identify with. This in turn helped me to show how this may affect young people's identity formation, including and beyond culture or ethnicity. My analysis resonates with what Creese *et al,* (2008) argue in terms of students' use of languages as a means to identify with various coinciding cultures e.g. school, family or popular youth culture. The authors acknowledge the diversity of

students' linguistic repertoires and link this understanding with a view of students' shifting, multiple identity options (2006). Although my findings illustrate the diversity of students' OLRs, it advances a view of their linguistic identities as complex rather than multiple. I develop this argument in the following paragraphs.

The combined findings suggest an interplay between many different parts of the young people's linguistic repertoire that were, at the same time, interconnected hence making it difficult to allocate their linguistic identities to one specific part of their OLR e.g. Arabic. My findings suggest that different, interconnected parts of the young people's OLRs fed into the way they constructed their personal biographies and made sense of the world. Through a sociocultural lens to identity (e.g. Lave & Wenger, 1991) my findings suggest that by linking language learning and identity construction the knowledge individuals acquire may indeed shape their identity formation, however, it might not be linked to the participation in just one specific community of practice. Such a view matches with a more contemporary understanding of identity that views these as dynamic and never complete hence although they may be bound to a community, and as suggested by Blommaert & Backus (2011) these may be temporary and shifting as individuals participate in different activities with different people at different times.

This means complex linguistic identities may never definitively be describable as 'by the time we have finished our description, the system will have changed' (Blommaert, 2014; p. 10) which aligns with the CEFR's (2018) definition of plurilingualism as well as my understanding of a person's OLR, that is dynamic, complex, including language varieties, secret-languages, dialect or different languages, which may be compared to a plant; hence these repertoires are like a living being that is in constant development that transforms in sync with its surroundings further supporting an ecological view on languages (Hornberger, 2002; Van Lier, 2000). Whereas the term multiple in Creese *et al's* (2006) study may refer to the multiplicity of the participants' identities that involves several elements or parts, meaning they may possess several identity aspects, related to several overlapping cultures. Accordingly, the authors acknowledge that these cultures share some aspects, yet are not part of one another i.e., interconnected thus making it clearer to unravel these aspects. Through language portraits I was able to reveal more about the biographies, experiences and emotions attached to various languages and language varieties. This was further the case in

Soares, Duarte & Günther-van der Meij's (2020) as the participants presented their identities as dynamic whereby as new languages are acquired 'old' languages are omitted. The combined findings suggest that through conducting a language portrait activity at different times of young people's educational journey one may be able to visualise their language development. This strengthens a view on complex identity as changing, supporting the organic nature of linguistic repertoires that, like plants, go through different developments in-sync with their surroundings.

It is important to be mindful however, of how the language portrait activity may have been embedded in the classroom syllabus meaning whether it was part of an actual lesson or time was made outside the everyday lesson occurrences. In the case of my data, the activity itself took place on a day where the whole school celebrated carnival in the second half of the day, which the A-level class usually does not attend. The language portrait activity was thus not embedded in the syllabus and appeared to be viewed by the young people and the teacher as an extra activity, whereas in e.g. Dressler's (2014) study it was part of the lesson and all students from the focus class had to participate by choice of the teacher. This may have influenced the way students constructed their language portraits and how they approached the activity. The young people may have felt less resistance toward the activity as they had a choice whether they wanted to be part of it or not. As a result, they may have shared their experiences more openly as the overall atmosphere in the classroom was 'relaxed' and natural.

My data further illustrate that the young people's repertoires were developing and changing throughout the study. This I have argued, was partly related to the increased awareness that was constructed through the language portrait activity. Furthermore, the young people's language portraits suggested that their repertoires were plurilingual, rather than bilingual. Blommaert (2013) argues the constant change and complexity of students' repertoires should be researched through a dynamic and adaptable model. Taking previous research, and my findings into consideration, the question of what kind of linguistic identities young people construct in a German Saturday school may thus not be answered fully, without taking into account their full linguistic repertoire. Besides, considering the organic nature of these repertoires, the question arises as to whether one can fully describe linguistic identities.

Overall, regarding the young people's OLRs, the term plurilingual competence may thus be appropriately used to understand their language practices. The term organic appears to align with the aspect of the CEFR's (2018) definition of plurilingualism as the '*dynamic* and *developing* linguistic repertoire of an individual user/learner' (p. 28) as well as Van Lier's (2000) ecological understanding of learning, and Hornberger's (2002) ecology of languages as well as Bronfenbrenner's (1994) ecological model of human development (see section 2.3.2). However, what is distinctive is the strong biographical aspect of these repertoires where the focus is on how the individual may experience the resources that form part of his/her repertoire, rather than on the competence within these. The term organic may better capture the dynamic and developing aspect of individual's linguistic repertoires hence the distinction is made on a semantic level rather than a conceptual level. The combined findings suggest, that outside the classroom, the kind of linguistic identities the young people construct may indeed be plurilingual rather than bilingual (as discussed previously). Hence to answer my overarching research question the concept of flexible/dynamic bilingualism may not be applicable and I develop this argument in the following section.

Overall, the term OLRs itself might be distinctive to other concepts as it depicts my researcher identity which I brought into my work (as it is the case in ethnography- see Chapter 3). This means that the term itself is the outcome of my experiences during writing up my literature review with the environment e.g. queuing at 'Planet Organic', a foodshop in London, as an external factor that affected my researcher identity which was brought into the study. Organic- as a metaphor may thus best describe the ever-changing nature of linguistic repertoires, which are at the same time shaped through the particular lens through which I interpreted the young people's repertoires. Hence, by bringing myself into the study- the term OLR is co-constructed through my theoretical understandings, yet also other aspects of my identity as well as the findings of this study. This suggests that based on the literature I reviewed I thought the linguistic repertoires should be organic and throughout the study this was strengthened through empirical evidence.

5.3 Identity Construction

This part adds to the points I have made in the previous section regarding my main research question; what kind of linguistic identities do young people attending a German Saturday school construct or negotiate? To answer this question, and in line with the post-structural stance I adopted for my study, I further look at what role the German Saturday School plays in these constructions. For this study, I employed an understanding of language and identity that aligns with the rationale of my study. Working from a SCT and post-structural perspective (as discussed in Chapters 2/3), to recap, my understanding of the concept identity is informed by e.g. Creese *et al's* (2008) view of identity as fluid, directly relating to young people's existence of identities in ever-shifting social structures, cultures, and ideologies, hence they are social and historical constructs existing within a web of power relations (Norton & McKinney, 2010). Furthermore, my discussion is informed by Pavlenko's and Blackledge's (2004) view to identity as being negotiable within different situations. I thus work from an understanding to identity as being socially constructed with language at its core and in this part, I look at students' language practices directly relating these to the construction and negotiation of their linguistic identities. I divide this part into two sub-sections, resonating with the main findings I have presented in Chapter 4, and I start each section by presenting my findings and relate these to existing literature regarding my research questions. I start by looking at the young people's language practices, followed by the role of the German Saturday School.

On a macro- as well as a micro-level, the young people commonly identified with certain labels (e.g., British English, Iraqi Dialect) which were a result of their simultaneous participation in various communities. A common observation was that this fed into how they positioned themselves in the classroom. However, in one case it further impacted the way one student perceived herself in wider educational discourses and as a result how she positioned herself in relation to others. There seemed to be a link between how the young people negotiated their identities and their OLRs. Furthermore, some aspects of their linguistic identities were hidden in the classroom (meso-level). In all students, these aspects were brought to the fore through the language portrait activity as well as semi-structured interviews. There is thus a possibility that for the young people their

biographies, experiences, and emotions attached to multiple languages, and language varieties were commonly related to the way they wanted to be seen. This is something post-structural research expects as within such a framework language shapes the way we act in the world and construct our identities, yet further how it is through language that we make sense of our experiences and create a personal biography.

On a meso-level, in the classroom, there is a possibility that the young people strongly identified with the German and English language as German functioned as lesson content, whereby English was further used to make lesson content more meaningful and its use was encouraged by the teacher; although all young people had a different relationship with each of these languages and languages in general (as discussed in section 5.2.1). The young people appeared to commonly identify with aspects of the German culture hence their values and knowledge of German history were shaped through their interactions with their e.g. grandparents. However, it further seemed that by speaking about 'the Germans' with their teacher, the class created their own culture in which they made language meaningful. In terms of identity, I have observed that the young people commonly felt a strong sense to defend 'the Germans' as they may have strongly identified with contemporary Germany as part of their upbringing. This suggests a possibility that their identity negotiation outside (mainstream classroom) and inside the German Saturday School was affected through German history. I now move on to look at the mesosystem i.e. the young people's language practices in the classroom.

5.3.1 Language Practices

In the following discussion, I highlight the impact of students' collaborative language learning through translation work (as discussed in section 4.4.3) which seemed to encourage creative language use. I outline the main influence on the way the young people constructed and negotiated their identities in the classroom. My findings add to research that looks at how students construct and negotiate their identities in a complementary language school, and how these identities may be understood. The young people commonly switched between English and German, not just during translation work, suggesting that they felt confident in drawing on both languages to make classroom interactions and

lesson content meaningful. Commonly the young people’s language practices were encouraged by the teacher and there is a possibility that this resulted in them feeling safe to draw on aspects of their English and German knowledge. My findings suggest that other languages were hidden in the classroom pointing toward the possibility that the German Saturday School as an educational institution affects the way the young people used their languages and which languages; they may see appropriate to be used in this context.

Based on the analysis of my data there appeared to be a pattern that suggested a possibility in the way most of the young people wanted to come across during classroom interactions (mesosystem), that was directly related to their a) direct experiences (macrosystem) and b) backgrounds (microsystem). Furthermore, the language portrait revealed other out of school language practices e.g. secret-languages or using/switching between three languages. For some of the young people switching and using three languages was natural, especially at home. Others used language (e.g., German, English) as a secret language, depending on the context. Further, the use of a made-up secret language was common in the young people’s language practices, especially in their mainstream schools. This suggests that there is a possible relation in how the young people consciously manipulated some of the languages they know to position themselves as e.g., outsiders to certain communities. It further suggests a relation between the young people’s OLRs and how it affects the way they may want to be seen by others.

My observation findings suggest that there was a strong focus on working together on set-phrases which seemed to be an important part of the A-level exam preparation, hence students’ overall classroom interactions suggested an influence from the A-level syllabus to which Mrs Bauer had to conform. During translation work it seemed that being ‘bilingual’ enabled translation and an interest in translation at a level that could not be expected in for example, a GCSE-level class which Mrs Bauer confirmed in an interview (Interview 30th March 2019). English semantics, in particular, seemed to be important to foster the young people’s meaningful participation in their lessons and to meet the translation assignment.

Based on my observation data, it seemed that lessons were structured around the A-level scheme of assessment and linked to the teacher's expectations of students' regarding their language competence. As a result, the teacher appeared to classify students' language according to GCSE or A2 vocabulary (e.g. Fieldnotes 11th March 2019) and thus expected students to use standard High German in their translations. At the same time Mrs Bauer allowed the young people to be creative and freely choose which language they may want to use; German or English (e.g., Fieldnotes 24th March 2019, see also section 4.4.1 for discussion).

As already argued my findings add to other research that views students as active agents who challenge essentialist notions of language, culture, and identity, by bringing community experiences, references from popular culture as well as diverse linguistic resources into the classroom (e.g. Blackledge & Creese, 2009; Lytra & Martin, 2010; Lytra, 2011; 2012; Li Wei & Wu, 2009; Li Wei, 2014). From this we might conclude that my observations in the German Saturday School seem not to be unusual with regards to other complementary school settings. The findings further show that although monolingual beliefs e.g. A-level competence held by Mrs Bauer because she must conform to the overall A-level syllabus, did not seem to affect the young people's overall language practices. The combined findings suggest that the young people's identity negotiation can be associated with Mrs Bauer's flexibility in allowing students to decide which language resources they may want to draw on; meaning their semantic/grammatical understandings of English and German.

My data show that the teacher drew on English to e.g., explain grammatical rules (the German cases) to the young people which adds to Cook's (2015) argument of making grammatical explanations accessible to students rather than deliberately difficult by drawing on the learners' 'weaker' language which appeared to be German for most of the young people. This means that since central to one's language learning is a conscious understanding of grammatical rules it is vital to determine which language helps best to convey the actual rules (Cook, 2015). Based on my findings, Mrs Bauer decided that English was the most useful language in conveying grammatical rules and making lesson content meaningful to the young people. A possible explanation for the way the young people made sense of their classroom interactions and thus constructed their

language learning experiences could be that of the teacher's encouraging nature meaning she appeared to not exercise power over the young people in the sense that she forced them to solely draw on German. Adding to Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004) my findings suggest that in a German complementary school context, young people may have more freedom in their identity negotiation. This may be explained with that the young people were used to resist identity options that were imposed on them as they grew up in a superdiverse context as argued by Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004), although the authors draw on the term multilingual contexts. The combined findings suggest that it might also be the teacher who resisted identity options which may be imposed on young people as a result of the e.g. A-level Syllabus and the discourses around performative exam culture. I develop this argument in the following section.

My data can further be interpreted through a view on identity as negotiated differently in different situations (Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004). Johanna appeared to resist the identity option of a speaker of German in the Saturday School classroom and negotiated the English aspect of her identity as, according to my data, it felt more natural. Whereas in the mainstream school and at home she consciously drew on German and resisted the English school culture. Other complementary school research similarly finds students to be very creative in the way they use their languages and contest school language ideologies as well as societal discourses (Creese *et al,* 2007). As discussed previously, my findings further add to Creese *et al*'s (2008) view on identity as complex, rather than multiple which would imply that languages are somewhat separate. On the other hand, my findings may further be explained with what Creese *et al,* (2007) and Lytra (2011; 2012) find in terms of students possessing diverse linguistic resources linked to family, out of school practices and popular culture and that they use to socially negotiate their communication as well as learning through interaction with others (Lave & Wenger, 1991). The young people's linguistic repertoires further resonate with García's (2014) view on bilingualism as dynamic in which she argues that individuals' languages cannot be separated hence she questions the conventional label 'bilingualism' by stressing the complexity of bilingual students' language practices. The combined findings suggest that young people's language practices can be associated with linguistic identity and although there are different powers at force in complementary schools, and

possibly other educational setting, students can make conscious decisions about which identity aspect they may want to negotiate. Especially regarding popular culture Sultana and Dovchin (2016) suggest that popular culture opens new linguistic possibilities for an individual through which they can infringe cultural and linguistic boundaries. This means, in terms of the organic nature of young people's repertoires (as discussed in the previous section), their identities may be far too complex to be captured through conventional labels. In fact, by e.g. using resources from popular culture the voices they borrow are then not tied to one particular linguistic or cultural community (see e.g. Sultana & Dovchin, 2016). Again, regarding my overarching research question, this means that finding definite answers to what kind of linguistic identities the young people construct may not be achievable.

My data can be looked at through Li Wei's (2011) translanguaging space, that in the sense of my findings appeared to be a space that was a result of the young people's translanguaging practices, and the analysis of my data portrays how students manipulated language and seemingly broke imagined boundaries for example between German and English. However, extending Li Wei's (2011) view, my findings show that it was not something the young people explicitly discussed or verbalised and thus took into account as they actively engaged in these practices. It seemed as if the young people used their grammatical understanding of English (e.g. verb endings), their semiotic as well as their semantic understanding of both languages to make translation work meaningful and scaffold their learning to construct meaning from previous understanding. Li Wei (2016) shows how Chinese students combine English suffixes with lexical forms, transliterated from Chinese. Even though students in Li Wei's study are adults, there is a similarity between these findings in that they show the creative practices of young people regarding their diverse meaning-making practices by moulding language according to their communicative needs. The combined findings suggest that students' language practices, especially during translation tasks, enabled the young people to choose the elements of English and German that fostered effective communication with the teacher and at the same time to construct meaning from previous knowledge.

Translation work as an unexpected finding, which I had not build into my research design, adds to Corcoll López and González-Davies' (2016) findings in the sense

that translation work may be viewed from a translanguaging angle rather than a code-switching perspective. Such a view understands two (or more) languages as separate systems, with distinct boundaries, which individuals consciously draw on in conversations hence they may draw on two different languages in a single sentence (see e.g. Cook, 1999). Translanguaging on the other hand, focuses on language users' agency and the complexity of their meaning-making practices that cannot be understood through a traditional view on language (García, 2009). By interpreting translation work through a translanguaging lens the young people's agency in their language learning becomes salient and as Corcoll López and González-Davies' (2016) stress:

> *'translation practised in a collaborative environment was found to strengthen teamwork, foster the active participation of all learners regardless of learning styles, and made visible their rich linguistic and cultural backgrounds' (p. 72).*

This was also the case in the A-level classroom as during translation tasks the teacher's 'indirect' empowerment and encouragement became salient which appeared to help the young people to feel safe to experiment with language and thus use it in a way it helped them to foster their language learning and at the same time made visible the richness of their OLRs. Through translation the young people may have thus constructed a creative space in which they could use language to construct new understandings and make it meaningful to them. These moments of translanguaging thus appeared to occur as a scaffold (Baynham & Lee, 2019) to resolve questions in the young people's understanding of the text. This resonates with research that has started to investigate students' translanguaging practices as part of translation work and how they construct meaning across their languages to make their interactions meaningful (e.g. Esquinca *et al,* 2014; Martinez-Roldan, 2015). The combined findings suggest that translanguaging practices during translation work, might also occur in a complementary school and not solely in young people's modern foreign language lessons. From this there may be a lesson to learn for other complementary schools to allow creativity to happen during more traditional language learning such as translation and as a result make language learning more meaningful.

Based on my findings, a translanguaging space could thus be a space in which the old arguments about the need for structure/grammar in language teaching as well as creative language use come together and make language learning enjoyable by allowing students to construct different aspects of their linguistic identities. This highlights the importance of looking at translation work from a different angle as it supports what is often argued from a transformative pedagogical viewpoint understanding how students make meaning across their linguistic repertoires (e.g. Stavrou, Charalambous & Macleroy, 2019). The combined findings suggest that although teachers in a German Saturday school, and by all means other educational settings, ought to align their teaching with specific syllabus, there is potential to be open to more student-centred teaching approaches that stimulate young people to become creative in their language practices. This means that the role this particular German Saturday School plays in young people's identity construction/negotiation might be that, at the time of my research, it did not use its full potential in terms of increasing young people's language awareness and respectively develop students understanding about their own language use (inside and outside the classroom). I return to this point in the following section.

Looking at the young people's identity negotiation from a translanguaging perspective appears to aid to look beyond the theoretical borders of classroom bilingualism and its apparent pre-set beliefs that became salient through the data I was able to collect. Some of the translanguaging moments further portray the complex, somewhat hard to capture nature of students' linguistic identities. As my data show, it seemed as if the young people were neither solely 'German' or 'English', yet somewhat in-between these languages. Although the young people appeared to have a variety of other linguistic resources in their repertoires, these did not surface during everyday classroom interactions. Whilst other research suggest that all language resources can be mobilised for learning (e.g. Blackledge & Creese, 2010; Creese *et al*, 2008; García & Li Wei, 2014; Lytra 2011; Li Wei, 2011, 2013; Prasad, 2014), this appeared to not be the case in the German Saturday School. This means that although the teacher gave students permission to draw on two languages, the young people may have felt that drawing on other resources from their OLR may not be appropriate. The combined findings suggest that in the German Saturday School there is potential

for young people to draw on their full-linguistic repertoire. This may be achieved through educating teachers about the benefits of allowing students to use all language resources for learning and thus finding the balance between monolingual beliefs and student-centred teaching approaches.

Numerous scholars applied the concepts of flexible bilingualism and translanguaging to grasp the various identity performances of young people attending complementary schools (see e.g., Creese & Blackledge, 2011; Li Wei, 2011). They suggest that focusing on students' flexible use of two or more languages aids to shed light on aspects of their creative language practices that add to a developing understanding of their linguistic identities. The combined findings suggest that the language practices, I was able to observe in the German Saturday School were of similar nature, however, further suggesting that the young people's language practices were much more complex. I develop this argument in the following two paragraphs. In addition to this, my data show that there might be similarities between the kind of linguistic identities young people construct in this particular school, yet possibly in other German Saturday schools. What we can learn from this, strengthens a view on an interplay of students' language practices (e.g., translanguaging) and how they construct/negotiate their linguistic identities.

Whereas other complementary research finds that switching and mixing of languages are often viewed as indicative of a deficit in students' cognitive and linguistic abilities by teachers (Li Wei, 2014) regarding the young people in my study this did not seem to be the case, as neither teachers nor students seemed to see this as a problem. My findings add to Li Wei's (2014) call to view students' creative language use as something positive that helps them to achieve a multicompetence. This suggests that although the ethos of complementary schools is to maintain e.g. German this may also be achieved by introducing more creativity into lessons and thus encourage students' intercultural as well as communicative development. Such a view has already been incorporated into policies e.g., CEFR (2018) which suggests language learners/users' competence as plurilingual referring to an individual's ability to make new experiences meaningful by incorporating new knowledge into existing understandings whereby prior knowledge may be modified according to communicative needs. My findings further add to a view on the interplay of young people's identity

construction and the linguistic resources they can negotiate during their lessons (Li Wei, 2013). Transformative pedagogical approaches highlight the learner's agency and thus allowing students to make lesson content more meaningful by relating it to their individual as well as collective experiences (e.g., Cummins, 2000; 2001). Hence the interactions between educators and students are placed at the centre of learning processes which in turn acknowledges the importance of exploring different viewpoints and negotiating identities (Stavrou, Charalambous & Macleroy, 2019). The combined findings suggest that the language practices of the young people in the German Saturday School are comparable to these of students in other complementary schools. Furthermore, young people attending a German Saturday school, or complementary school in general, may be best understood in terms of their 'plurilingual' competences which entail their full linguistic repertoire that might be mobilised by drawing on prior knowledge. Hence the German Saturday School appears to be a space in which young people can experiment with languages and as a result make their language learning experiences meaningful.

My data further shed light on the young people's secret/family languages that are not captured by labels e.g., bi/multilingualism as these languages are not recognised as a unit of analysis. The CEFR (2018) adopts a more flexible view and as discussed previously the term plurilingual may be more appropriate to describe young people, growing up in superdiverse surroundings. The young people in my study used secret-languages for several reasons. Jamila and Safya, for instance, used a secret/family language to make communication with their parents meaningful, by using elements of English and Arabic, yet further add German words into their everyday conversations (see e.g., Interview 18th May, p. 241). This was an unexpected finding, and it may add to literature concerning itself with code-mixing, switching and meshing (see. e.g., Li Wei, 2005). It further adds to research that looks at the separation of languages from a language users' perspective and frames it as something abstract to them (e.g., Creese & Blackledge, 2010; Blommaert & Rampton, 2011). My findings show that it was something natural for the young people to hear and speak many different languages throughout the day and make sense of their experiences. Jamila and Safya for instance appeared to use German, English and Arabic at home in connection to one another in order to make their interactions at home meaningful.

The young people further used secret-languages to create bonds with their friends, giving them a sense of belonging that everyone who spoke the 'language' (e.g. Idig, Backslond, p. 336) felt. Overall, the young people appeared to use secret-languages to differentiate themselves and thus position themselves away from the usual classroom language as they may want to be different and further keep their privacy to e.g. discuss topics no one else should know about. The young people created labels for these languages and thus named their language adding to Busch (2012) who stresses that participants who were prompted, through language portrait work, to think about their linguistic repertoire, created personal labels e.g. secret languages, portraying their language practices. In terms of language learning and identity in a broader sense this may mean that young people do not just identify with conventional language labels, they further create labels for themselves to make their language practices meaningful, yet at the same time to differentiate themselves from the 'mainstream' and thus construct a sense of 'otherness'. This may mean that young people create a sense of personal biography through inventing their own languages and thus wanting to come across as different. Language learning may thus play a role in how they experience the world and construct their identities. This suggests that the young people's language portraits revealed similar aspects of their linguistic identities as in e.g. Busch's (2012) study. Furthermore, it shows that the way the young people positioned themselves at home/mainstream school was influenced by the diversity of their linguistic repertoires. In terms of answering my overarching research question, as well as my first sub-question, my findings suggest that the young people's identities may also be described as plurilingual. Hence, they possess a diverse linguistic repertoire that is constituted of different languages, language varieties, yet also secret languages.

My findings further add to research that looks at students' diverse language practices taking account of their language repertoires (e.g. Rampton, 2007; Blommaert, 2012). As I have shown in section 4.4.3 the young people drew on a variety of features of both their German as well as English language knowledge to participate successfully in the German lesson. Interpreting my data through a post-structural understanding of identity (e.g. Norton, 2000; Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004), that views identity as highly contextual, may point toward the linguistic identity options the young people could negotiate within the German

Saturday School as depended on the context of the setting where German might be valued over other languages. However, my study further shows the variety of identities being constructed in that context as they were more than solely 'German'. This may have been bound to the safe and creative space that was offered through the teacher and the alternative discourses, and maybe different dominant discourses (away from some English nationalist discourses or, to some degree, performative exam culture) the young people had access to. Although the young people's identity options were subject to some of these as, for instance the translation arguments show, the identities they constructed were not just bound to this context. My findings show that it was about the cultures, biographies and linguistic resources that the young people brought into the space and actively negotiated within this space. In what follows I look at how the German Saturday School affects the young people's language learning experiences.

5.3.2 Role of the German Saturday School

In this section, I unpick the role of the German Saturday School in students' language practices and respectively identity performances. Working from a post-structural perspective, I consider wider institutional and historical forces, as well as localised discourses e.g. Mrs Bauer's personal beliefs, the A-level syllabus as well as how students may have shaped discourses themselves. I consider the young people's language practices regarding the transformative nature of a translanguaging space and respectively as creative meaning makers.

It appears as if the young people's language use and respectively development were positively framed around Mrs Bauer's teaching style (as discussed in section 4.4.3). My interview data revealed that Mrs Bauer believed it should be the student who decides which language to speak (Interview 30th March 2019). This contradicts traditional language education models that suggest monolingual input is most efficient (Krashen, 1985). Other complementary (e.g. Gregory *et al,* 2013; Li Wei, 2013; 2014) as well as mainstream school research (Cummins, 2011; Meier, 2017; Tai & Li Wei, 2020) has already started to address this e.g. through sociocultural theory (see Vygotsky, 1978; Lantolf, 2011) and suggests that teaching methods ought to take account of all previous language and language learning knowledge. In fact, from a sociocultural stance, language learners build on previous knowledge to make sense of new concepts (e.g.,

Vygotsky, 1078). Regarding my data this may mean that Mrs Bauer adopted a multilingual approach as described by Moore (2013) where individuals use any language they like and as a result supports the young people to build an awareness of what they can achieve with their choice of language at any given time. It seemed that the young people possessed this awareness which surfaced during translation work where English was commonly used to make lesson content meaningful. For instance, Chris, used his English knowledge to assist the teacher with a translation (Fieldnotes, 24th March 2020, p. 319) and thus made sense of a new word 'Hetzjagd'.

Although, the young people's parents seemed to hold expectations regarding a traditional model of language learning, which suggests that languages ought to be kept separate, as suggested by structuralists (e.g., De Saussure, 1966). Hence parents' expectations were conditioned through a more cognitive model of language learning, without taking consideration of the environment (see section 2.2.1), this, however, did not seem to impact on students' overall language practices in the A-level classroom. Li Wei (2006) argues that complementary schools have the potential to challenge policies and practices of mainstream schools in the UK and they raise questions of classroom management and pedagogy. Although, complementary schools have a strict non-English policy in the classroom it is argued that teachers 'break' these if there is a concept, they cannot explain in the home language (e.g. Li Wei, 2006). Based on the analysis of my data this can be explained with teacher's language learning biography, linguistic repertoire, and their understanding of learning, which in the case of Mrs Bauer appeared to be student-centred.

Baker (2006) suggests that it depends on the teachers' world view whether they welcome linguistic diversity because they view these as valuable, while some teachers may view the use of other languages as threat to students' learning which may be related to wider political discourses. In terms of Mrs Bauer's approach, it appears that her own language socialisation played a role and as a result she did not reproduce monolingual norms (Meier, 2018). Literature suggests that learners, as well as teachers may sometimes perceive language learning as a monolingual activity and their language skills are often judged against a native speaker criterium (CEFR, 2018) also referred to as double monolingualism (Krumm, 2010), that resulted from Bloomfield's (1935) maximal

proficiency. Hence their language practices may be constructed mainly around the target language without paying too much attention to students' already existing knowledge (Meier, 2017).

Contrary to what the literature suggests in terms of teachers' supporting multilingual practices due to practicalities (e.g., Meier, 2017) the analysis of my data suggests that in the A-level classroom the teacher appeared to allow students to bring their prior knowledge into the classroom in particular by drawing on English terms. I develop this argument i.e., the link between what the teacher brought to the classroom and the way the young people constructed and negotiated their identities throughout the following paragraphs.

Other complementary school research (e.g., Creese & Blackledge, 2011; Martin *et al*, 2006) shows teachers' possible fear that students could lose their community language which impacts their language practices, whereas my findings suggest it was more what the teacher brought into the classroom in terms of her own language learning experiences and the way she interacted at home as well as throughout her daily life that shaped overall language practices. This interpretation emerged from an interview with Mrs Bauer (30th March, 2019) and an interaction I observed between her and her daughter in which she spoke English and German to her. Her daughter worked as teaching assistant at the German Saturday School (Fieldnotes, 2nd February, 2019). As previously discussed, Mrs Bauer's personal language socialisation appeared to play a role in her student-centred teaching style. This was an unexpected finding, nevertheless it shows that there might be a link between the teacher's own language learning experiences and the way she approached her lessons. From a pedagogical viewpoint this is not a new finding as e.g., Edwards and Mercer (1987) already stress the teacher's ability to foster students' thinking and learning. My findings combined with the literature further suggest that although Mrs Bauer drew on translation work, which belongs to a traditional teaching technique that assume a neutral or passive teacher (Renau, 2016), she seemed to further use elements of a natural approach (Krashen, 1985). The teacher appeared to want to foster the young people's communicative abilities by focusing on expanding their vocabulary through linking new words with students' English knowledge without paying too much attention to sterile language structures. The combined findings suggest that there may be a link between Mrs Bauer's own language

learning experiences that she negotiated in interaction and the young people's language practices.

Furthermore, the teacher's biography of growing up in East-Germany seemed to have had an impact on her understanding of different varieties of German (see section 4.4.3). Unlike in other studies (see e.g., Lytra *et al,* 2008) Mrs Bauer did not force students to use standard High German during lessons. Again, the findings suggest that what Mrs Bauer brought to the classroom may have affected the young people's language practices. Moll *et al,* (1992) already looked at 'funds of knowledge' that teachers and students bring into the classroom highlighting the ways in which different 'funds of knowledge' shape classroom interactions. My findings add to Li Wei's (2013) study in terms of that it is not only the students' 'funds of knowledge' that impact on the construction of their identities as learner yet that the teacher also plays a significant role in these constructions. My findings may further be explained with Li Wei's (2011) translanguaging space which could only be created through what Mrs Bauer brought to the classroom in terms of her personal background. It appears that the young people's creative use of language, was framed around a discourse of a moment e.g., classroom interactions that did not impose a specific language variety on the young people. I revisit the topic creativity toward the end of this section. These findings, together with previous literature (e.g. Conteh, 2007 in Conteh 2018), strengthen the insight that I develop here that it is not only the students' linguistic repertoire but also that of the teacher that is part of the negotiation of linguistic identities in a classroom. This insight may in fact be relevant beyond the complementary school sector and relate to the field of teacher beliefs about languages and learning more widely.

My observation and informal interview data revealed parents' expectations of a German lesson seemed to be related to the school policies and parents' largely monolingual mindset. This included their underlying expectations, and as a result, positioning their child in the discourse of native German speakers. They thus seemed to expect their children to achieve a level of German comparable to children educated in Germany. This resonates with Lytra's (2012) findings of parents' views on, for instance, standard Turkish (formed in the societal discourse of their home country), aligned with language ideologies surrounding these standard varieties. The main aim of a German Saturday school is to help parents

to raise their children bilingually and further address the needs of students that modern foreign language lessons in their mainstream schools fail to meet (VDSS, 2020). German lessons are thus part of a language socialisation process, shaping students' awareness of accepted language varieties and their understanding of ideologies around these (Li Wei's, 2017), and this mindset seems to be very similar in the German Saturday School, as far as policy and parental expectations are concerned. In fact, my findings show that the German Saturday School is an important context for the young people's identity development (Li Wei, 2006) and further show the specific impact this particular school had on the young people's identity development.

Furthermore, the German Saturday School in North London prepares students to take their GCSE, AS and A-level exams and as a result, the teacher must conform to the particular syllabus, in this case, Pearson Edexcel A-level. As a result, there may have been underlying pressures on the teacher to conform to the school's overall philosophy and policy, parental expectations, her own biography, beliefs and understanding of learning, student biographies and language repertoires, while at the same time working towards students' exam success. In fact, parents pay for their children to attend the school, which may shape their expectations. This in turn may have impacted on her lesson planning and may have affected the language practices I was able to observe; which appeared to be 'exam-driven', yet there was space for the young people to experiment with language and thus make exam preparation meaningful. This paragraph shows that teachers in complementary schools, and in all likelihood in other educational settings, negotiate complex pressures and forces as they develop their unique language practices in their classrooms. It does however not imply that the young people did not shape and negotiate these language practices and the wider discourses at play.

My observation findings also revealed that at times students drew on any language feature (English & German) they had at their disposal during classroom tasks in the sense that they manipulated these languages in a way that they pushed named language boundaries. However, as discussed previously, the flexibility did not extend to using their wider linguistic repertoires as a resource for learning. My interpretation of this led me to identify the main factor influencing students' flexible 'bilingual' language practices (see section 1.2.2 for definition),

to which I will return below, to be influenced by the teacher's biography and language learning experience. Mrs Bauer appeared to deliberately draw on English to explain complex grammar and was very accommodating in terms of students' language needs during the lessons. This is not a new finding as other complementary schoolteachers show similar patterns (Li Wei, 2006). My findings further reveal that the young people's knowledge of both languages impacted their language practices. Although this was done in a manner of drawing on resources (e.g. semantic understanding, or verb endings) from both languages, as discussed in the previous section. I have shown in section 4.3 how the young people, as well as the teacher, flexibly used English and German during the lessons to communicate. This shows that this particular German Saturday school tolerated or in some ways encouraged translanguaging to make sense of content and form, despite an underlying monolingual expectation. This offers a possible explanation as to why parents (despite their monolingual mind-set) may send their children to a German Saturday school as these schools may offer more experiential and realistic teaching experiences with a German teacher, something a mainstream school may not always be able to offer.

My data work to demonstrate the transformative nature of students' translanguaging moments and show how these practices may be conditioned by the young people's prior experiences and personal beliefs about languages. My analysis suggests that similar to Li Wei's (2011; 2018) findings, moments of translanguaging have the potential to help researcher, by observing individual's language practices, to develop an understanding of how they may make sense of the world around them and respectively construct a sense of personal biography. Furthermore, my data support a view of a translanguaging space as being interactionally constructed, as described by Li Wei (2018) between students and the teacher. Although, I was only able to observe a small number of these translanguaging moments as described by Li Wei (2018), they appeared to be a result of interactions between the teacher and her students. This adds to the developing argument of creativity and the dialogic nature of teaching that shapes young people's identity construction and negotiation. In fact, the analysis of my data point towards students' creativity during translation work through which they seemingly created their own translanguaging space. This is in line with Li Wei's (2011) view on creativity being one part of 'multilingual' language

practices and respectively identity construction that comes to the fore in a translanguaging space. Explaining my data through this lens suggests that the young people combined different dimensions of their biographies, experiences, their beliefs about language as well as their cognitive capacities to make their interactions meaningful (as described by Li Wei, 2011). In the sense of my data creativity may be explained with the young people's ability to bring their sense of humour 'sie haben Schwein gehabt' (they were lucky) into the classroom, yet *also* their prior understandings of specific terms e.g., 'Krankenhausreif' (brutally) and applied these to their momentary language practices. Through this it appeared as if the young people made their language learning more meaningful adding to the developing picture of a translanguaging space as something in which individuals creatively make sense of their own experiences (García & Li Wei, 2014) and thus build a sense of personal biography.

It further shows the fluid nature of language that is constantly renegotiated in a web of specific histories and social environments (Copland & Creese, 2015). In the case of the A-level classroom, discourses around Nazi Germany seemed to impact the teachers as well as students' language use in terms of how they may want to be seen by others in their country of residence, the UK. It appeared as if the young people identified with the German history during a discussion around Nazi Germany (see section 4.4.1, e.g. Fieldnotes, 16th March 2019) which may be identified as their subjective feelings towards German as ethnicity. This might mean that that the young people strongly identified with a category of ethnic identity that defined their subjective feelings. This was also the case in Creese *et al's* (2008) study where students in a complementary school classroom internalise certain aspects of ethnicity, which contributes to how they understand themselves in the world. The combined findings suggest that, especially in a complementary school setting, young people's identity negotiation may be understood as a process in which interactions in two directions are defined together; implying that they may start to question some of the ideologies (historical) that criticise their 'heritage'.

The German Saturday School as a social environment, seemed to further have shaped the young people's knowledge of German whilst London as a multicultural city, as well as their mainstream schools, have had an impact upon students' OLRs and respectively their complex identities. Accordingly, their identities may

be viewed as socially negotiated and dynamic and as my findings reveal, such negotiation involves different aspects and characteristics of the individual's identity (Kenner & Ruby, 2012; Norton, 2000). From this I deduce that it is not just personal biographies, beliefs, linguistic repertoires and experiences of stakeholder that play a role in the negotiations of identities, but that we need to add history of the community as an additional factor to the mix. The analysis of my data suggests that this history was being negotiated and made sense of in the present moment in the classroom. Although it appears to lend some dominance to particular discourses which is why the war is so hard to escape in terms of unpleasant feelings, particularly in the context of the UK yet *also* what lends weight to things being seen as they have been traditionally.

In terms of the role of the German Saturday School in creating a sheltered space the interpretation of my data suggest that the young people seemed to feel a strong sense of having to defend the Germans and took this experience into the German Saturday School to voice their anger. Adding to e.g. Creese and Martin (2003) as well as Martin *et al,* (2004) a German Saturday school may be a unique context and safe space where young people negotiate a range of linguistic as well as social identities. From a sociocultural perspective (e.g. Bruner, 1972), this may mean that through interactions with their parents as well as other family members (e.g. grandparents) the young people strongly identified with the German culture and have learnt about the war from a critical and self-reflective German perspective. They then experienced different, less nuanced, attitudes towards Germans and Germany held by some people in the UK which caused some conflict. This, in turn, may have shaped their values and knowledge of German history hence when they participated in their history lessons in the English school, they felt a strong sense of having to defend 'the Germans' as having moved on from the Third Reich as they may strongly identify with contemporary Germany as part of their upbringing. Furthermore, the term 'the Germans' may mean something significantly different to the young people in this study than it may mean to students attending an English school who come from mainly English-speaking backgrounds. My findings imply that the young people may not have felt the same sense of belonging in their mainstream school classroom as students from solely English-speaking backgrounds. Whereas

within the German Saturday School a safe space appeared to be created in which the young people constructed these histories anew.

My findings could be explained with Searle's (1995) theory to language and the social construction of reality, as individuals from different backgrounds may hold contrasting views about the term 'the Germans'. A possible explanation for this is that the young people constructed these histories anew, in light of their family background, yet further the English culture including the views that surround them as well as the conversations in the language class. This suggests that Saturday schools may have a role to play when it comes to such tensions and conflicts, as a sheltered space where experiences can be shared. This is not a new finding as complementary schools as institutions have long been acknowledged as potential space for young people to develop contemporary cultural understandings and thus further develop new values and 'new' identities (e.g., Creese & Blackledge, 2011; Creese & Martin, 2006; Creese *et al,* 2008, Conteh, 2007 in Conteh, 2018). Hence the German Saturday School offers the young people a safe space to explore their plurilingualism contesting some of the traditional views on complementary schools as monolingual space set up by minority speakers (Li Wei, 2006).

The notion of safe space has long been acknowledged by complementary school research as for young learners this space (created with teachers) helps language learners to co-construct their learning (Conteh & Brock, 2011, Conteh, Martin & Robertson, 2007) which furthers the notion 'third spaces' (Bhabha, 1990 cited in Conteh, 2007). My findings, together with previous literature suggest that the young people and Mrs Bauer co-constructed the learning experience in a way it became meaningful for themselves at the same time pointing toward the 'organic' nature of learning spaces. Organic in the sense of my data may refer to the potential of this space where culture is co-constructed, negotiated and sometimes contested. This in turn may forge more complex identities that learners construct through making interactions meaningful for themselves. It may further be a space in which the young people experienced equality and safety as the classroom may have offered a haven from racism by co-constructing meaningful relationships with the teacher in which, not only the young people's family background and English culture had a role to play. In fact, the teacher's previous experiences re-

surfaced and further appeared to play a vital role in constructing these present moment experiences.

My findings show a complex range of discourses was offered in the A-level classroom and it seemed to be a safe space where open discussions could take place. This may be a possible explanation as to why we see such different and complex identities being forged in the Saturday School as opposed to one distinct school identity. Regarding the school set-up this may be caused by the informal nature of the school that allows more room for the young people to get creative with language and thus explore a variety of aspects of their linguistic identities. As mentioned previously this may indeed be one reason why parents send their children to this school as it offers a more natural language learning experience despite the underlying, monolingual discourses at play. As a result, it appears that in the German Saturday School a variety of culture and identities are nurtured.

5.4 Chapter Summary

The purpose of this section is to summarise the main findings of this study in light of other research and this will be important for the following chapter in which I discuss what these findings may mean on a methodological, theoretical and pedagogical level and how they add to already existing literature. To recap, in this chapter, and in line with my research focus, I illuminated the complexity of young people's identities and language practices in a complementary school context. The young people's language practices appeared to be dynamic and flexible that I explained with concepts such as Li Wei's (2011) translanguaging space and the CEFR's (2018) definition of plurilingualism as well as the concept of flexible bilingualism (Creese *et al,* 2011). I further used my understanding of a person's OLR as something dynamic, complex, including language varieties, secret-languages, dialect or different languages to make sense of the young people's language practices. I also considered the way the young people constructed and negotiated their classroom identities as part of their wider complex linguistic identities. Taking account of previous research (e.g. Blommaert, 2014; Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004), such a view takes account of their language practices in which the young people drew on aspects of their German as well as English

language knowledge, stressing the fluid nature of their linguistic identities in terms of moving in and out of aspects of their German and English identity through how they positioned themselves in the classroom.

Considering my findings and previous research, I argued a complex view on linguistic identity may further take account of the context of the study; a German Saturday school, in which German functions as lesson content. Although, it appeared that the young people constructed a variety of linguistic identities that were very different. Taking account of previous studies, in similar settings, I argue that this might be due to the safe and creative space offered in the A-level classroom and the alternative discourses (e.g. popular culture) the young people had access to (see e.g. Lytra & Martin, 2010). In light of previous research (e.g. Meier, 2018; 2017) my findings suggest that the teacher's student-centred teaching style, which appeared to be a result of her own language learning experiences, may have contributed to the creation of a sheltered space in which the young people's cultures and identities were nurtured. Furthermore, I considered different dominant discourses, away from some English nationalist discourses, and from performative exam culture. Although, some of the identities the young people constructed seemed to be subject to some of these (e.g. translation work), the identity constructed appeared to reach beyond these discourses. In light of previous research (Blackledge & Creese, 2008; Karrebaek & Charalambous, 2018; Seals, 2017; Sultana & Dovchin, 2016; Wolf, 2014) the young people's linguistic identities seemed to be more about the cultures e.g. popular culture, biographies and humour that were brought into the space and actively negotiated.

The German Saturday School North-London as an institution with its informal language learning environment appeared to further contribute to the construction of complex identities rather than one distinct 'Saturday school identity'. Considering previous studies (e.g. Creese *et al,* 2008; Creese & Blackledge, 2011; Li Wei & Wu, 2009; Li Wei, 2006) this offers a possible explanation as to why parents may send their children to a German Saturday school as these schools may offer more learner-centred teaching, something a mainstream school may not always be able to offer. My findings further suggest that the young people also had the chance to play with language and simultaneously played with ideas about what that means for who they are and can be. Again, this might be a

lot more open than it is in a mainstream school and a real benefit for the participants who appeared to position themselves as 'bi-international'. It is a principle at the basis of some educational schemes and operations e.g. the IB has more of an emphasis on language learning and its importance. Although, we must be conscious about making such conclusions as I, as a researcher, may have influenced the ways in which the young people may have wanted to come across. My findings suggest that there might be a lesson for language classrooms and mainstream schools' citizen education. I argued that language learning could be used to help young people better explore their sense of self and relationships with others in the world.

This was achieved, through my intervention (language portraits), which brought to the fore, aspects of the young people's identity, I was unable to observe during their lessons. Under careful consideration of previous understandings e.g. CEFR (2018), I concluded that these aspects may align with an understanding of their linguistic identities as plurilingual and complex directly related to the organic nature of their linguistic repertoires. The young people's identities may thus be highly contextual and in the sense of my data the German Saturday School, as a sheltered space, seemed to play a significant role in the participants identity construction and negotiation. Overall, instead of looking at identity as an accomplished fact, my findings suggest they are a process, hence identity construction is dynamic and shifting as described by e.g., Fisher, Evans, Forbes, Gayton and Liu (2018). Hence my overarching research question 'what kind of linguistic identities do young people attending a German Saturday school construct and negotiate?' may not be answered fully. I return to this in the following chapter, where I look at the theoretical, methodological as well as pedagogical contributions of this study.

6. Chapter Conclusion

6.1 Introduction

The primary aim of this research was to gain an understanding of the linguistic identities of young people attending a German Saturday school as based on an extensive literature review a German complementary school emerged to be a much-understudied context. This extended to an understanding of the experience of these young people in terms of their language learning outside the German Saturday School classroom to support what linguistic identity might mean in a complementary school context. In this chapter, I summarise the main findings concerning my research questions, along with their contribution and their significance. In what follows I discuss the theoretical, methodological as well as pedagogical contributions of my research. Within this section I further touch upon what my findings may mean for e.g. parents, teachers in different contexts and young people growing up in a multilingual society. I then look at the limitations of this research and finally offer some recommendations for future research and a personal reflection.

The study was guided by the following research questions and I have answered these questions in the previous chapter (see Appendix G, Table 11):

Research Question: What kind of linguistic identities do young people attending a German Saturday school construct and negotiate?

Sub-questions

a) What role does the German Saturday School play in these constructions?
b) What role(s) do organic linguistic repertoires play in these constructions?
c) What kind of languages, styles, accents, registers, linguistic practices are involved?

The analysis that I have presented in Chapter 4, sheds light on the young people's OLRs and how these may impact the construction and negotiation of their linguistic identities in a specific context. A closer analysis through a model of human development (Bronfenbrenner, 1994) directly applied to how the young

people's OLRs have been developed, brought to the fore that multiple factors shaped students' identity performances in the A-level classroom (as summarised in Section 4.5). For example, it was the interplay between what the young people (e.g. humour, popular culture), yet also what the teacher, brought into the classroom (e.g. beliefs about language learning, culture), that influenced the present moment interactions within the classroom. I have argued that the young people's language use might not be understood in terms of their competence in different languages, or instrumentally only, yet *also* in terms of what they mean to the young people. Previous research (Blommaert & Backus, 2011; CEFR, 2018; Coste, Moore & Zarate, 2009; Copland, Creese, Rock & Shaw, 2015) also has stressed this and my research additionally suggests that language may be looked at as an organic system, which as one, shapes e.g. how the young people perceive themselves, yet also want to be perceived. This was summarised in section 4.5 and I stress the organic nature of language in section 6.2.1.

In Chapter 5, I have discussed that scholars across the UK, Canada, the US as well as Australia (e.g. Cruickshank's, 2014; Peñalva's 2016; Creese *et al,* 2008; Prasad, 2014) have undertaken various studies on the complex nature of students' linguistic identities and these studies were partly framed around theoretical understandings of e.g. heritage language learner identity, translingual or multilingual experiences of young people as they make sense of the world around them. Although these studies were not about German complementary schools *per se*, I have included these, as pointed out in Chapter 2, there are no studies concerning themselves with the identity development of German learners attending a German Saturday school. I further argued that some of these studies (the ones from non-German complementary schools) viewed young people's cultural or ethnic background as a direct marker of their linguistic identity which may not be helpful in developing dynamic understandings of students' linguistic identities. I thus placed my findings into a theoretical understanding that views young people as creative meaning-makers which resulted from more recent studies e.g. (Spotti & Kroon, 2017; Blommaert, 2011, Meier, 2017) and it is this understanding that lies at the core of the following theoretical, methodological and pedagogical implications as it supports a view on young people's language practices offering an alternative view to research in different language learning contexts. Besides, I further grounded my findings into an organic perspective of

young people's repertoires which I had developed through my literature review (see section 2.3.2). In the following sections I thus look at scholars' current understandings of the aforementioned topics, in relation to what I have done and show how my findings may add to current understandings and what this might mean for young people growing up in superdiverse surroundings. Specifically, for students attending a complementary language school in Anglophone countries.

6.2 Contributions

The findings of this study hold theoretical as well as methodological implications for researching identity development in complementary schools and language learning. They further offer insights for education and perhaps even society more widely. In the following sections, I present a culmination of the major combined findings (mine and those by others) and implications of this research, with a view on young people's linguistic practices and what these potentially reveal about their linguistic identity development. I further look at methodological as well as pedagogical implications that derived from this study regarding the application of language portraits as research- and indeed educational tool in identity research.

6.2.1 Theoretical Implications

Overall, my findings add to the evolving picture of complementary schools as factors in providing a space or conditions in which learners from diverse linguistic backgrounds negotiate and develop their own identities. At the core of such research sits a view on identity as socially negotiated and dynamic which contradicts a historic understanding of identities as something internal and fixed (e.g. Erikson, 1968). Furthermore, a speaker's agency plays an important role in post-structural views to identity and linguistic practices are at the centre of identity negotiation and construction. Accordingly, scholars acknowledge the central role of language within the construction of a sense of self (Weedon, 1997) hence they place an individual's language practices at the centre of their analysis aiding them to make sense of the relationship between the individual and their world.

Since the main aim of this study was to learn more about the linguistic identities of young people attending a German Saturday school, it is vital to point towards the unpredictability of language practices of young people that affect the way they

may want to be seen. In the context of this research my findings show the young people's repertoires were developing and changing throughout the study and this suggests that they may be plurilingual rather than bilingual. As discussed in Chapter 5, plurilingualism envisages language repertoires as shifting and dynamic foregrounding an individual's ability to modify prior knowledge according to communicative needs. Blommaert (2014) stresses a view on linguistic identities as systems that are never definitely describable which resonates with my findings as well as my conceptualisation guided by relevant research on linguistic repertoires (see Blommaert & Backus, 2011) of OLRs.

Regarding my findings, a possible explanation for the young people's identity development throughout the study was the increased awareness which was a result of the language portrait activity and my researcher identity. This supports the organic nature of linguistic repertoires, in which the term itself, has been shaped through my researcher identity as well as external factors that shaped my thinking at the time of writing my thesis. Hence my researcher identity played an important role as other aspects such as e.g., my OLR were brought into the research process thus shaping the space in which language portrait work took place. However, the Saturday School as a sheltered space where a variety of discourses (e.g., popular culture) were at play and in which e.g. histories were constructed anew also appeared to play a role in the young people's identity development. This again supports an organic view on linguistic repertoires as something that develops in accordance with its surroundings. It also foregrounds the ethnographic aspect of this study- and thus supporting a view on identity as something that is constructed through interaction with an environment, yet also with different people (see e.g., Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004). What is new, is the term itself, rather than what it describes on a conceptual level (e.g., linguistic repertoires, plurilingual repertoires) as it takes account of my reseaecher identity, the young people's language practices, as well as the Saturday school.

It seemed to be the case that how the young people constructed their linguistic identities was influenced by their biographies, and this has been argued by previous research (e.g., Blommaert & Backus, 2011; Copland, Creese, Rock & Shaw, 2015). This adds to the increasing number of academics who view language repertoires as connected with a strong biographical aspect, which has implications for expanding understandings of young people's linguistic repertoires

and which aspects feed into building a sense of biography meaning which languages young people may identify with, and thus use to make sense of their surroundings. I develop this argument throughout the following paragraphs. However, my findings further suggest that German history (as an external factor) particularly impacted how the young people understand themselves in the world. I have thus argued that a German Saturday school can be a safe space where young people may share their experiences and make sense of these. This is not a new finding, as complementary schools have long been acknowledged as a safe space, yet my analysis adds to this in the sense that the history of the community was constructed anew in the classroom. This may mean that in other German Saturday schools Swiss and Austrian history may surface during everyday classroom conversations.

Regarding understanding young people's OLRs, one may look at the interplay of macrosystem, microsystem with students' language practices at its core i.e. the mesosystem. My analysis of the data points towards the importance of the young people's experiences with language (macrosystem) that were shaped by educational factors, discourses around languages and cultural factors. Moreover, I found that the young people's biographies (microsystem) were influenced through the importance of relations with friends and families, foregrounding the complexity of the young people towards their languages and cultures that were shaped through their experiences. Thus, all systems shape one another and construct the 'whole' linguistic person, supporting the fluid nature of languages. Organic, as a metaphor, can thus stand for the ever-changing nature of young people's repertoires that change in accordance with their surroundings. The teacher can further be added as a factor as she co-shaped the participants' seemingly creative use of language inside the classroom through encouraging flexible language use and the use of humour. Whereas outside the A-level classroom the young people made use of secret-languages that were shaped through language practices with friends and families and their desire to either create belonging or distance themselves from others.

Young people's language practices may thus be a direct result of various factors that shape the young people's a) experiences and language use and b) biography and relationships. Yet from an organic viewpoint my findings further suggest that we need to add the teacher's experiences and the history of the community to the

mix. Hence the way young people use their language may be the outcome of educational discourses, language ideologies and the culture they were reared into. This is not a new finding as research understands this process as language socialisation/communities of practice (Duff & Talmy, 2011; Lave & Wenger, 1991). It further resonates with Blommaert's and Backus' (2011) understanding of linguistic repertoires. Adding to previous research, my findings imply that bits and chunks of the young people's linguistic repertoire were related to other parts of their repertoire systematically and intimately which coincides with a definition of organic.

In terms of researching young people's identity development through OLRs, my data illustrate the usefulness of first focusing on small moments (micro-moments), resonating with Li Wei's (2018) call for a need to focus on small moments in the era of big data. Secondly, and in line with Blommaert (2013), employing a dynamic research framework aids to bring to the fore the complexity of students' linguistic identities and respectively their linguistic repertoires. The issue empirical researchers face in terms of making sense of their data lies in the very fact that labels such as e.g., bilingualism sits at the core of most theoretical frameworks regarding the complex language practices of young people growing up in superdiverse surroundings, and indeed in other socio-linguistic research. Hence in academic research, researchers draw on certain labels that help to conceptualise the real-life experiences of research participants from a theoretical angle. My data suggest that I faced a similar challenge as the language practices I was able to observe during the young people's lessons partly pointed towards a view of, as used by Creese and Blackledge (2011), 'flexible bilingualism'. However, the language portrait data suggested a much more complex repertoire, and during the lesson different accents/dialects were used, which means that the content may have been processed in more than two languages. As mentioned in the introduction a language in the sense of my study can reach from standard varieties e.g., German to local varieties e.g. Bavarian German. In terms of young people's identity development this may mean that there were different forces at play within their language practices that point toward a plurilingual competence.

My study thus adds to research that understands young people as plurilingual (e.g., Duff, 2007; Marshall & Moore, 2013; Schecter & Cummins, 2003) rather than bilingual which is usually the case in other complementary school research

(see e.g. Creese & Blackledge, 2011; Creese, Bhatt, Bhojani & Martin, 2006, Li Wei, 2013). In the sense of my findings this appeared to be related to the organic nature of their linguistic repertoires. Hence research may be needed that understands identities as related to language varieties which might be very difficult. Gann (2004) compared the language varieties that young people at an urban school in America use with clothes they would wear. Hence Standard English was conceived by the young people as a 'dress-for-success-suit' (p. 112) that they would take out of their 'linguistic closet' (p. 112) when it was needed and, in the meantime, 'wear' whatever they felt most comfortable with e.g., African American vernacular. This suggests how young people negotiate and construct their identities may have a lot to do with resisting dominant discourses hence understanding young people's identity development, especially as they go through their adolescence, is never straightforward as their identities might change according to their 'taste'. From an organic viewpoint this yet again suggests that how young people experience 'language' and the emotions these evoke, influence which resources they may add to their repertoires and which ones they discard.

My analysis of the data revealed that an interplay between many different parts of the young people's linguistic repertoire that are at the same time interconnected was at force (as argued in section 5.3.1), and my findings, particularly students' creative language practices and their playfulness, which was a result of their biographies, led me to the conclusion that the young people constructed complex rather than multiple identities (e.g. Byrd-Clark, 2007; Creese *et al,* 2008; Gérin-Lajoie, 2008; Labrie, 2007 cited in Prasad, 2014). As a result, my findings point toward the complexity of their identities as it is difficult to allocate their linguistic identities to one specific part of their OLR which would be more in line with the term multiple identity. Furthermore, I have argued that language varieties, and how young people felt about these, were strongly associated with identities and status. My findings suggest that this includes varieties in more than one language as well as secret languages. From this we may learn that in order to make sense of the complexity of young people's linguistic identities one must take account of the holistic make up of their linguistic repertoires. Hence young people's identity development may be framed around linguistic playfulness which happens unconsciously and is a result of their

biography and language learning experiences, yet we must further add which stage of their development they may be in e.g., adolescence and how they feel about specific linguistic resources, highlighting the complexity of emotions young people may have toward their 'languages' and cultures. This suggests a need to include an identity aspect into language learning in general through which individuals have the opportunity to experiment with their language resources, yet also understand why they may identify with certain resources over others (see Forbes et al, 2021).

Adding to research in complementary schools, my findings show that simplistic labels such as heritage language learner, bilingual or German may fail to take account of the complexity of young people's linguistic identities (e.g., Cruickshank, 2014) as their language practices appeared to be far more complex. My study suggests it to be more fruitful to look at students attending complementary school settings in terms of the holistic make up of their linguistic repertoire and the plurality of their linguistic identities in their moment to moment interactions. Hence, in terms of drawing a picture of young people's linguistic identities, my findings add to research that views language learner/user as creative meaning-makers who often consciously or without being aware of it, draw on a variety of features of their OLRs that they may have at their disposal (see e.g., Creese *et al,* 2008; Li Wei, 2011; 2017, Meier & Conteh, 2014). This suggests that 'conceptualising' young people as creative meaning-makers rather than bilingual or German learners may be more valuable. This would help researcher to focus on the language practices of the present moment and the language practices that are taking place during these micro-moments. The creative aspect further supports the organic nature of linguistic repertoires that make up the whole individual and change according to their surroundings. I discuss creativity from a pedagogical viewpoint in section 6.2.3.

Finally, the term organic linguistic repertoire itself was used in this study to describe what other authors have argued over the years e.g. plurilingual repertoires (Coste, Moore & Zarate, 2009), repertoire (Blommaert & Backus, 2011), ecology of language (Hornberger, 2002), yet by potraying the dynamic nature of language/language use through the term 'organic' that was identified through first, the literature I reviewed and then strengthened through the findings of my research.

6.2.2 Methodological Implications

The literature review acknowledged a turn in how research views young people growing up in superdiverse surroundings. I have argued that since the acceleration of globalisation from the 1980s and the changes to the linguistic landscape, the study of language and identity received growing attention. Hand in hand with such changes went an adjustment of researchers' methodological and theoretical frameworks. Ample research in mainstream school contexts has already used language portrait work to learn more about the complexity of young people's linguistic identities and repertoires (e.g., Busch, 2016; 2018; Botsis & Bradbury, 2018; Bristowe, Oostendorp & Anthonissen, 2014, Dressler, 2014, Krumm, 2009; Melo-Pfeifer, 2015; Seale, 2017; Soares, Duarte & Günther-van der Meij, 2020). However, it was not the language portrait itself, rather it was the talk around the portrait (semi-structured interviews) combined with ethnographic observations that revealed more insights about the young people's linguistic identities in their moment-to-moment interactions.

My data point towards the usefulness of an approach to research students' complex linguistic identities that combines language portrait work with an observational and interviewer perspective. To shed light on aspects of an individual's linguistic identity that may not be valued within the specific setting e.g., a German Saturday school and would otherwise not be observable. English and German appeared to be the main languages the young people used during 'everyday' classroom interactions, which in turn made other languages less visible. My findings show the young people's awareness of their OLR was triggered by the language portrait activity (as discussed previously) which was an intervention on my part. During their lessons, they had not used their full OLR to meaningfully participate in communicative practices which were mainly related to the emphasis on structured translation tasks. Whilst other research stresses that students in other contexts possess an awareness of their linguistic resources and what they can achieve with these (Li Wei, 2014), in my study it appeared that the young people were not fully aware of the complexity of their linguistic repertoires. Language portraits combined with semi-structured interviews can thus help not only educators to access the complex insights into the lived experiences of language learners, yet also help students themselves to reflect on how they experience the resources that are part of their OLRs.

I pointed towards one possible danger of language portrait work in terms of that it may be that, without specific instructions, it could lead to stereotyping certain groups that are associated with particular languages, as well as undervaluing one's personal language or language variety based on its perceived low status. Regarding linguistic identity, what we can learn from this is that through language portrait work young people have the chance to alter how they perceive themselves as certain stereotypes may be explored collectively. It would thus be of value to discuss terms such as dialect, language variety, or accent before the activity and make sure that they are all understood and possible stereotyping examined before the actvity. Fisher et al (2018) similarly find it important to raise young people's awareness of these terms before implementing intervention methods that aim to raise learners' language awareness. German Saturday schools, or educational institutions in general, may thus be crucial in raising awareness of languages and language varieties and the status associated with these (e.g. Busch, 2017). What we can learn here is, that language portrait work as a research tool, yet also as an educational tool, can be of value in settings similar to that of a German Saturday school, as it helps scholars/teachers to 'dive' into the worlds' of young people; with the result of learning more about the biographies, experiences and emotions attached to multiple languages and language varieties, whilst at the same time helping students to better understand themselves. This has already been of value in linguistic identity research in other contexts (e.g., Busch, 2006; Seals, 2017; Soares, Duarte & Günther-van der Meij, 2020; Krumm, 2001;2009). The combined findings suggest that language portrait work helps researcher to explore the living nature of young people's linguistic repertoires- that are in constant flux- and thus take apart the static nature of languages and unite these in one piece of art that represents something that is alive i.e. the whole person, inclusive of languages important in the past, present, future as well as different social domains.

However, in terms of the ethnographic aspect of this study, my data further show the value of observations in identity research in terms of the discursive teaching practices I saw at play in the classroom (e.g. space for play and humour). My findings suggest that teaching was a collaborative process because the teacher and the young people worked together and at times created a collective scaffold within the present moment. The findings further suggest that this was an agentive

process because the young people were empowered to make language learning meaningful to themselves and experiment with their OLRs. This in turn opened up a space for the construction of a variety of linguistic identities. From this we may learn that although one can attempt to develop a picture of young people's linguistic identities, it is important to keep in mind that these are complex/organic systems that are constantly changing.

As my literature review revealed in a complementary school context, language portraits are not as commonly used as amongst scholars focusing on other contexts e.g., mainstream schools. Scholars draw on ethnographic methods e.g. participant-observations and semi-structured interviews (e.g. Lytra *et al*, 2008; Lytra 2011; Li Wei, 2011). In the UK particularly, language portrait work, combined with ethnographic methods such as observations and semi-structured interviews, has not been used extensively in identity research, especially with a focus on young people's complex linguistic identities in a German Saturday school. In Chapter 2, section 2.6, I have argued that, with my study I aimed to discover new ways of making sense of young people's language practices extending my focus beyond students' use of English and 'heritage language' (assumed to be German) during these practices, as called for by e.g. (Dressler, 2013; Ludanyi, 2013). Scholars across the UK have started to include identity projects into their research in a complementary school setting in the last couple of decades (see e.g. Creese *et al*, 2008; Gregory, Volk & Long, 2013; Lytra *et al,* 2008). Whilst research in other parts of Continental Europe and differing contexts (e.g. Krumm & Jenkins, 2001; Krumm 2010; Soares, Duarte & Günther-van der Meij, 2020) as well as countries where English is the official language (e.g. Prasad, 2014; Bristowe, Oostendrop & Anthonissen, 2014; Seals 2017) specifically draws on language portraits to research the identities of students growing up with more than one language. My findings, together with previous literature, strengthen the insight I develop here that to make sense of the complexity of young people's identities, language portrait work is of value as it helps to shed light on students' subjective often complex, lived language experiences and gain insights into individuals OLRs and their ideas about the linguistic resources that are part of these. This adds to other research employing language portrait work (e.g., Bristowe, Oostendrop & Anthonissen, 2014) as it shows the value of looking at language in terms of repertoire, yet also

foregrounds the significance of visual methodologies in helping young people to make sense of their experiences with languages (e.g. Prasad, 2014). From this I conclude that a German Saturday school as an institution plays an important part in revealing more about young people's 'Spracherleben' (lived language experience) (Busch, 2017) and that language portrait work in other German Saturday schools, or indeed any school where learners bring and/or develop their linguistic repertoires or are in contact with other languages, might be of value in developing the picture of how students negotiate their resources in their everyday lives.

Overall, colouring in a body silhouette to present one's linguistic repertoire and reflecting on language learning rather than set interview questions is a technique that seemed to be particularly useful in my research. Through this technique, whilst exploring young people's linguistic identities and what shaped these identities, a deeper analytical level was achieved. As a linguistic research tool, the language portrait process enables young people and educators that work with them, especially in a language learning/teaching context, to make sense of themselves and their language learning journey and understand their complex language practices. I argue that this methodology possesses strength in gaining deeper understandings, inclusive of wider language ideologies and how these may affect students' a) construction of linguistic repertoires and b) language practices, contributing to knowledge in the field of applied linguistics and language education. However, it is important to combine language portrait work with follow-up semi-structured interviews as in the case of my findings the young people reminded me that I was reading too much into their e.g. colour choices. This has already been acknowledged by researchers working with language portraits (see e.g. Bristowe, Oostendorp & Anthonissen, 2014; Dressler 2014; Prasad, 2014). Again, this points towards the importance of an ethnographic approach in identity research and at the same time underlines the validity of a combination of analytical approaches that allow researcher to look at data in a variety of ways. It further supports a view on language portraits as something that stands for the whole individual and that ought to be looked at as an integral piece of art which together with the talk around the drawing, becomes alive- organic.

6.2.3 Pedagogical Implications

Pedagogically, my findings add to an understanding of the potential that complementary schools possess in terms of opening up creative spaces for young people's language learning. My findings point towards the transformative nature of the young people's language practices that was fostered by the teachers' student-centred teaching approach. Taking account of the context of the study, my findings show that, although German functioned as lesson content because of the teacher's biography and language learning experiences, the young people could access a variety of discourses (as discussed in previous sections). My research thus highlights the importance of what the teacher as well as the learner bring to the classroom and how this may shape the learning environment and as a result learners' language practice. In fact, the young people brought their playfulness whereas the teacher brought her own language learning experiences into the classroom. My findings add to what is often argued from a transformative pedagogical viewpoint that foregrounds the collaborative aspect of teaching, whereby knowledge is generated through experimental and creative aspects of learning (Stavrou, Charalambous & Macleroy, 2019).

In particular, during translation work a space was created for the young people to express their thinking in a creative way. This was done through bringing aspects of their OLRs, cultures, yet also other experiences into classroom. These practices appeared to occur as scaffold to make their language learning meaningful. My study thus adds to research that investigates students' translanguaging practices during translation work (see e.g. Baynham & Lee, 2019, Esquinca *et al*, 2014; Martinez-Roldan, 2015) in the sense that these practices may also occur in a complementary school setting and not solely in young people's MFL lessons. It further adds to studies that highlight the transformative nature of translanguaging practices in terms of creating a space in which young people can break imagined language boundaries and thus move beyond traditional language learning models (e.g., Cummins, 2000; Stavrou, Charalambous & Macleroy, 2019). It seemed that this was achieved through the collaborative aspect of translation work, where the teacher and the young people co-shaped the lesson in a way that power was shared, which opened up possibilities for the young people to experiment with their resources and thus facilitate linguistic flexibility.

Regarding the variety of discourses that were at play in the classroom, beyond dominant discourses (e.g., nationalist and exam culture). My analysis revealed that the young people's translation and language practices were shaped by cultures such as popular culture or British humour that were brought into the space and actively negotiated. Although popular culture was not brought into the classroom *per se*, some of the resources the young people acquired through popular culture were brought into the language portrait activity. The activity itself suggests a self-reflective and transformative nature as the young people were able to explore the emotional significance of the resources that are part of their repertoires. Other research e.g., Sultana & Dovchin (2016) suggest that popular culture plays an important role in identity research as young people borrow the resources (voices) from e.g. music they hear and bring it into their language practices and thus make their experiences meaningful. Similarly, Stavrou, Charalambous and Macleroy (2019) highlight the transformative nature of translanguaging practices and other creative methods e.g., storytelling in helping young people to develop critical language awareness. This shows the significance of a German Saturday school in terms of its informal learning environment offering learner-centred teaching. The young people in my study played and experimented with language and ideas in a way that helped them to determine what it means for who they are and can be in this particular context. It portrays the participants' desire to position themselves away from linguistic and social boundaries. The lesson that other complementary schools may learn from this is that language learning could be seen as a subject that helps young people better explore their sense of self and relationships with others in the world supporting what transformative pedagogy seeks i.e., develop criticality as well as creativity which goes hand in hand with welcoming uncertainty into the classroom whilst at the same time being willing to change.

6.3 Limitations of the Study

As discussed in the methodology chapter, the foundation for this research lies in the way I view the world i.e., my analytical as well as interpretive skills and I have thus discussed my role as a researcher and made visible the power relations in the field, as the relationships between the participants and myself. I further discussed how these may have impinged on the data in terms of how it was

interpreted and conveyed into writing (see section 3.6). Furthermore, at various points throughout the thesis, I have acknowledged that the study took place in a particular context at a particular time, which implies that findings and discussion could differ if I had undertaken the study with different participants at a different time. Another important factor was the theoretical choices I made implying that a different researcher may have found different themes as they may have looked at the data from a different theoretical stance. Their identity may have further impacted upon the project itself in a different way regarding the role as a researcher and positioning in the context. I discussed my role as a researcher, including my identity, in section 3.6 and acknowledged that I reflected upon these and I have acknowledged a potential researcher bias. Linguistic ethnography is a messy and oftentimes complex research methodology and the analytical methods I had chosen were far from 'simple' and more challenging than can be expressed through literature e.g., Braun & Clarke (2006) and Baxter (2008). I acknowledge that if this research were repeated by myself or another researcher it might produce different themes that would affect the discussion. This however does not invalidate my findings; it solely offers another possible view on my data and the themes that I identified at this point in time.

My data offered a 'glimpse' of the young people's own realities and how they construct these by using different languages, language varieties or even secret-languages. These realities were co-constructed with me (the researcher) at a certain time and in a specific setting. Further longitudinal research would be needed to learn more about the complexity of their identities, perhaps collecting data in a home-setting or their mainstream schools by including other languages such as e.g. Arabic. My decision to limit my focus to one classroom and five young people plus their teacher, was first and foremost driven by the methodological choices I had made i.e., linguistic ethnography that focuses on the situated meaning-making practices of young people. Yet it was further driven by practical concerns i.e., by parents' and teachers' concerns about the young people's exam preparation.

Moreover, it would be difficult to predict the language development of young people and what they may need beyond their years at the German Saturday School. In ethnographic studies data is sometimes used to make predictions to what may happen in similar settings, yet this was not the aim of my research. I

could have looked at other German Saturday schools in the UK, Australia, the US or Canada and these results would have enabled some generalisations of to establish patterns. Hence, a study that focuses on more learners and includes several German Saturday schools in the UK (and in different countries) may yield different data and might enable the establishment of patterns and generalisations, this however was not the aim of my study. I aimed to offer an organic perspective of five young people's linguistic identities and what identity may mean in this particular school, at a particular time. I return to recommendations for future research in the following section. Considering the research site, which was a German Saturday school, that solely runs lessons on one day a week, the time I could spend at the research site was limited in scope too. The strength of this study lies in its in-depth, multi-method, longitudinal (6 months) component.

6.4 Recommendations for Future Research

This study could be extended by considering the creative characteristics of language learning and the potential of using languages to construct new meanings or to come together in a way it is meaningful to the language learner. My study pointed towards the young people's creativity and playfulness. This was something that appeared to support their learning, yet also make it more meaningful. Future research could thus look at language learning, in particular translation work, through a creative lens, and identify how it can be used to support language learners through transformative pedagogical practices. It would be interesting to see how identity projects such as e.g. identity texts (Cummins & Early, 2011) and language portrait work could be implemented into translation work and thus help young people to experiment with their resources and at the same time practice linguistic flexibility. Future research could also focus specifically on the role of technology and digitally mediated interaction in creating new spaces for translanguaging and expanding learners' translanguaging repertoire by enabling them to express themselves through multiple modes of representation (e.g., Li Wei & Ho, 2018).

In terms of making language learning enjoyable, translanguaging practices could tackle some of the age-old arguments about the need for structure/grammar and

how language learning could be made more creative and open to the organic use of language for young people. Although, these student-centred and more autonomous approaches to language learning already exist, some literature suggests that these are often not implemented and exemplified in a plurilingual way (see e.g. Cenoz & Gorter, 2013; Meier, 2018). Research could investigate how to invite more creativity into the language learning classroom and allow students' as well as educators to bring their 'funds of knowledge' into the classroom. This by no means implies that language classrooms are not creative already, yet there might be room to explore language in more creative ways. Future research could investigate in how far the translanguaging practices I observed during the young people's oral practices are transferrable to other activities e.g., reading and writing.

Another study could possibly look at young people's language learning across mainstream and complementary schooling as they move between these various sites. My data solely gave a glimpse of the young people's language practices at home, the mainstream and the A-level classroom. In terms of young people's OLRs and what they bring to the classroom it would thus be interesting to explore young people's home lives (ethnographically) and investigate implicit beliefs about languages/language varieties and their home language policies and practices shape young people's language ideologies and use. This would be helpful as it could extend our understanding of what may be useful for young people concerning their language learning needs in complementary as well as mainstream schools. Through approaching this collaboratively i.e., National Resource Centre for Supplementary Education and the National Association for Language Development in the Curriculum the experiences of young people from linguistically diverse backgrounds may be improved by better understanding their backgrounds and needs. Hence, future research in this area could employ an ethnographic approach to study young people's language practices in different circles of their lives over an extended period of time.

In terms of approaching the language portrait activity, it would be fruitful if teachers could clarify terms such as accent, dialect or language variety to better prepare students for the activity. Similarly, Fisher *et al,* (2018) recommend that to help learners reflect upon their linguistic repertoires, it is vital to clarify terms such as e.g. accent beforehand so that learners can make sense of their full

linguistic repertoire. On the other hand, they should also be made aware that ‘to know’ or ‘to speak’ a language does not make them outsiders because their linguistic repertoire is the totality of language resources they have acquired throughout their lives. In that vein, more research could focus on unravelling the underlying motives for teachers’ classroom language practices, aiming to help educators understand how their practices may be influenced by their own language learning experiences.

Through language portrait work, educators may be better able to design their day to day lessons especially in terms of touching on sensitive topics such as e.g. WW2. My findings suggest a strong identification of some of the young people with the German history and it would be interesting to extend this knowledge regarding students from other backgrounds e.g. Iraq, or India. Considering the diversity in UK’s mainstream school classrooms, it would indeed be helpful to learn more about students’ historical background and how these may shape the ways in which they make sense of specific history or citizenship education lesson content. Again, this knowledge would contribute to furthering educators overall understanding of the complexity of young people’s identities which could be translated into developing appropriate teaching strategies. I now move on to conclude this thesis with my personal reflections and this section forms the final part of my thesis.

6.5 Personal Reflection

I have returned to the school where I conducted my research after my fieldwork was complete, and forming such close engagement with the young people, for a long time, brought about a feeling of belonging. When I returned for the summer party (2019), the participants had awaited me eagerly at the classroom door and it was such a wonderful feeling to see how happy they were when I returned. This suggests that the ‘school’ also thinks that ‘I belong’.

The teacher still emails me to let me know how much she enjoyed the time when I was present during their lessons and she invited me to visit them again, whenever I can. She might remember me positively as with my research I may have helped the participants to explore language and themselves and that I have become part of this exploratory community. Through this exploration I may have

become part of their biographies. In fact, the teacher acknowledged that she learnt so much about herself and her students through the language portrait activity and my interviews. The data collection and my research project appeared to have had a positive impact on the teacher, the learners, and myself. Some of the participants disclosed in an informal discussion that they now look differently at all the languages they speak and that they feel their languages are something unique. This increased awareness resulted from the language portrait activity. As a result of this, I plan to do a workshop with students and teachers from other classes towards the end of 2021 to share my findings with the community.

Pedagogically, I would strongly recommend language portrait work in a context where people from diverse linguistic backgrounds come together. This could reach from a language learning classroom in a mainstream school to a university classroom, especially for students that are interested in language learning because they are a teacher themselves or because they have a scholarly interest. This could be interesting not just to develop an awareness of the languages they may already know, yet also to develop an understanding how the languages they know, or indeed the ones they want to learn in the future, may shape their sense of self- meaning the construction of their biographies. It would possibly help students, teacher, scholars to understand the dynamic and complex nature of their identities which may be helpful within their teaching/learning.

Concerning my own identity this research has helped me to understand what identity means in relation to my own linguistic repertoire. I have come to understand that although I built a sense of personal biography through the German language, the way I experience the world 'now' is shaped through the English language. I also learnt that I sometimes identify with labels that come with the German culture e.g. efficient, yet also I strongly identify with the British sense of humour. In terms of language, I learnt that my linguistic repertoire is much bigger than I would have thought, containing bits and chunks from language or indeed language varieties such as Dutch, Arabic, Polish, Italian, Spanish, French, Swiss German as well as Multicultural London English. Above all I have learnt that identity is something that is not fixed and depending on the context it is ever changing. I also feel that within identity construction we as individuals have agency, meaning we choose which languages, language varieties or dialects we want to identify with and as a result we choose how we want to be seen by others.

Although, within certain contexts this agency might be less prevalent as we have to ‘play’ a particular role and thus conform to certain identity options that come with the role. Furthermore, at times, we may not be aware of the cultural conditioning we experienced and thus identify with certain labels and make them part of who we are- without questioning these. Based on findings, the question who we really are, cannot be answered fully from an academic viewpoint, yet from a spiritual point of view, it is argued that we are the awareness, the consciousness behind all our thoughts, and through this study, I came to understand what the term ‘the conditioned mind’ refers to. Mostly post-structural theories helped me to unravel some of the participants’ cultural socialisation (e.g. Creese & Blackledge, 2010) and how it manifested in their language use and identity performances. I am very grateful to have had the chance to do this study and understand what the term linguistic identity means, not just as an abstract concept, yet as a real-life experience. This links with the organic view of linguistic repertoires that I adopted in this study as it portrays the interplay between different ecological systems (Bronfenbrenner, 1994) that can be compared to a plant emphasising the fluid and ever-changing nature on linguistic identities as something that ‘lives’.

Appendices

Appendix A: Certificate of Ethical Approval

GRADUATE SCHOOL OF EDUCATION

St Luke's Campus
Heavitree Road
Exeter UK EX1 2LU

http://socialsciences.exeter.ac.uk/education/

CERTIFICATE OF ETHICAL APPROVAL

Title of Project: The role of organic linguistic repertoires and complimentary schooling in young people's identity construction: Doing linguistic ethnography in a German Saturday school in London

Researcher(s) name: Friederike Grosse

Supervisor(s): Dr. Gabriela Meier
Dr. Alexandra Allan

This project has been approved for the period

From: 01/11/2018
To: 18/09/2020

Ethics Committee approval reference: D1819-007

Signature: Date: 22/10/18
(Professor Dongbo Zhang, Graduate School of Education Ethics Officer)

Appendix B: Consent Forms

Participant Information Sheet

Informationsblatt für Teilnehmerinnen und Teilnehmer/ Informationsblatt für TeilnehmerInnen

The role of organic linguistic repertoires and complementary schooling in children's identity construction; doing linguistic ethnography in a German Saturday school in London.

Principle Researcher: Friederike Grosse

Supervisor(s): Dr Gabriela Meier; Dr Alexandra Allan

I am asking if you would like to join in a research project in which I would like to find out how young people who attend the German school feel about different languages. This is important because it would help us to understand more about young people growing up with more than one language and you can help with your participation. Before you decide if you want to join in, it is important to understand why I am doing this research and what it will involve for you if you take part. So, please don't stop reading just yet 😊. Talk to your family, friends or teacher about this if you want to.

Hast du Lust an meiner Forschungsstudie teilzunehmen? Ich würde gerne herausfinden, was junge Leute, die zur Samstagsschule gehen, über verschiedene Sprachen denken. Bevor du dich entscheidest, ob du mitmachen möchtest, finde ich es wichtig, dass du die Gründe für meine Studie verstehst und was es für dich bedeuten würde, an meiner Studie teilzunehmen. Also lies bitte aufmerksam weiter und wenn du willst, dann sprich doch gerne auch mit deinen Eltern, Freundinnen und Freunden oder Lehrkräften über die Teilnahme.

What's the point of this study? / *Warum gibt es diese Studie?*

We could further our understanding of how the lives of young people growing up with more than one language in the UK could be improved.

Wir könnten/möchten mehr darüber lernen, wie man das Leben junger Menschen in Großbritannien, die mit mehr als einer Sprache aufwachsen, verbessern kann.

Finally, my idea is that you could potentially help me to show other researcher and people responsible for your educational achievement that putting labels such as Bilingual or Multilingual on you guys is unhelpful.

Außerdem kannst du mir dabei helfen, anderen Forscherinnen und Forschern sowie Personen, die für euren Schulerfolg verantwortlich sind, zu zeigen, dass es nicht hilft, euch Schülerinnen und Schüler zu 'labeln' und euch Kategorien, wie zum Beispiel zweisprachig oder mehrsprachig, zuzuweisen.

Why should I participate? / *Warum sollte ich daran teilnehmen?*

You have been invited to join me because you speak at least two languages fluently (English; German), you are creative, young and most importantly I think I can learn a lot from you about my topic.

Ich habe dich ausgesucht, weil du mindestens zwei Sprachen (English und Deutsch) fließend sprichst. Außerdem bist du kreativ und ich denke, dass ich viel von dir lernen kann.

Do I have to take part? / *Muss ich daran teilnehmen?*

No, please don't feel like you have to take part in this study. If you don't want to take part, there is nobody who can force you. Before you take part, I will hand you a consent form, that you can fill out with help of your parents and which gives you the right to leave this study, at any point. It should be fun to be part of this study!

Nein, bitte habe nicht das Gefühl, dass du an der Studie teilnehmen musst. Es wird dich niemand zu einer Teilnahme zwingen. Vor dem Beginn der Datenerhebung werde ich dir eine Einverständniserklärung geben, welche du mit Hilfe deiner Eltern oder Lehrpersonen ausfüllen kannst. Auch danach kannst du die Studie jedoch jederzeit verlassen. Es sollte dir Spaß machen, ein Teil dieses Projekts zu sein.

So, what will happen if I take part? *Also, was passiert, wenn ich mitmache?*

I will be around for four months to learn about what happens in the school and how people use languages for different things inside and outside the classroom. Plus, you will be asked, along with the other participants to take part in a 10-20 minutes exercise in which you can draw your own language portrait and tell me all about the languages you know, you would like to learn, or any ways of communicating with your peers and family.

Ich werde für vier Monate in der Schule sein um mehr darüber zu lernen, wie ihr jungen Leute verschiedene Sprachen im Klassenzimmer und auf dem Schulhof für verschiedene Dinge nutzt. Zusätzlich werden du und die anderen Teilnehmerinnen und Teilnehmer eine kleine Übung durchführen, die nicht länger als 10 bis 20 Minuten dauert. In dieser Übung bitte ich euch, ein Sprachenportrait zu zeichnen und mir zu erzählen, welche Sprachen ihr schon kennt, welche ihr noch lernen möchtet und wie ihr in eurem Freundeskreis und eurer Familie kommuniziert.

Is there anything else I should be worried about if I take part? / *Gibt es noch mehr, worüber ich mir Gedanken machen sollte?*

No, all that matters to me is, that you enjoy being part of this amazing study and if you feel like you'd rather not want to take part any more, you are free to leave.

Nein, für mich ist die Hauptsache, dass du Spaß daran hast, an meiner Studie teilzunehmen und wenn du der Meinung bist, dass du lieber nicht mehr daran teilnehmen möchtest, dann kannst du mir das jederzeit mitteilen.

What are the possible benefits of me taking part? / *Was sind die eventuellen Nutzen aus dieser Studie?*

I cannot promise the study will help you directly, yet it might help young people from a similar background do well in the future.

Ich kann dir nicht versprechen, dass die Studie für dich persönlich einen direkten Nutzen hat. Aber sie kann in der Zukunft dazu beitragen, andere jungen Menschen, die einen ähnlichen Sprachhintergrund wie du haben, bei der Entwicklung ihrer eigenen Sprachidentität zu unterstützen.

How can I or my parents get in touch with you? / *Wie können ich oder meine Eltern dich erreichen?*

Feel free to email me or my supervisors any time on:

Schreib mir oder meinen Supervisoren einfach eine E-Mail.

Me: fg291@exeter.ac.uk

Gabriela Meier: G.S.Meier@exeter.ac.uk

Alexandra Allan: A.J.Allan@exeter.ac.uk

Plus, you can call me on: +447714444125

Zusätzlich bin ich telefonisch erreichbar unter: +447714444125

Main Participants

Title of Research Project / *Titel der Forschungsarbeit*

The role of organic linguistic repertoires and complementary schooling in young people's' identity construction; doing linguistic ethnography in a German Saturday school in London.

What kind of linguistic identities do young people attending a complementary language school construct or negotiate?

Der Einfluss des natürlichen Sprachrepertoire und zusätzlicher Sprachausbildung auf die Identitätsentwicklung junger Menschen; Untersuchungen anhand einer linguistischen Ethnographie in einer Deutschen Samstagsschule in London.

Welche linguistischen Identitäten entwickeln Schülerinnen und Schüler einer complementary language school in London?

Details of Project / *Projektdetails*

The main purpose of the study is to (1) observe and describe how young people attending a German Saturday school use their languages at school; (2)

understand who these young people are away from categories (e.g. bilingual, multilingual). This study will also (3) examine the role of students' language practices at school.

Der Hauptzweck der Studie ist es (1) zu beobachten und zu beschreiben, wie Schülerinnen und Schüler einer Deutschen Samstagsschule ihre Sprache im Schulkontext benutzen; sowie (2) zu verstehen, wer diese jungen Menschen sind, ohne ihnen Kategorien (bspw. zweisprachig, mehrsprachig) zuzuordnen. Zudem wird die Studie (3) sich mit der Rolle der Sprachnutzung im Schulkontext und ihrem Einfluss auf die Identitätsentwicklung der Schülerinnen und Schüler beschäftigen.

Researcher details

Friederike Grosse Doctoral Researcher at the University of Exeter

Contact Details

For further information about the research /interview data, please contact:

Für weitere Informationen zur Forschungsstudie oder Interview-Daten, kontaktieren Sie bitte:

Name: *Friederike Grosse*

Postal address: *University of Exeter, School of Education, St Luke's Campus, EX1 2LU*

Email: *fg291@exeter.ac.uk*

If you have concerns/questions about the research you would like to discuss with someone else at the University, the supervision team will be pleased to answer your questions about this study at any time, please contact:

Falls Sie Fragen oder Bedenken zur Studie haben, welche Sie gerne mit einer Person an der Universität besprechen möchten, steht Ihnen das 'supervision team' jederzeit zur Verfügung. Bitte kontaktieren Sie hierfür:

First supervisor: Dr Gabriela Meier (G.S.Meier@exeter.ac.uk)

Second supervisor: Dr Alexandra Allan (A.J.Allan@exter.ac.uk)

ESRC (Economic Social Research Council)

The UK's largest organisation for funding research on economic and social issues. They support independent, high quality research which has an impact on business, the public sector and civil society. Moreover, the ESRC promotes and supports, by any means, high-quality research and related postgraduate training on social and economic issues. They are committed to supporting the very best research, with scientific excellence the primary criterion for funding.

Das ESRC ist die größte Organisation in Grossbritannien, welche Forschungen im wirtschaftlichen und sozialen Bereich finanziert. Sie finanzieren hochqualifizierte Studien welche sich auf den Geschäfts, Öffentlichen und Bürgerlichen Bereich auswirken. Außerdem

unterstützt und fördert das ESRC, hochqualifizierte Forschungen und die Ausbildung von Postgraduierenden im sozialen und wirtschaftlichen Bereich. Sie verpflichen sich dazu die beste Forschung zu fördern, wobei wissenschaftliche Exezellenz das primäre Kriterium fuer eventuelle Finanzierungen darstellen.

Confidentiality / *Vertraulichkeit*

Language Portraits, hard or soft transcripts of interview and observation data as well as photographs of students' work will be held in confidence. The data will only be used for research purposes and will not be allowed for usage for any other than for the purposes described. This data will not be revealed to a third party at any circumstances and no one will be allowed access to them (except as may be required by the law). However, it is your right to request any part that only belongs to your participation. In this case you will be supplied with a copy of your language portrait or the transcribed section of your interview and observation data.

Sprachenportraits, Gesprächsprotokolle und Beobachtungsprotokolle sowie Fotografien der Arbeiten der Schülerinnen und Schüler, werden vertraulich behandelt. Die Daten werden ausschließlich für Forschungszwecke genutzt und werden für keine weiteren Zwecke, als die oben beschriebenen, verwendet. Die Daten werden unter keinen Umständen an Dritte weitergegeben. Jeglicher Zugriff auf die Daten durch Dritte ist verboten, es sei denn, es liegt eine gerichtliche Anordnung vor. Sie haben das Recht, Teile der Studie, die sich auf die Teilnahme Ihres Kindes beziehen, anzufordern. In diesem Fall erhalten Sie eine Kopie des

Sprachenportraits oder die Abschrift eines Interviews mit Ihrem Kind, beziehungsweise ein Ihr Kind betreffendes Beobachtungsprotokoll.

Data Protection Notice / *Datenschutz-notizen*

Your data will be used and held in accordance with the Data Protection Act (2018) as well as the ERSC-funded PhD student data policy. Interview transcripts as well as observation fieldnotes will be held and used on an anonymous basis, with no mention of your name. Colours and keys will be used to refer to the different participants. The results of the research will also be published in anonymised form. Data will be deposited into the UK Data Service re-share data repository within three months of the end of my studentship. The data gathered will be stored and may be retained for up to 5 years, it will then be destroyed.

Die Daten werden unter dem 'Data Protection Act 2018 und des ERSC-finanzierten Doktorstudenten/innen Grundsatzes genutzt und aufbewahrt. Interviewabschriften, sowie Beobachtungsnotizen und -protokolle, werden in anonymisierter Form genutzt und gespeichert, ohne Ihren Namen preiszugeben. Um auf die verschiedenen Teilnehmerinnen und Teilnehmer hinzuweisen, werden Farben und Codes eingesetzt. Zudem werden jegliche Resultate der Studie ausschließlich in anonymisierter Form veröffentlicht. Die Daten werden gesammelt und für die Dauer von fünf Jahre aufgehoben, bevor sie vernichtet werden. Mit dem Ende meiner Studie werden die Daten in der UK Data Service re-share Datenbank deponiert.

Anonymity / *Anonymitaet*

Any personal data you provide will be held and used on an anonymous basis, with no mention of your name. Names and groups will also be coded.

Jegliche persönliche Daten werden in anonymisierter Form gespeichert und genutzt, ohne Namen zu erwähnen. Zusätzlich werden Namen und Gruppen kodiert.

Consent / *Zustimmung*

I have been fully informed about the aims and purposes of the project.

I understand that:

Ich wurde über die Ziele und den Grund der Studie ausreichend informiert. Ich bin mir darüber im Klaren, dass:

It is not compulsory for me to participate in this research project and, if I do choose to participate, I may withdraw at any stage;

es nicht verpflichtend ist an der Studie teilzunehmen und im Falle einer Teilnahme kann ich die Studie jederzeit verlassen kann.

I have the right to refuse permission for the publication of any information about me;

ich das Recht habe, meine Zustimmung zur Veröffentlichung jeglicher Informationen zu verweigern.

Any information which I give will be used solely for the purposes of this research project, which may include publications or academic conference or seminar presentations;

persönliche Informationen, welche ich preisgibe, ausschließlich für den beschriebenen Forschungszweck genutzt werden. Dies kann wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen, akademische Konferenzen oder Seminarpräsentationen beinhalten.

If applicable, the information, which I give, may be shared between any of the other researcher participating in this project and the ESRC who funds my studentship in an anonymized form;

sollte dies der Fall sein, persönliche Informationen ausschließlich in anonymisierter Form zwischen anderen Forscherinnen und Forschern, sowie dem Funder (ESRC) meines Stipendiums geteilt werden.

all information I give will be treated as confidential;

alle persönlichen Informationen vertraulich behandelt werden.

the researcher will make every effort to preserve my anonymity.

die Forscherin sich dafür einsetzen wird, meine zu bewahren.

Do you allow the researcher to.. / *Erlaubst Du der Forscherin, ..*

	YES	NO
	JA	NEIN
1. To conduct a language portrait activity with you? *eine Sprachenportrait-Aktivität mit Dir durchzuführen und diese eventuell in der Studie zu verwenden?*	____	____
2. To observe you during your lessons and breaks? *Dich im Unterricht und den Pausen zu beobachten?*	____	____
3. To conduct an interview with you? *Ein Interview mit Dir durchzuführen*	____	____
4. To take photographs of your work? *Deine Arbeiten zu fotografieren?*	____	____

.... ……………………………………

(Signature of participant) (Date)

………………………………………… …………………………………..

(Printed name of participant) (Email address of participant if they have requested to view a copy of the interview transcript.)

……………………….. Friederike Grosse

(Signature of researcher) (Printed name of researcher)

One copy of this form will be kept by the participant; a second copy will be kept by the researcher.

Eine Kopie dieses Formblatts wird bei der Teilnehmerin bzw. dem Teilnehmer verbleiben, die andere Kopie wird von der Forscherin aufbewahrt.

Your contact details are kept separately from your interview data.

Deine Kontaktdaten werden separat von den Interviewdaten aufbewahrt.

Parents Main Participants

Title of Research Project / *Titel der Forschungsarbeit*

The role of organic linguistic repertoires and complementary schooling in young people's' identity construction; doing linguistic ethnography in a German Saturday school in London.

What kind of linguistic identities do young people attending a complementary language school construct or negotiate?

Der Einfluss des natürlichen Sprachrepertoire und zusätzlicher Sprachausbildung auf die Identitätsentwicklung junger Menschen; Untersuchungen anhand einer linguistischen Ethnographie in einer Deutschen Samstagsschule in London.

Welche linguistischen Identitäten entwickeln Schülerinnen und Schüler einer ‚complementary language school' in London?

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Researcher details

Friederike Grosse Doctoral Researcher at the University of Exeter

Contact Details

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Studie ausschließlich in anonymisierter Form veröffentlicht. Die Daten werden gesammelt und für die Dauer von fünf Jahre aufgehoben, bevor sie vernichtet werden. Mit dem Ende meiner Studie werden die Daten in der UK Data Service re-share Datenbank deponiert.

Anonymity /*Anonymitaet*

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Consent/ Zustimmung

I have been fully informed about the aims and purposes of the project.

I understand that:

Ich wurde über die Ziele und den Grund der Studie ausreichend informiert. Ich bin mir darüber im Klaren, dass:

It is not compulsory for me to participate in this research project and, if I do choose to participate, I may withdraw at any stage;

es nicht verpflichtend ist an der Studie teilzunehmen und mein Kind auch im Falle einer Teilnahme die Studie jederzeit verlassen kann.

I have the right to refuse permission for the publication of any information about me;

ich das Recht habe, meine Zustimmung zur Veröffentlichung jeglicher Informationen über meine Tochter/ meinen Sohn zu verweigern.

Any information which I give will be used solely for the purposes of this research project, which may include publications or academic conference or seminar presentations;

persönliche Informationen, welche meine Tochter/ mein Sohn preisgibt, ausschließlich für den beschriebenen Forschungszweck genutzt werden. Dies kann wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen, akademische Konferenzen oder Seminarpräsentationen beinhalten.

If applicable, the information, which I give, may be shared between any of the other researcher participating in this project and the ESRC who funds my studentship in an anonymized form;

sollte dies der Fall sein, persönliche Informationen ausschließlich in anonymisierter Form zwischen anderen Forscherinnen und Forschern, sowie dem Funder (ESRC) meines Stipendiums geteilt werden.

all information I give will be treated as confidential;

alle persönlichen Informationen vertraulich behandelt werden.

the researcher will make every effort to preserve my anonymity.

die Forscherin sich dafür einsetzen wird, die Anonymität meiner Tochter/ meines Sohnes zu bewahren.

Do you allow the researcher to:/ *Erlauben Sie der Forscherin:*

	YES JA	NO NEIN
1. Observe your son/daughter in the classroom/during breaks? *Ihre(n) Tochter/Sohn im Klassenzimmer/während der Pause zu beobachten?*	____	____
2. Conduct a language portrait activity with your son/daughter? *eine Sprachenportrait-Aktivität mit Ihrer Tochter/Ihrem Sohn durchzuführen?*	____	____
3. Conduct interviews about your son/daughter with his/her teacher? *Interviews mit den Lehrkräften über Ihre Tochter/Ihren Sohn durchzuführen?*	____	____
4. Conduct interviews with your son/daughter? *Interviews mit Ihrer Tochter/Ihrem Sohn durchzuführen?*	____	____
5. Take photographs of my sons'/daughters' work? *Arbeiten Ihrer Tochter/Ihres Sohnes zu fotografieren?*	____	____

……………………………………………… ………………………………………

(Signature of parent) (Date)

………………………………………… …………………………………..

(Printed name of parent) (Email address of participant if they have requested to view a copy of the interview transcript.)

………………...……..

Friederike Grosse Friederike Grosse

(Signature of researcher) (Printed name of researcher)

One copy of this form will be kept by the participant; a second copy will be kept by the researcher.

Eine Kopie dieses Formblatts wird bei der Teilnehmerin bzw. dem Teilnehmer verbleiben, die andere Kopie wird von der Forscherin aufbewahrt.

Your contact details are kept separately from your interview data.

Ihre Kontaktdaten werden separat von den Interviewdaten aufbewahrt.

Parents Whole Class

Title of Research Project / *Titel der Forschungsarbeit*

The role of organic linguistic repertoires and complementary schooling in young people's' identity construction; doing linguistic ethnography in a German Saturday school in London.

What kind of linguistic identities do young people attending a complementary language school construct or negotiate?

Der Einfluss des natürlichen Sprachrepertoire und zusätzlicher Sprachausbildung auf die Identitätsentwicklung junger Menschen; Untersuchungen anhand einer linguistischen Ethnographie in einer Deutschen Samstagsschule in London.

Welche linguistischen Identitäten entwickeln Schülerinnen und Schüler einer ‚complementary language school' in London?

Details of Project / *Projektdetails*

The main purpose of the study is to (1) observe and describe how young people attending a German Saturday school use their languages at school; (2) understand who these young people are away from categories (e.g. bilingual, multilingual). This study will also (3) examine the role of students' language practices at school.

Der Hauptzweck der Studie ist es (1) zu beobachten und zu beschreiben, wie Schülerinnen und Schüler einer Deutschen Samstagsschule ihre Sprache im Schulkontext benutzen; sowie (2) zu verstehen, wer diese jungen Menschen sind, ohne ihnen Kategorien (bspw. zweisprachig, mehrsprachig) zuzuordnen. Zudem wird die Studie (3) sich mit der Rolle der Sprachnutzung im Schulkontext und ihrem Einfluss auf die Identitätsentwicklung der Schülerinnen und Schüler beschäftigen.

Researcher details

Friederike Grosse Doctoral Researcher at the University of Exeter

Contact Details

For further information about the research /interview data, please contact:

Für weitere Informationen zur Forschungsstudie oder Interview-Daten, kontaktieren Sie bitte:

Name: *Friederike Grosse*

Postal address: *University of Exeter, School of Education, St Luke's Campus, EX1 2LU*

Email: *fg291@exeter.ac.uk*

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First supervisor: Dr. Gabriela Meier (G.S.Meier@exeter.ac.uk)

Second supervisor: Dr. Alexandra Allan (A.J.Allan@exter.ac.uk)

ESRC (Economic Social Research Council)

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Sprachenportraits oder die Abschrift eines Interviews mit Ihrem Kind, beziehungsweise ein Ihr Kind betreffendes Beobachtungsprotokoll.

Data Protection Notice / *Datenschutz-notizen*

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Anonymity / *Anonymitaet*

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Jegliche persönliche Daten werden in anonymisierter Form gespeichert und genutzt, ohne Namen zu erwähnen. Zusätzlich werden Namen und Gruppen kodiert.

Consent / Zustimmung

I have been fully informed about the aims and purposes of the project.

I understand that:

Ich wurde über die Ziele und den Grund der Studie ausreichend informiert. Ich bin mir darüber im Klaren, dass:

It is not compulsory for me to participate in this research project and, if I do choose to participate, I may withdraw at any stage;

es nicht verpflichtend ist an der Studie teilzunehmen und mein Kind auch im Falle einer Teilnahme die Studie jederzeit verlassen kann.

I have the right to refuse permission for the publication of any information about me;

ich das Recht habe, meine Zustimmung zur Veröffentlichung jeglicher Informationen über meine Tochter/ meinen Sohn zu verweigern.

Any information which I give will be used solely for the purposes of this research project, which may include publications or academic conference or seminar presentations;

persönliche Informationen, welche meine Tochter/ mein Sohn preisgibt, ausschließlich für den beschriebenen Forschungszweck genutzt werden. Dies kann wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen, akademische Konferenzen oder Seminarpräsentationen beinhalten.

If applicable, the information, which I give, may be shared between any of the other researcher participating in this project and the ESRC who funds my studentship in an anonymized form;

sollte dies der Fall sein, persönliche Informationen ausschließlich in anonymisierter Form zwischen anderen Forscherinnen und Forschern, sowie dem Funder (ESRC) meines Stipendiums geteilt werden.

All information I give will be treated as confidential;

alle persönlichen Informationen vertraulich behandelt werden.

The researcher will make every effort to preserve my anonymity.

die Forscherin sich dafür einsetzen wird, die Anonymität meiner Tochter/ meines Sohnes zu bewahren.

Do you allow the researcher to .. / *Erlauben Sie der Forscherin,*

	YES	NO
	JA	NEIN
1. To conduct a language portrait activity with your son/daughter? *eine Sprachenportrait-Aktivität mit Ihrer Tochter/Ihrem Sohn durchzuführen und diese eventuell in der Studie zu verwenden?*	____	____
2. To carry out observations during my son's/daughter's lessons during which the researcher focuses on the 4 main participants. *Den Unterricht Ihrer Tochter/Ihres Sohnes zu beobachten? Wobei Der Fokus auf den 4 Hauptteilnehmern/innen liegen wird.*	____	____
3. To take photographs of my sons'/daughters' work? *Arbeiten Ihrer Tochter/Ihres Sohnes zu fotografieren?*	____	____

……………………………………………… ……………………………

(Signature of participant) (Date)

…………………………………………… ………………………………………..

(Printed name of participant) (Email address of participant if they have requested to view a copy of the interview transcript.)

……………………….. Friederike Grosse

(Signature of researcher) (Printed name of researcher)

One copy of this form will be kept by the participant; a second copy will be kept by the researcher.

Eine Kopie dieses Formblatts wird bei der Teilnehmerin bzw. dem Teilnehmer verbleiben, die andere Kopie wird von der Forscherin aufbewahrt.

Your contact details are kept separately from your interview data.

Ihre Kontaktdaten werden separat von den Interviewdaten aufbewahrt.

Teacher Class

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Details of Project

The main purpose of the study is to (1) observe and describe how children attending a German Saturday school use their languages at school; (2) understand who these children really are without putting labels (e.g. bilingual, multilingual) on them. This study will also (3) examine the role of students' language practices at school and how these influences who they are.

Der Hauptzweck der Studie ist es (1) zu beobachten und zu beschreiben, wie Schülerinnen und Schüler einer Deutschen Samstagsschule ihre Sprache im Schulkontext benutzen; sowie (2) zu verstehen, wer diese jungen Menschen sind, ohne ihnen Kategorien (bspw. zweisprachig, mehrsprachig) zuzuordnen. Zudem wird die Studie (3) sich mit der Rolle der Sprachnutzung im Schulkontext und ihrem Einfluss auf die Identitätsentwicklung der Schülerinnen und Schüler beschäftigen.

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Do you allow the researcher to.. / Erlauben Sie der Forscherin,..

	YES	NO
1. observe your interactions with students in the classroom/during breaks?	____	____
Ihre Interaktion mit den Schülern und Schülerinnen zu beobachten?		
2. to conduct interviews with you	____	____
Befragungen mit Ihnen durchzuführen		
3. To take photographs of your students' work	____	____
Fotos von den Arbeiten der Schülern/Schülerinnen zu machen?		

……………………………………… ………………………………………

(Signature of participant) (Date)

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Appendix C: Fieldnote Example

[19/01/2019]

[OBSERVATION]#

[DESCRIPTION OF ACTIVITY]

Pictures taken before entering the school:

Before the lesson (Canteen)

As I was sitting in the canteen preparing my forms and observation sheets/questions a mother of a potential new student came up to me and asked me whether I was M (she's responsible for student recruitment). I acted as if I belonged to the school and said that M should be here very soon. The mother addressed me in English, but spoke Austrian-German to her kids, explaining that they were too early and that they needed to wait a bit longer.

I further saw the dad with his child again. They were doing homework, he didn't acknowledge me. He also didn't say hello and as he left the canteen to get something from the car his daughter looked at me but didn't speak to me.

As the teacher (A-Level class) entered the hall she didn't acknowledge me, although she seemed to be looking my way.

Another potential new students' parent (dad) came up to me to ask whether there was a reception somewhere. I said I don't know where the reception is, as I only realised later that he wanted to enrol his child at the school. They were from an Arabic speaking country and I assumed they would be looking for someone from the main school.

I quickly talked to MK's mother about Christmas and she told me that they spent Christmas in Germany. I initially addressed her in English, but she switched to German, as her English is very poorly. Her German seems very broken too.

A-Level Class (10am-11am)

At the beginning the teacher talked about an email that she must have received from NM (one of my main participants) regarding their mini presentations, which are useful for their A-Level exam. Her topic are the Olympics in 1939 and her first question was 'wie war das Bild eines Ariers zu dieser Zeit?' (the image of an 'Aryan' at the time of the Olympics). The teacher asked the class and DR replied they had to have blond hair and blue eyes. The teacher added they also needed to have an ideal body and an ideal IQ. She then asked what had happened to those who were 'mentally retarded' and DR replied that they had to go into a concentration camp.

NM seemed very concerned about her presentation and that she might not be able to answer all questions. DR talks in-between questions and comments on things the teacher says. He further plays around with his USB stick. The teacher challenges him and asks him a question, DR replies rather confident and uses an expression 'mentaler Einfluss' (mental influence) which the teacher corrects by saying 'geistiger Einfluss'. She carries on and talks about a Boykott, DR interrupts and asks 'was ist ein Boykott'? (what's a Boykott). The teacher replies it's the same in English a boycott (she does so by using English). DR says, OH ja (OK right).

As I was collecting the consent forms from 'the two girls' (that's what I had labelled them as) I asked them what their names are. Since they are from Indian origin they immediately saw the despair on my face and spelled them out to me. The first one tried to spell it in German but went straight into English after three letters. The second girl did it straight in English and I had problems transferring the letters into German as I was thinking in German while taking the notes. Both girls mostly address the teacher in English. When this happens, the teacher replies in English, straight, without thinking. Both girls appear to be very shy.

Power Point Presentation (teacher refers to as ppt)

TH (topic Mercedes):

As she is getting the computer ready she asks the teacher in English 'where do you click?', teacher immediately replies to her in English with some instructions. As Tebarek is presenting she is reading off the slides and gets a few articles confused e.g. 'das war der erste Auto', 'das erste Pferdelose Kutsche'. Teacher just and class listen interested, don't interrupt her. As she is talking about the engines she asks 'how do you say boats?'. The teacher helps her out with 'Schiffe'.

All students address the teacher with 'Du' when they talk to her or ask her a question. The teacher happily replies to any question and if she is unsure about a question she makes a note and takes up on this either via email or in the following lesson. Also, when she speaks English she has very little to no German accent. However, as she was speaking German to the class and then said the word 'computer screens' (Computer Skreens) she had a strong German accent.

DR (topic Konzentrationslager 'Dachau'):

As he starts with his presentation the teacher asks him why he has chosen this particular 'Konzentrationslager' and that this topic is a rather sad topic. DR replies 'ja sehr traurig'. He further replies 'weil es in der Naehe meiner Heimstadt ist' (because it is close to my hometown). He then goes on and talks about the geography of Germany and says 'das camp ist im Sueden von London, eh Bayern'. As he speaks about his topic his German changes a bit and he has got a tiny Bavarian accent. The teacher asked DR a few questions and gives him feedback on his presentation in terms of content. She urges him to read up a bit more about certain themes and DR acknowledges this with a smile.

Another student presents her topic on Berthold Brecht and she says she's translated everything from English into German as this is the topic they are doing in Drama at the moment. The teacher urged her to clarify vocab that she is not 100% certain about.

Throughout the lesson students, especially DR, were looking at me and smiling as I smiled at them. As it gets close to the end of the lesson DR moves around in his chair and practices some stretching exercises. As the teacher tells him that if he wanted to take his A-levels next year like his brother he would need to broaden his German knowledge, he replies 'Ich will die Sachen nicht so machen wir mein Bruder'.

Just ten minutes before the class finished the teacher checks the clock and says 'Oh nein, ist es wirklich schon 10 vor 12?' I check my watch and reply 'Ja', but immediately realised it was only 10 to 11am. Then we all realised it was really just 10 to 11am and all started to laugh. The teacher says 'ich dachte schon, wir haben zwei Stunden durchgearbeitet'.

The final ten minutes students went back to the topic 'Wiedervereinigung' and DR volunteers to go to the board and put things into order, matching numbers with the right historical event. DR reassures that he can do it and that it is too hard for the rest of the class. As DR is working at the board the teacher remembers something that has happened quite recently in relation to a topic they discuss last week (Prager Fruehling), she goes 'wisst ihr was passiert it?' everyone looked surprised as they were thinking about something else. The teacher then talks

about the incident and explains what had happened. SH asks the teacher for a word she didn't understand 'was sind Sowjetische Panzer' and the teacher replies 'tanks'.

The lesson finishes and I ask the teacher to fill out the consent form again, as I had lost last weeks' form. She happily signed it and I reassured her that students had the choice of whether I am allowed to take pictures of their work. We walk down to the canteen together and I mention that I like the way she engages with students. I said 'Ich mag das sie all du zu dir sagen duerfen und das wenn sie dich auf English ansprechen, du auf English antwortest'. She immediately said, 'oh das tut mir leid, ich wusste das gar nicht' and I reassured her 'ich finde das gut!'. She then goes on and says that 'viel hat mit Verstaendnis zu tun und wenn man es auf Deutsch erklaert, dann geht es verloren'. I agree to her statement and walk down to the next classroom.

GCSE Class:

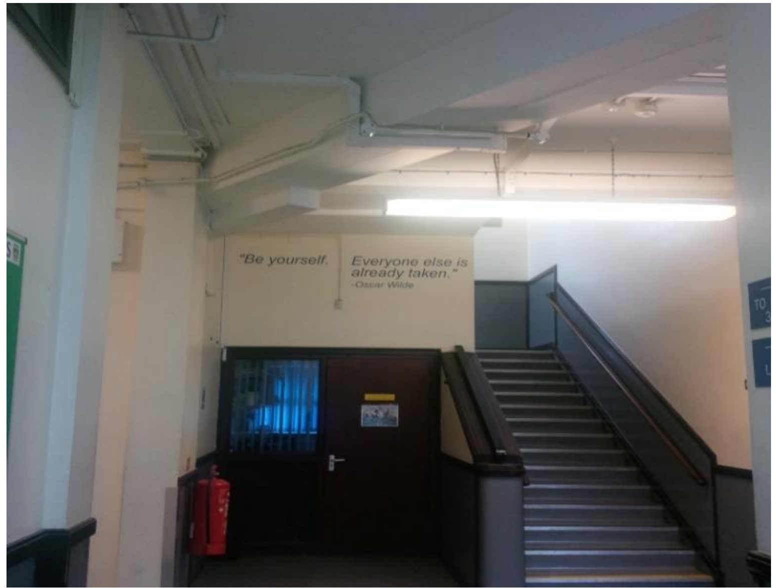
As I walk in, without thinking, I asked the teacher to open the window as I felt like I couldn't breathe. I didn't realise that the teacher was busy with oral GCSE exams and she said 'jetzt nicht, ich habe keine Zeit'. I stood there for a bit weighing the situation and decided to leave the class, although she said I could stay. I went into the canteen. On my way out I bumped into Maria and greeted her and she friendly greeted me, we started to talk, but I let her go as I wanted her to take full advantage of her break.

Picture taken on my way to canteen, as you walk towards the classroom this quote will stick out:

Canteen

After I had arrived in the canteen I immediately went to SR to say hello. She kindly got up from her seat and we had an informal chat about DR (her son). I said that I liked his presentation at class and that he was talking about his 'Heimatstadt'. SR starts laughing and replies that he was born in London 'er ist Englaender, er sagt das sicher nur, wenn er in der Klasse ist' (He is English, he probably only says this at class'). I look at her and acknowledge what she says. I then followed up with a question about DR's school and SR tells me that he goes to Highgate

boys school. I said, oh I used to live close to the school. It's a very good school. She then talks about DR's languages and that he is very talented and pics up languages without a problem. 'D speaks Italian, German, English zu hause und



er hat in der Schule Franzoesisch, Latein und Altgrieschich gemacht'. I look at her and say 'woow, D ist sehr interessant, von ihm kann ich sicher viel lernen'. She looks at me and says 'ich denke es muss schwer fuer D sein, keinen festen Stamm zu haben'. I look at her and ask her what she means by this and she says 'es ist sicher gut, da er offener fuer andere Kulturen ist, aber es ist auch schwer, in der Identitaetsfindung'. Es erschwert vieles fuer ihn'. Again, I ask her what she means by this and she replies: 'ich bin froh, dass ich einen festen Stamm habe. Ich bin Deutsch, fertig'. Aber fuer D muss es schwer sein, sich zu finden und zu organisieren.' I acknowledge what she said and again say that I think D is very interesting. SR replies 'aber ich verstehen immer noch nicht wie man von 4 Schuelern etwas lernen will.' I reply 'ich denke ich kann sehr viel von ihnen lernen, da ich tiefer gehen kann. Ich kann mehr ins Detail gehen und dann von dem gelernten 'generalise' as students' 'make-up' ist vergleichbar in anderen contexts' (I mixed German and English here as I replied to her).

GCSE Class after break:

I had to sit somewhere closer to the teacher, as two new students joined the class and there was no space for me. It was hard for me to see what is going on but I turned around. The topic of the lesson is hotel. Before the teacher starts with her class she asks students 'was ist anders im Urlaub als zu hause'. Students reply and Maria replies too, with a very shy and quiet voice. Then the teachers asks the class to take their workbooks and she turns to me realising I haven't got one,

so I ask her ‘kann ich neben Maria sitzen?’. The teacher replies ‘na klar, geh rueber’.

As I was sitting next to Maria I said to her ‘hey, ich bin jetzt deine Freundin’ and she smiled. Everyone hat to read a passage from the book out loud, except me, as it was Maria’s turn she read her passage with a few words that are hard to pronounce (e.g. Luxusunterkunft). I pat her back and say well done. The teacher then asked us to look at one hotel and summarise the main points. I asked Maria ‘hast du alles verstanden?’ and she said ‘ja, das ist nicht so schwer’. As she was underliening the main points the two other girls at the table started to talk to me and we made fun of the hotel we had to describe. All groups then had to summarise the main points and at the end of the exercise the teacher asked us which hotel we would book. Most of the students went for the Luxusunterkunft, and so did I. We were all wondering whether the hotel in California that is six metres below sea level had a lift or whether we should take our suitcases and dive down to our room. Even the teacher said, it is hard to know from the way the text is written.

Students were then asked to split in pairs and do a role play. The topic of the role play was to book a hotel room. I wasn’t involved in this exercise so I said to Maria ‘ich darf nicht mitspielen’ and went back to my table. Since the teacher put together people that usually don’t work together there was a bit tension in the class as some girls refused to work with someone they have never worked with. They mainly talk to each other in English, and don’t really engage in the task. One boy tried to teach a new student how to say things in German by telling him the phrase in English and then translating it into German. He helped him with the pronunciation.

The teacher addresses all students in German, even when they reply to her in English, she sticks to German. Except the new student who had his first lesson. As everyone gave the teacher feedback about the task the teacher picks Maria and asks her ‘wie lief die Buchung bei euch?’ Maria smiles and replies: ‘wir wissen nicht genau, ob die Klienten interessiert sind. Sehr schwierige Klienten’. The teacher laughs.

As there were only 5 minutes left of the lesson, students started packing up their belongings, ready to leave. The teacher urged them to write down the homework, and students quickly jotted down their task before they left the classroom.

Maria went to her teacher re her GCSE mock exam, that the teacher had to mark, as no one at her school speaks German. The teacher said ‘du musst genau lesen Maria, du hast viele Punkte verloren, weil du nicht genau geschaut hast’. Maria replies; ‘ok’, The teacher then pointed out Maria’s weakness which appears to be translating the questions from German to English and understanding what the task is. ‘Dein Schwaeche ist das Englische zu verstehen’. Maria said ‘ja manchmal habe ich Probleme’. As we left the class I walked with her for a bit and asked her about her results. She was rushing to her mother but explained her marks to me in English.

[**REFLECTIONS**]

I felt more at ease as I entered the school, mainly due to my hormones, as my PMS has finished and other aspects I was worried about (personal life) have finally become much clearer.

As I was sitting in the canteen I felt a bit more at ease, and when parents of new students started to walk up to me I felt a sense of belonging.

When I entered the class and spoke with a few students I felt much more relaxed and welcomed. I think I, my thoughts in particular, influence the way I feel about situations and they further drive my actions. I felt that students started to be more accepting of me and even smiled at me.

However, I also felt that I need to be more careful when I talk to parents and teachers, especially when it comes to revealing my observations. I think it is important to share my thoughts, but in a way that it doesn’t influence my study or the way teacher interact with students. I think these thoughts are better to be shared after my study, as otherwise I impact upon situations that happen in class.

Another major feeling, I had this time was that everyone, and everything feels rushed. This may be down to the fact that they only have 2 hours per week. It also seems as if everyone would only be there half- as if their minds are

elsewhere. I am meditating and running a lot at the moment, so I am extra aware of my surroundings. I might be more sensitive in picking up on these things.

I also think I still have to push myself and talk to the community more. Mainly due to my personality I feel shy around big groups of people and excel in one on one situations. I also feel as if I was intruding the community and that's why I keep to myself or solely talk to people I have met. I think next week I should try and talk to other parents too.

I also don't feel 100% sure about as to how to go about splitting my time. Should I stay one Saturday in one class and one Saturday in the other class? I think this is something I still have to work out.

I also felt as if I was being a bit over the top with the GCSE class teacher. Maybe not professional enough. I will have to be mindful about this relationship in the coming weeks, as it feels as if the teacher starts to resent me. Again, this is solely my interpretation and I need to work this out for myself by collecting more evidence. I think I will have a chat with Katja next week before her lesson and reassure her, that I am a researcher and that I don't want to come on too strong.

Overall, the second day felt better, and I know where my weaknesses as a researcher and individual are. I still hold an old core belief of not being good enough, and this plays out in my data collection, as I tend to be shy around people I don't know. I further feel as if I need to be stronger in terms of defending my study and stand up for my research.

[EMERGING QUESTIONS/ANALYSES]

My Analysis leads me to my sub-questions:

Main Sub-question: How can we understand students' identity construction through organic linguistic repertoires?

a) What role does the German Saturday school play in these constructions?

b) What role(s) do organic linguistic repertoires play in these constructions? What kind of languages, styles, accents, registers, linguistic practices are involved?

Questions to myself:

What role does the German Saturday school play in these constructions?

Was I perhaps wrong about the IB's monolingual mindset? Based on the fact from our observations she swiftly moves in and out of different languages (English/German) and accents (high German/Thuringia accent).

What is happening in the GCSE class? In how far allows the teacher for students to construct their complex identities? Regarding Maria, does she solely focus on her competence in English/German? But how is Maria really feeling about her English/German?

What role(s) do organic linguistic repertoires play in these constructions? What kind of languages, styles, accents, registers, linguistic practices are involved?

Based on my observations so far, I saw students using Bavarian German, Austrian German, High German, informal German, translanguaging between different languages, yet also knowledge (linguistic practice).

Emerging Interview MK:

1. How do you feel about living in London, after having lived in Germany for a while?
2. Tell me about your experiences at school in Germany and in London.
3. Where do you feel at home? Describe what home might be like for you?
4. How do you perceive yourself at school or here at class? Can you feel a difference?

Emerging Interview Questions DR:

1. You said that your 'Heimatstadt' is in Bavaria. Tell me more about this.
2. Where do you feel at home?
3. What is it like to grow up with three languages?
4. How would you introduce yourself in terms of where you are from if you were to meet a young person from for instance Italy?

5. How do you feel about being able to switch between a variety of languages etc?
6. How do you perceive yourself at school or here? Is there a difference?

Emerging Interview Questions SH and TH:

1. Tell me about your experiences of attending a German Saturday school.
2. How do you feel about being able to speak German?
3. When do you feel most confident? In which situations at class?
4. How do you perceive yourself at school or here? Is there a difference?

Questions for parents:

1. What are your thoughts on students' interactions with the teacher?
2. Do you feel the only language in the classroom should be German? Why? Why not?
3. Find out about their work, stay at home mom, languages spoken at home, and when they moved to the UK, for what reason.

Analytical Ideas:

1. *Translanguaging space* in relation to language portraits (access this space) – biographical interviews (access **personal beliefs, history, experiences and ideologies)**
2. *Classroom ideologies (power)*- should German be the classroom language? School ideologies (translanguaging moments restricted? - monolingual mindset?)
3. *Post-structural perspectives to identity* (fluid, complex, within social structures, cultures and ideologies)

[FUTURE ACTION]

Make sure to reassure students and teachers that I would like to learn from them and that I am not an expert. They are the experts. Reassure GCSE teacher. **<throughout the whole study>**

Talk to Dominik and Joanna, individually, build rapport <**26th January**>

Don't overthink my behaviour and the way I come across. Simply act as myself and try not to keep away from parents and separate myself but become a part of the community. I guess this is going to be the hardest part being I am an introvert and especially during break time everything is in the canteen which can be loud and crowded. I want to find a way to deal with this, maybe I can talk to students individually or in small groups–or parents. <**over the next few weeks**>

Appendix D: Coding First Round Code to Categories /Table 6 Data Sets

First-round coding: from codes to categories

Research Question: What kind of linguistic identities do young people attending a German Saturday school construct or negotiate?

Category 1: **Confronting and Resisting Language Ideologies**
Exp. Students' creative meaning making (translanguaging space), pushing boundaries between named languages

Category 2: **Confronting Power and Authority Structures**
Exp. Resisting and changing power structures

a) What role does the German Saturday school play in these constructions?

Category 1: **Ideologies (Language)**
Exp. Parents' biographies, teachers' biographies

Category 2: **Power and Authority Structures**
Exp. Parents' expectations, A-Level syllabus (competence), monolingual mindset

Category 3: **Pedagogical Constraints**
Exp. Lesson planning, A-Level syllabus, classroom management

a) What role(s) do organic linguistic repertoires play in these constructions? What kind of languages, styles, accents, registers, linguistic practices are involved?

Category 1: **Linguistic Repertoires**
Exp. Learning experience, biography, transnational experience

Category 2: **Ideologies around Languages**
Exp. Language learning experience, parents' biographies, students' biographies
Second-round coding for working with Linguistic Repertoires and Identities; From Categories to Themes

Research Question: What kind of linguistic identities do young people attending a German Saturday school construct or negotiate?

Main Sub-question: *How can we understand students' identity construction through organic linguistic repertoires?*

A) Organic Linguistic Repertoires

Exo-system (including microsystem)

1. Parental choices
2. Students' biographies (migration, school, out of school activities, social media (YouTube, Netflix)

Mesosystem

1. Interactions with teachers
2. Interactions with students

Macrosystem

1. Political climate factors
2. Local level factors (e.g. A-Level syllabus)
3. Teachers' beliefs (constructed through political climate in Germany DDR)

B) Complex Identities

Exo-system (including microsystem)

1. Understanding own biography (language portraits)

Mesosystem

1. Resisting boundaries (translanguaging practices)

Macrosystem

1. Confronting and resisting power and authority structures
2. Confronting and resisting language ideologies

Table 6: Data Set

Theme	RQ	Data Set	Role: RQ
Creative Language Use/Playing with Words	What role(s) do organic linguistic repertoires play in these constructions? What kind of languages, styles, accents, registers, linguistic practices are involved?	Fieldnote transcripts from 12 lessons 16 mentions across data set	- Learn more about the role of students' linguistic practices and the kind of languages in students' identity construction
Discourses around Languages/Language Varieties Encouraging Creativity Use of Humour/Playing with words	What kind of linguistic identities do young people attending a German Saturday school negotiate or construct? What role does the German Saturday school play in these constructions?	Student interviews (n=5), teacher interview (n=1) Fieldnote transcripts (n=16) 15 mentions across interview data (n=6) 14 mentions across fieldnote transcripts (n=16)	- Learn about linguistic identity construction and negotiation in classroom discourse - Unravel underlying power and authority structures - Hidden discourses of domination
Traditional Power Relations Educational Discourses	What role does the German Saturday school play in these constructions?	Parents' interviews (n=5), teacher interview (n=1) Fieldnote transcripts (n=5 lessons) 14 mentions across fieldnote transcripts (n=5)	Revealed more about how students' identities are directly influenced by the German Saturday school (e.g. parents' views, role of teacher in language learning)

Theme	RQ	Data Set	Role: RQ
Secret Languages Technology/Virtual Self-Perception Connection/Importance of Connections Experience/Language Use	What role(s) do organic linguistic repertoires play in these constructions? What kind of languages, styles, accents, registers, linguistic practices are involved?	Student interviews (n=5), 8 mentions Fieldnote transcripts (n=4), 12 mentions	- Learn about students' linguistic practices, focusing on language styles, registers and accents - Language use beyond the classroom - Focus on interviews to start to gain a deeper understanding of students' linguistic repertoires

Appendix E: Table 7 / Language Portraits

Phases of Thematic Analysis: Brown and Clarke (2006), p. 35

1. Transcribing data, reading and re-reading the data, noting down initial ideas.
2. Coding across each data set: systematically, collate interesting features of data relevant to each code.
3. Sort codes into potential themes, compare and analyse data across data set and gather data relevant to each code.
4. Check themes with reference to coded extracts (level 1), and the entire data set (level 2), create a thematic 'map' of the analysis.
5. Ongoing analysis to refine the particularities of each theme as well as the overall story the analysis tells; generate clear definitions and names for each theme.
6. Final opportunity for analysis. Selection of extracts that allow for thick description, final analysis of selected extracts, relate back of the analysis to the research questions and literature (as outlined in Table 1) producing a report of the analysis.

Table 7: Thematic Analysis – Language Portraits

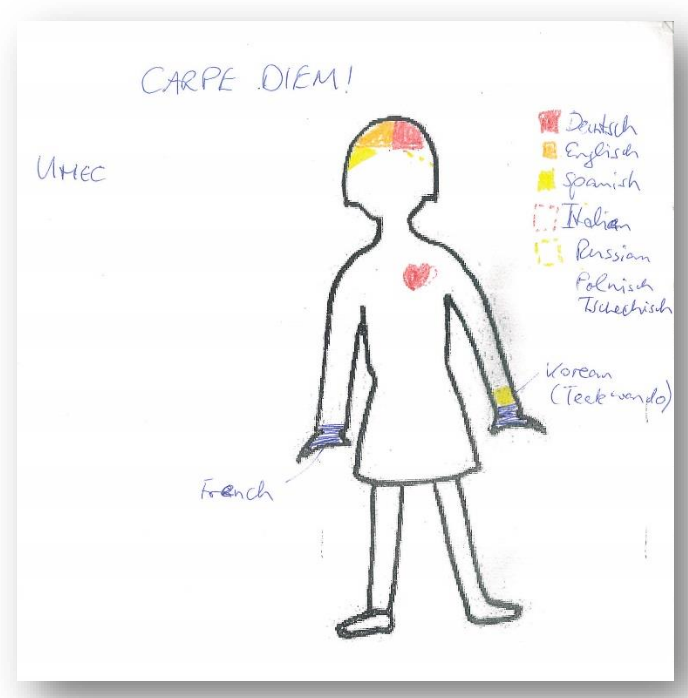
Open Tentative Codes	Categories	Themes	Example
Identity	Ethnic/cultural background	Language and Identity (deductive) Experiences (inductive)	SH: Its really weird, but I think in Arabic at school when I'm doing work or trying to figure something out. I feel like it's because it's my first language and I use it every often.
Multi/Plurilingualism	Complex linguistic identity	Attachment to Lx (inductive) Lx as foundation/core?	SH: The reason my heart was in blue is because I was born in Germany and spent my first few years of my life there so therefore feel a strong connection with it. It also makes up part of my identity because I spent some of my childhood there, so the earliest memories of my life happened there.
School Life	Language Learning	Multi/Plurilingual experiences (deductive) Experience/language use (inductive)	TH: When I'm at school I tend to think in English… also I forgot to say that when I'm doing homework I think in English... sometimes I will mix English, German and Arabic, but this happens rarely.
Media	Written/oral	Experiences with languages (inductive)	Me: und in welchen Sprachen ist das? DR: Das ist alles Japanisch. Me: Wow, wo hast du das denn alles gelernt? DR: hesitates... ja, ehm, ich hab mir einmal so etwas angeschaut eben.

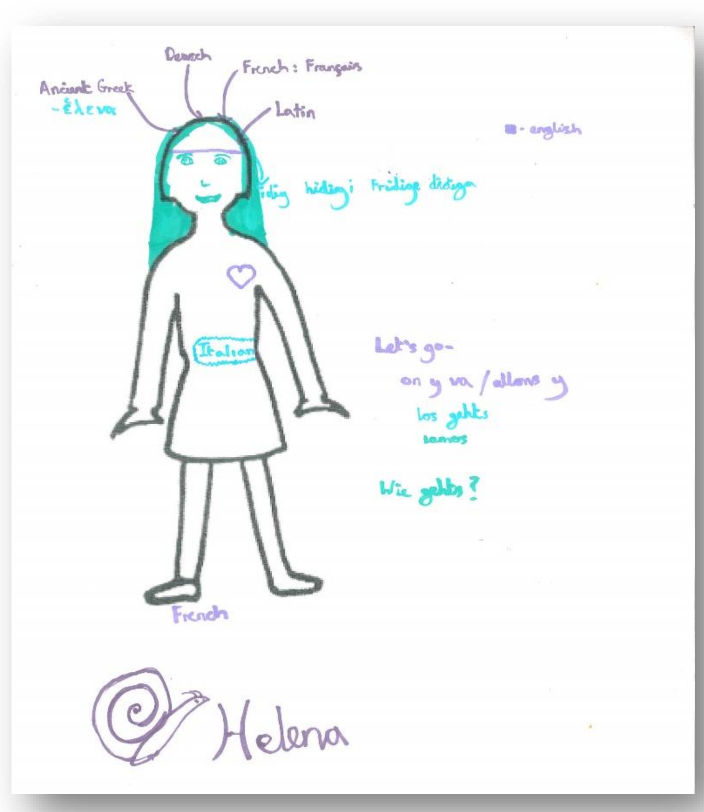
Open Tentative Codes	Categories	Themes	Example
			Me: Ah, ok, das kriegst du auch wieder aus dem Internet wahrscheinlich, oder? DR: laughs, ja.
Arts/Music/Sports	Organic linguistic repertoires	Language and Use (inductive)	Researcher: D hoest du manchmal Deutsche Musik? JC: Deutsche Musik ist zum Lachen. NM: Ich hoere Deutsches Radio, ja. NDR 2.
Family/Biography	Changing lives/identities	Dialects/language varieties (deductive)	SH: Iraqi dialect makes up a really big part of my identity and personality. With this dialect comes family (because my parents/family speak this dialect), friends and lots of traditions. It was also the first dialect I was exposed to in my life so it's very important to me.
Holiday	Language use/learning	- different feelings for different languages (inductive)	DR: Neve naida (laughs) Me: repeats it with Dutch pronounciation 'neva neida', die Hollaender machen dann, 'neva neidaa' rising voice at the end… wo hastn' das gehoert? DR: naja, wenn wir ski fahren gehen, dann sagen die das immer alle.

Open Tentative Codes	Categories	Themes	Example
Friends Relationships	Organic linguistic repertoires	- changing lives, changing identities with new language learning experiences (inductive)	NM: Mit meiner Freundin spreche ich manchmal in Dutch, weil sie aus Holland ist. Ich kann alles verstehen und es ist lustig.
Love/Feelings	Language practices	Language learning experiences (deductive)	SH: I didn't realise that there were many different accents spoken in Germany, but I was born in Munich and just learnt the standard German (I guess formal?). But the accent spoken in Bayern is very interesting and sometimes not easily understandable I think.
Self-perception Self-understanding (relationships with languages)	Opinion of the exercise	Impact of the language portraits (deductive) Self-awareness, self-understanding of language (inductive)	Through the activity I realised that I knew a lot more languages than I thought. I also noticed that each language has a different dialect and that the different dialects have connections to my everyday life in different ways.

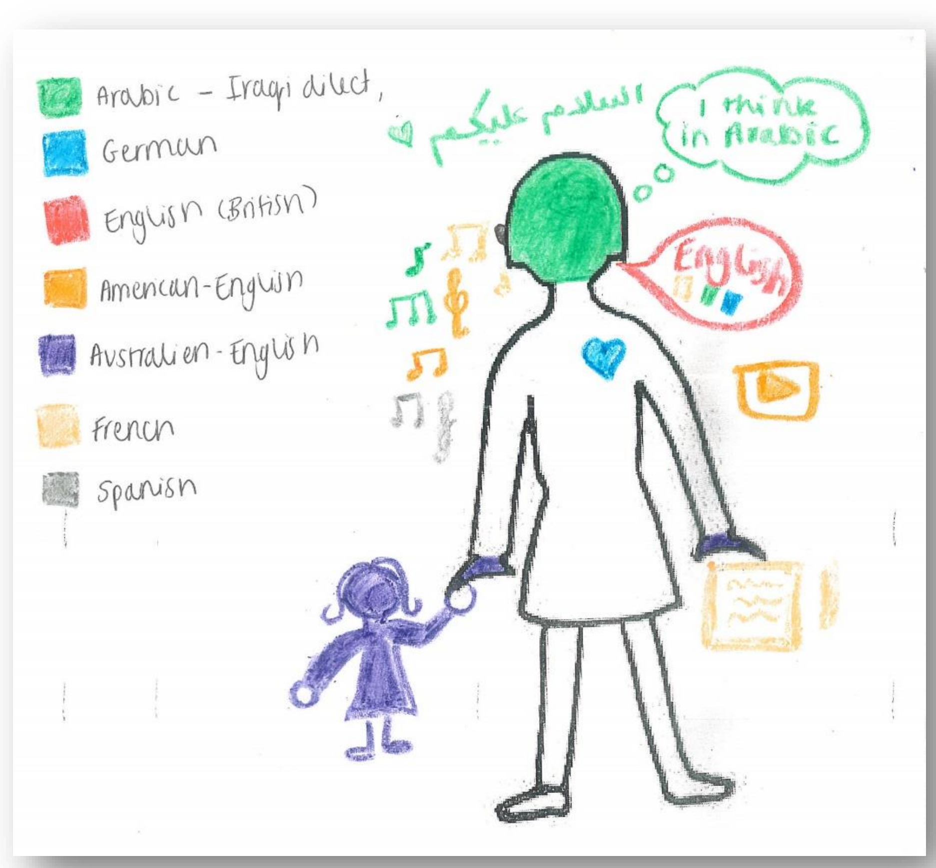
Source: *Language Portrait Data*

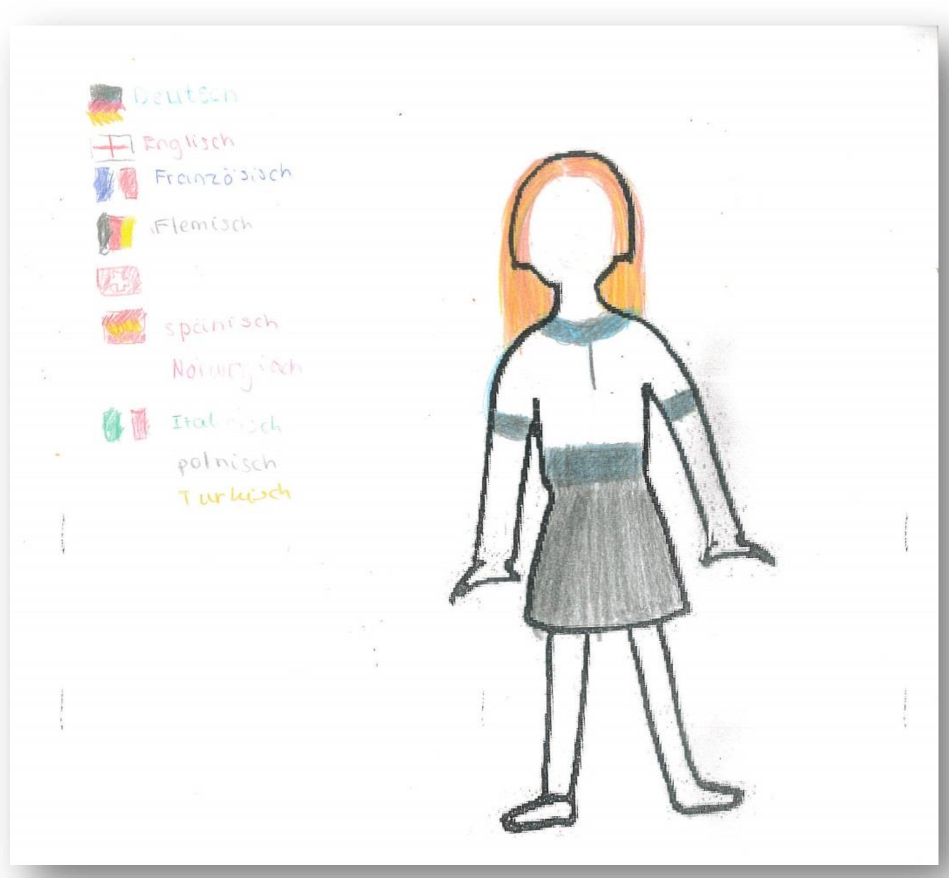
All Language Portraits

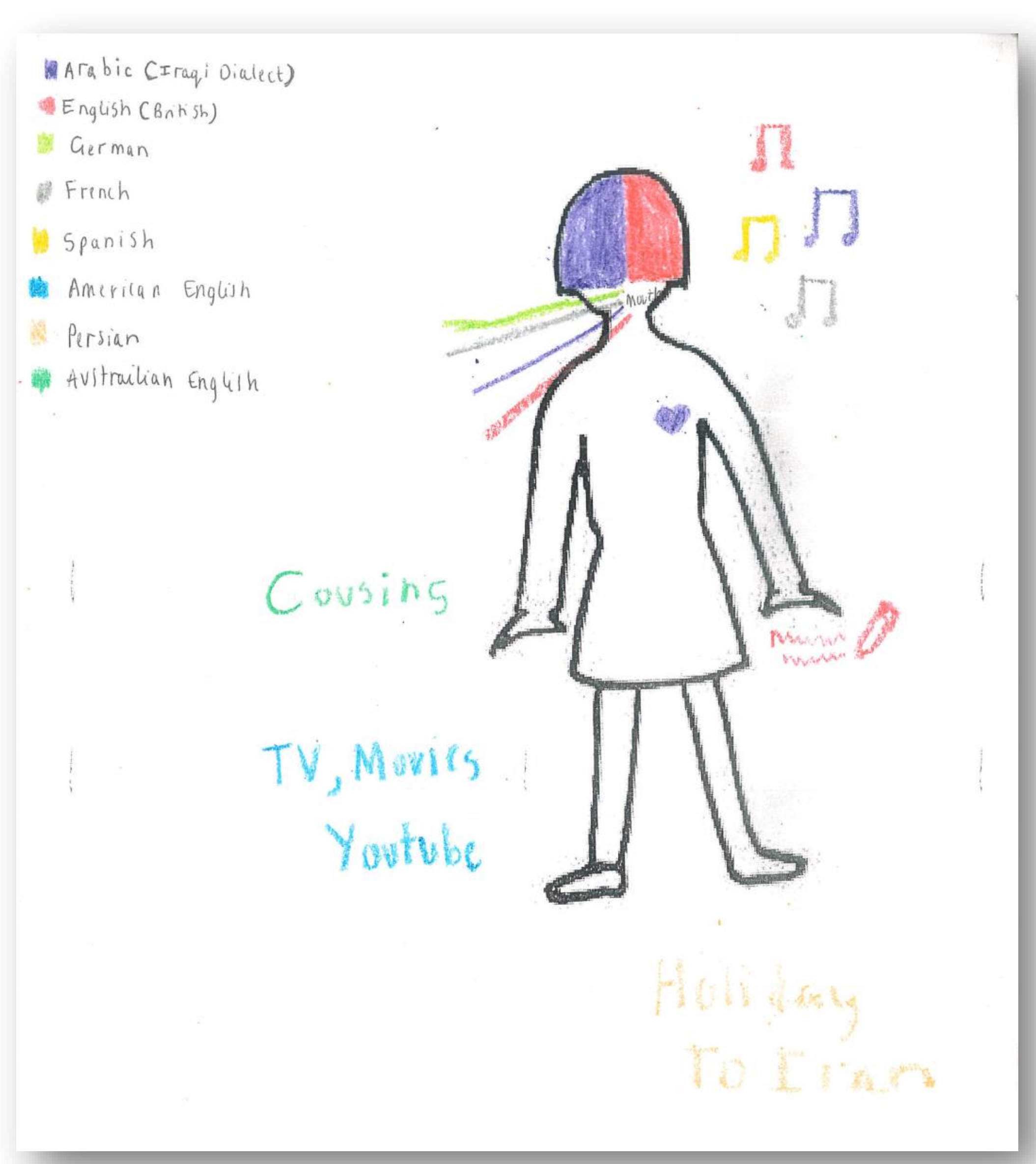


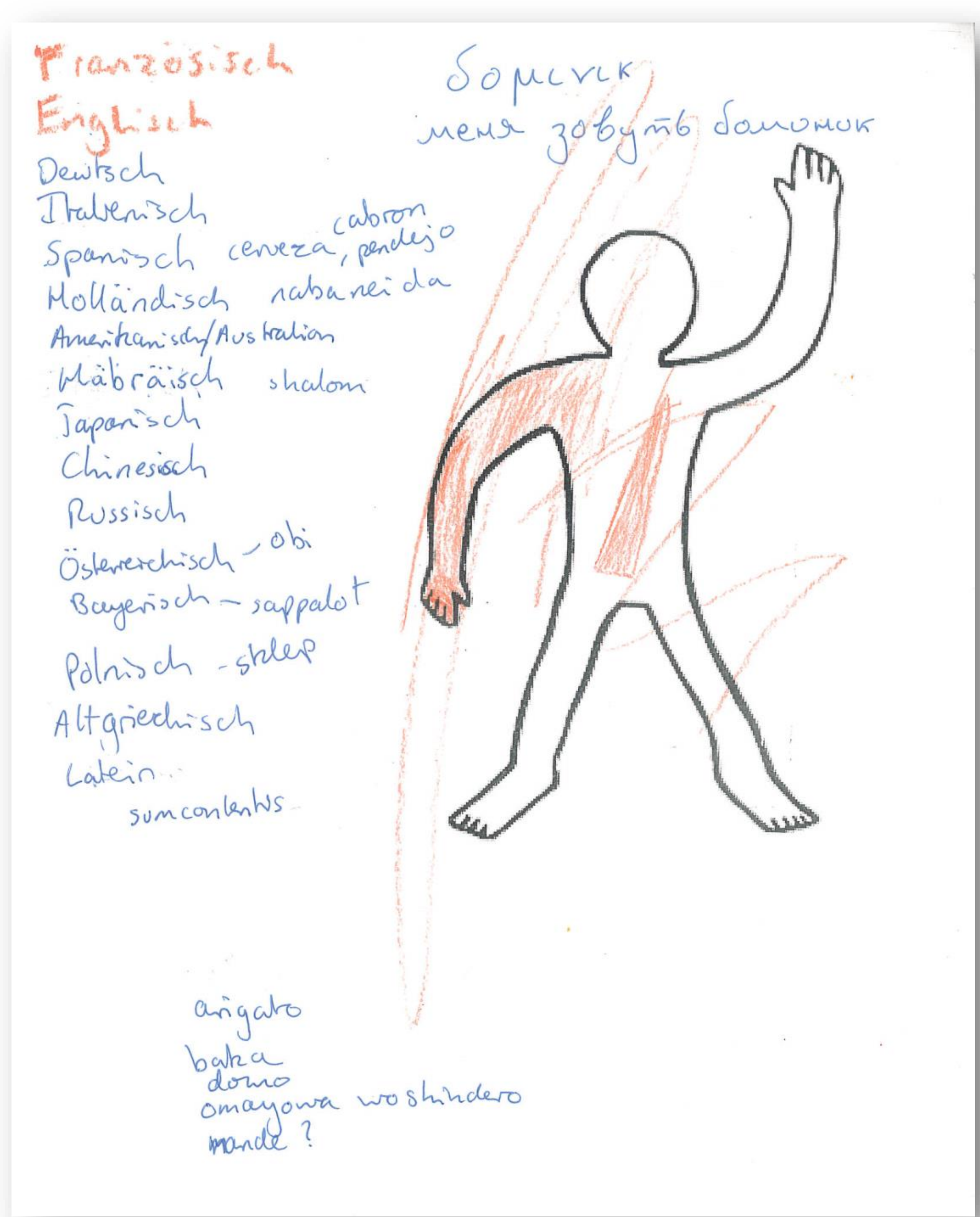


French
Deutsch
English British
American English
Dutch
Spanish
SCHOOL
Familie
Friends
ferien
Nathalie MILLHOFF


Arabic - Iraqi dilect,
German
English (British)
American-English
Australien-English
French
Spanish
السلام عليكم
I think in Arabic
English


Deutsch
Englisch
Französisch
Flemisch
spanisch
polnisch
Turkisch


Arabic (Iraqi Dialect)
English (British)
German
French
Spanish
American English
Persian
Austrailian English
Cousins
TV, Movies
Youtube
Holiday
To Iran


Französisch
Englisch
Deutsch
Italienisch
Spanisch cerveza, cabron, pendejo
Holländisch
Amerikanisch/Australian
Hebräisch shalom
Japanisch
Chinesisch
Russisch
Österreichisch - obi
Bayerisch - sappalot
Polnisch - sklep
Altgriechisch
Latein
sum contentus
arigato
baka
domo
omayowa woshindero
nande ?

Merhaba
-hello
Englisch
Deutsch
Mandarin
Französisch
Türkisch
Backslond
Polisch
wǒ jiào...
我 叫
(my name is)
pantalones :)
hello - hevegellevago
my name is...
myvigi navagame ivagis...

1. I think that (especially after writing them all down) ~~it~~ I first realised actually how many languages I'm around and exposed to just on a daily basis. Lot's of the languages (backslang, Turkish and Mandarin) were taught to me by people in school which I didn't really think about before - how everyone's cultures are so mixed in school.

2. I think accents and dialects are really interesting, it's so cool how one area has ~~the~~ morphed the language into their own variation. They're so unique and especially when I visit family and friends in Germany it's funny to see the big differences between how they all speak. Although sometimes it's hard for other people to understand, I still think that dialects and accents reflect your culture/area and it's not something to be embarrassed of or try to change.

3. Ich denke meistens auf Englisch, aber wenn wir in Deutschland sind, bemühe ich mich bewusst auf Deutsch zu denken.

Tebarik Mussa

From the language portrait I became more aware of how
ny languages I already knew. Now I am also more
tesful that I know how to speak in different
guages, all which are very important and useful in
. Further more I am also happy that I have
e oppertunity to develop my skills in learning
a language and I feel that in future I will find
easier to learn a new language. Lastly I view the
guage that I already know with a lot more
lue and worth as I believe they are widely
oken and popular.

When I am at school a tend to think in English.
onally I think thats because I am surrounded by
mily english speaking people. However, when
am at home, outside, with family I think in
bic. Also I forgot to say that when I am doing
mework I ~~spea~~ think in English. Sometimes,
d this is rarely I will mix, which I think
do because sometimes I will mix Arabic and
man and English when I speak. I will sort of
ink in these languages by forming sentances in head
d almost speaking to myself, in Arabic and English.

By heart is purple (Arabic) because I am very proud
t I know how to speak Arabic and I think its
favourite language (that doesnt mean that I dont like the
though). Also I feel like I am mainly Arab

:) I think that the Iraqi dialect is one of my [fav]ourite Arabic dialects, with my second favorite being [the] Lebonese dialect. In comparison to the other [Ara]bic dialects its not as popular, but within my [com]munity, it is familiar. Also some words sound [fu]nny and the expressions also are. Personally, I [wi]ll understand other Arabic dialects, which others [ma]y not understand.

I have been going to German school since 2011, a [ye]ar after I came to England in 2010. Ever since [I] have attended every year, which is 7 years in [tot]al.

All my life I have been studying, reading [boo]ks in the formal dialect. However I been [a]ccross many people with different acents and [d]ialects. I realize when someone has a strong acent [or] dialect, but Ines for example I understand fully [an]d cant see the difference. Strong acents and dialects [ar]e more standing out to me and sometimes I cant [u]nderstand them properly.

I hope my answers have helped you.

Appendix F: Example of Coding

Research Question: What kind of linguistic identities do young people attending a German Saturday school construct and negotiate?

Sub-questions:

a) What role does the German Saturday School play in these constructions?
b) What role(s) do organic linguistic repertoires play in these constructions?
c) What kind of languages, styles, accents, registers, linguistic practices are involved?

Theme:

Micro-system (Biography)

Meso-system (Creative Language Use)

Macro-system (Experiences & Language Use)

Interview Transcript Anna

4th May 2019

Interviewer: Erst einmal, danke das du dir Zeit genommen hast. Ich wollte noch einmal fragen wegen deines Sprachenportraits, ob das irgendwie einen Grund hat, dass du für Französisch rot genommen hast? *(thank you, that you've taken the time to speak to me. I wanted to ask you, regarding your language portrait, whether it has got a reason, that you used the colour red for French?)*

NM: Nein (laughs), es war einfach die Farbe, ehm die, noch uebrig war. Es hat keinen Grund (laughs again). *(No, it was just the only colour that I had left. It's got no reason.)*

Interviewer: Also hat irgendeine Farbe, die du genommen hast einen Grund? Also, zum Beispiel, warum Deutsch organge ist oder... (interrupts) *(So, does any colour you picked, mean something? So for instance, why did you choose orange for German or…)*

NM: Nein, gar nicht (lauhgs). *(No, not at all)*

Interviewer: Und dann ist mir aufgefallen, dass de hier alles auf English geschrieben hast, aber Deutsch hast du auf Deutsch geschrieben. *(And another thing I realised, that you wrote everything in English, except German, you wrote in German)*

NM: Ehm (laughs), weil, also eigentlich wollte ich es so machen, dass ich in jeder Sprache das mache, aber ich wusste nicht, wie ich Französisch auf Französisch schreibe.. *(Well, I initially planned to write everything in each language, but then I had no idea how to write French in French)*

Interviewer: aha francaise

NM: ja, aber ich wusste nicht genau, und auch Holländisch wusste ich nicht genau, wie ... *(Yes, but I wasn't sure, and Dutch I wasn't sure about either)*

Interviewer: wie würde man das sagen, ja, das weiss ich auch nicht. *(How would one say this, yeah, I don't know either)*

NM: Ja, also habe ich einfach gedacht, ich schreib es auf English. *(Yes, so I thought I'd write it all in English).*

Interviewer: Espanol, das wäre das einzige gewesen, dass ich noch gewusst hätte. Ah Ok, ok und und dann, ehm, erzähle mir doch nochmal ein bisschen was zu deinem Sprachenportrait. *(Espanol, would have been the only one that I would have known. Ok, ok and, and ehm, tell me more about your language portrait.)*

NM: Ehm, also hauptsächlich fühle ich mich Deutsch, weil meine ganze Familie in Deutschland wohnt, alle sprechen Deutsch, es ist die erste Sprache und auch meine erste Sprache, ehm und ich fühle mich überhaupt nur Englisch weil ich hier wohne und sonst eh nicht wirklich, also ich würde viel lieber, als Deutsch gesehen, als als Englisch. Ich habe auch einen Deutschen Pass und keinen Englischen und dann ehm. *(Ehm, so, I mainly feel German, because my whole family lives in Germany, everyone speaks German, it ist the first language and my first language too. Ehm, I solely feel English because I live here, and other than that, eh not really. So, I would much rather be seen as German, than English. I also have a German passport and no English one and ehm..)**- importance of relations***

Interviewer: Kannst du mir erklären, warum? Warum würdest du lieber als Deutsch gesehen werden, als als Englisch? *(can you explain why? Why would you prefer to be seen as German rather than English?)*

NM: Ich finde es eine schönere Sprache, ein schöneres Land, meine Familie ist da, also fühle ich mich viel wohler und ich finde einfach alles besser in Deutschland. Ich finde das Schulsystem besser, wie es da ist.. also mir gefallen einfach, ehm mir gefällt einfach Deutschland besser als England, obwohl, obwohl es hier, ehm, obwohl es hier manchmal viel bessere Schulen gibt, aber ehm trotzdem finde ich es insgesamt in Deutschland schoener. Auch habe ich das Gefühl, also von das was ich weiss, das die Leute viel netter sind. Also jedesmal, wenn ich in den Urlaub gehe, dann sagen mir immer alle ‚Hallo' und fragen ‚wie geht's' während wenn ich das hier sagen würde, würden mich die Leute total komisch angucken. *(I think it is a more beautiful language, a nicer country, my family is there, so I feel much more comfortable there, and I just like everything better about Germany. I find the school system better, like it is over there… so I just like, ehm, I prefer Germany over England, although, although it is here, ehm, although at times there are better schools here, but ehm, I still prefer Germany because it is altogether much nicer. I also have the feeling, so from what other tell me, that the people in Germany are much nicer. So every time we go to Germany on holidays, then everyone always says 'Hello, how are you?'. Unlike if I'd be here, people would probably look at me a bit weird). – political climate, discourses around German, importance of relations*

Interviewer: Aha, kann das vielleicht auch damit zusammenhängen, dass das hier eine grosse Stadt ist? *(Ah, do you think this could be related to London being a big city?).*

NM: Ja, wahrscheinlich. *(Yes, probably.)*

Interviewer: Also, du hattest gesagt, ich will mit denen nichts zu tun haben, das hattest du das letzte Mal gesagt. Was meinst du damit? ‚Ich will mit denen nichts zu tun haben'? *(So, you were saying, that you don't want anything to do with them, that's what you said last time. What do you mean by this?)*

NM: raises her voice – ich weiss nicht, es interessiert mich einfach nicht, was hier so... (pause) ehm... nicht was hier passiert, aber was die Politik, die Politik,

damit will ich nichts zu tun haben. Ich find nich, das ehm, also, wenn ich aelter bin, dann werde ich sowieso nach Deutschland ziehen und deswegen muss ich mich hier nicht groß daran beteiligen. *(I don't know, I'm just not interested in what here so… ehm.. not what happens here, but politics, the politics, I don't want anything to do with this. I don't think, that ehm, so, when I am older, then I will move to Germany anyway, and that's why I don't have to participate here massively). – political climate, culture*

Interviewer: Also, fühlst du dich in der Schule manchmal ausgeschlossen? Weil du sagst, du willst nicht English sein? Also wie fuehlst du dich da in der Schule? *(So, do you sometimes feel excluded at school? Because you said, you don't want to be English?)*

NM: Ehm, nein, meine Schule hat viele Leute aus verschiedenen Hintergruenden. Also, wir haben viele Kinder aus Israel, Frankreich, Italien, alles moegliche. Also fuehle ich mich eigentlich nicht so. Weil sie manchmal auch ähnliche, ehm, weil sie ähnlich denken wie ich. Aber eigentlich hat das keinen Effekt. *(Ehm, no, my school has a lot of people from different backgrounds. So, we have a lot of children from Israel, France, Italy, all kinds of countries. So I don't feel excluded. Because, they have similar, ehm, they think similar to me. But, it doesn't really matter.) - culture,*

Interviewer: Ok, danke... und ehm, Französisch, was denkst du über Französisch? *(Ok, thanks… and ehm, French, what do you think about French?)*

NM: Also, ich finde es eine sehr schöne Sprache, ich wünschte ich könnts sprechen, aber leider habe ich kein Französisch im Unterricht, aber ich habe eine französische Freundin und dann, wenn sie zu hause ist, dann spricht sie es und ich finde die Sprache einfach richtig toll. *(So, I think it is a beautiful language, I wish I could speak it, but unfortunately I don't have French lessons at school. But I have a French friend and then, when she is at home, she speaks French, and I find the language great.)- discourses around language*

Interviewer: Sehr schön, und du hast auch ne holländische Freundin, richtig? *(Very nice, and you also have a friend from the Netherlands, right?)*

NM: Ja genau, ehm, die ehm, seh ich leider nicht mehr so oft, aber manchmal, wenn sie dann irgendwas sagen würde, dann könnte ich das auch verstehen.

Und wenn wir in den Urlaub fahren, dann fahren wir immer durch Holland und dann machen wir da eine Pause und essen da zu Abend oder Mittag und dann höre ich auch etwas mehr Holländisch. (*Yes, exactly, ehm, she, ehm, unfortunately, I don't see her often, but sometimes, when she would say something, then I could understand it. And when we go on holidays, then we drive through Holland and then we have a break and we eat dinner or lunch and then I hear a lot more Dutch.)* – *importance of relations*

Interviewer: OK, und ehm, ehm, american English, wo hörst du dis? *(Ok, and ehm, ehm, American English, where do you hear this?)*

NM: Also ich habe eine Freundin, die ist Bulgarierin, aber spricht mit dem amerikanischen Akzent und auch manche Lehrer in der Schule und ich habe eine Tanzlehrerin in der Schule, die kommt aus Amerika und dadurch hoere ich auch amerikanisches Englisch. *(So, I have a friend, she is from Bulgaria, but she speaks with an American accent, and also some of our teachers at school, and I have a dance teacher at school, she is from the US and that's why I hear American English).* – *importance of relations*

Interviewer: OK, und wo hörst du denn, ehm, ehm Musik oder guckst du YouTube oder Netflix? *(Ok, and where do you listen, ehm, ehm, to music or do you watch YouTube or Netflix?)*

NM: Also hauptsächlich höre ich dann auch englische Musik, oder guck englisches Fernsehen, also weil in Amerika und hier Englisch gesprochen wird, gibt es mehr Musikauswahl und mehr Fernsehprogramme, die ich dann auch besser finde, aber es kommt auch drauf an wie das Lied ist, oder was mich gerade interessiert. *(So, mainly I listen, and then also English music, or I watch English TV, so, because in the US and here they speak English, there is more choice and more TV Channels, that I like better, but it depends on the song or what I am interested in at the time.)* – *popular culture*

Interviewer: Also was denkst du denn über die, ehm, ehm, verschiedenen Akzente, die es hier so in London gibt. Also, weisst du was ein Akzent und ein Dialekt ist? Also die Unterschiede kennst du die? *(So, what do you think about, ehm, ehm, different accents, that are present here in London. So, do you know what counts as an accent or a dialect? I mean the difference, do you know them?)*

NM: Ja, ehm, es gibt schon sehr verschiedene ehm, Dialekte und ehm Akzente und das ist wirklich interessant zu sehen und wie viele die ich kenne komplett anders reden, und wie ich sie manchmal verstehe oder nicht. Ehm, kommt eben drauf an, was sie sagen. *(Yes, ehm, there are a lot of different, ehm, dialects, and ehm accents and it is really interesting to see how many people speak completely different, and how I sometimes understand them or not. Ehm, it depends on what they say.) – discourses around language varieties/accents/dialects*

Interviewer: Und ehm, hast du mal darüber nachgedacht, weil Ines kommt ja aus Thüringen, die spricht ja auch nocheinmal ein ganz anderes Deutsch, ist dir das schon einmal aufgefallen? *(And eh, have you ever thought about, because Ines comes from Thuringia, she speaks a different kind of German, have you realised this?)*

NM: Ja, auf jeden Fall, also meine Familie kommt aus Nord-Deutschland. *(Oh yes, definitely. My whole family comes from North-Germany.)*

Interviewer: und ihr habt ein ganz Hochdeutsch? *(And you have High-German?)*

NM: Ja genau, und manchmal muss ich erst überlegen, was Ines gesagt hat, bis ich es dann .. ehm ach ja, sie meint das und das, weil es halt relativ anders ist. Und wir eh, haben auch Freunde aus der Nähe von Köln und die sprechen dann. *(Yes, exactly, and sometimes I have to think, when Ines says something, until I then, ehm… ah yes, this is what she meant, because it is relatively different. And we, eh, also have friends near Cologne and they speak then…) – discourses around languages etc*

Interviewer: Kölsch...

NM: Ja genau, und ehm, ich hatte früher eine Deutschlehrerin, die kam er aus dem Süden, und das ist dann auch wieder ganz anders, also nicht so extrem aber es war schon anders. *(Yes, exactly, I used to have a German teacher, she came from the South, and it was again, completely different, so not that extreme, but different).*

Interviewer: Was denkst du denn ueber die verschiedenen Dialekte, die deutschen Dialekte? Wie findest du die denn? *(What do you think about the different dialects, the German dialects? How are you finding these?)*

NM: Ich finde es sehr interessant, wie unterschiedlich eine Sprache sein kann. Aber es ist auch relativ schwer zu verstehen dann manchmal hat man dann wirklich keine Ahnung. Aber ich finde es interessant dann doch mehr darüber zu lernen und wie ich das verstehen kann und was für Wörter sie dann austauschen, gegen andere. *(I find it very interesting, how different a language can be. But it is also relatively hard to understand, then sometimes you really have no clue. But I find it interesting, to learn more about it and how I can understand it, and what words they exchange, for others). – confronting, resisting language ideologies?*

Interviewer: Ja, interessant, ne? Ok, dann hatte ich mir noch hier was aufgeschrieben, also warte mal. Kannst du dir noch einen Name aussuchen, den ich in meiner Doktorarbeit verwenden kann? Ich darf deinen aus ethischen Gründen nicht verwenden. Moechtest du dir einen Name aussuchen, wie moechtes du denn heissen? (*Ja, interesting, right? Ok, then I had written something down, just wait a second. Can you pick a name that I can use for my thesis? I am not allowed to use yours due to ethical reasons. Would you like to choose a name, what would you like to be called?)*

NM: Ist mir völlig egal, das kannst du dir aussuchen, es ist mir egal. *(I don't mind, you can pick one, I really don't care).*

Interviewer: Ist dir egal? Willst du dir nicht selbst einen aussuchen? Ok, dann suche ich mir einen aus. Dann noch eine Frage, hat sich deine Einstellung zu den Sprachen, zu all dem was du kennst, irgendwie geändert, nach dieser Sprachenportrait Aktivität? *(You don't mind? Don't you want to pick one yourself? Ok, in this case I pick one. Then one more question. Has your atttitude to languages changed, through the activity?).*

NM: Ehm, ich habe gemerkt, das ich viel mehr Sprachen, also nicht verstehe, aber ehm, dass ich viel mehr Sprachen höre, als ich gedacht haette, ehm auch, ehm Hebräisch höre ich auch relativ viel, weil das ehm, wird auch relativ viel bei mir in der Schule gesprochen und ehm, es ist witzig, ich haette nie gedacht, dass ich so viele verschiedene Sprachen, oder zumindest hoere. Und

manchmal, durch meine Freunde, verstehe ich dann auch ein Wort, und auch wenn es nicht viel ist, also ehm, das haette ich nie gedacht. Ja, haette ich nicht gedacht, wenn ich das jetzt nicht gemacht haette. *(Ehm I realised, that I more languages, so not understand, but ehm, that I hear more languages than I had thought, ehm also, ehm Hebrew, I also hear a lot, because this ehm, is spoken al lot in my school, it is funny, I would have never thought, that I know this many different languages, or at least that I hear them. And sometimes, through my friends, I also understand a word, and although, it is not a lot, so ehm, I would have never thought this. Yes, I would have never thought this, if I would not have done the activity).- culture, perception of oneself*

Interviewer: es ist nämlich interessant, ne? Und es heisst ja nicht das du, ehm du musst ja die Sprache nicht fliessend sprechen. *(It is interesting, right? And it doesn't mean that you, ehm, you don't have to be fluent in the language.)*

NM: Ja, einfach ein bisschen zu verstehen. *(Yes, just understanding it a bit)*

Interviewer: Ja, wir können so viel mehr, als wir denken. Ehm, ehm, ich glaube, ja, das war es eigentlich schon fast. Oh ja, ehm, ehm wusstest du bevor, ehm, hast du mal darüber nachgedacht, bevor, ehm, es gibt ja diese ganzen Varietiaetn von Englisch, american, british, australian, hast du dir da früher mal Gedanken drüber gemacht oder war das einfach so fuer dich nur Englisch, oder? *(Yes, we are capable of so much more, than we think. Ehm, ehm, I believe, yes, that's nearly it. Oh, ehm, ehm did you know before, ehm, have you ever thought about, before, ehm, there are a lot of varieties of English-American, British, Australian, have you ever thought about this before, or was it simply English for you?)*

NM: Ja, ich hör's schon den Unterschied, ehm meine Tanzlehrerin ist halt Amerikanerin und die andere kommt halt aus Canada und da hoere ich schon den Unterschied, aber es hat jetzt nicht, ehm und manchmal finde ich es dann auch schwieriger, weil die benutzen dann verschiedende Woerter, und sie sagen die dann auch anders und hier ist das dann unterschiedlich und manchmal muss ich dann schon überlegen, also, was bedeutet das nochmal, aber eigentlich finde ich den Unterschied nicht so groß, denn mein Vater hat ja in Amerika gewohnt, also kenne ich so ein bisschen von beiden. *(Yes, I hear the difference, ehm, my dancing teacher, she is American and the other one is*

from Canada and that's where I can hear the difference. But it has not, ehm and sometimes I find it more difficult because they use different words, and then they say things in a different manner and here it is different. Sometimes I do have to think, so, what does this mean again, but usually I don't find the difference too big, because my dad has lived in the US, so I do know a bit from both). – perception of language

Interviewer: Aha, weil dein Papa wie ein Amerikaner spricht? *(Aha, because your dad speaks like an American?)*

NM: Also, nein er hat keinen Akzent, aber er benutzt dann die Wörter, die meine Leherer benutzen und dann finde ich es leichter als vielleicht andere. *(SO, no he doesn't have an accent, but he uses words, that my teachers use, and then I'm finding it easier.)*

Interviewer: Ok, erzähle mir doch noch etwas über dich. *(Ok, then tell me about yourself).*

NM: Ehm, ich bin hier geboren, aber in Deutschland getauft. *(Ehm, I was born here, but I was baptised in Germany).*

Interviewer: Ah, ok, du bist getauft. (*Ah, ok, you are baptised?)*

NM: also ja, ehm... *(ja, ehm)*

Interviewer: Katolisch? Oder evangelisch? (*Catholic or Protestant?)*

NM: Nein Evangelisch. *(No protestant)*

Interviewer: ich auch... *(me too)*

NM: Also, Lutheranisch. *(So, Lutheranerin)*

Interviewer: Ja, ich auch, cool... also gehst du in die Kirche manchmal? *(Yes, me too, cool… so you also go to church sometimes?)*

NM: Ja, ich gehe jeden Sonntag in die Kirche*. (Yes, I go to church every Sunday).*

Interviewer: Auch noch morgens, Samstags, Samstagsschule und Sonntags Kirche. *(And also in the morning, Saturday, Saturday school and Sundays church).*

NM: Laughs.

Interviewer: Das ist ja wie bei mir zu hause, ich musste auch jeden Sonntag in die Kirche. *(That's like when I was growing up, I had to go to church every Sunday).*

NM: Aber, ehm, am Anfang, also als ich klein war störte mich das und ich mochte es nicht, und ich wollte es auch nicht zugeben in der Schule, aber jetzt, ehm, finde ich es interessant. (*But, ehm, in the beginning, so when I was little, it did bother me, and I didn't like to go, and I didn't want my friends to know that I would be going to church, but now, ehm, I am finding it interesting)*

Interviewer: Warum wolltest du es nicht zugeben? *(Why did you not want others to know?)*

NM: Ich war immer die einzige die es machte und deshalb wollte ich es nicht zugeben. Aber jetzt stoert mich das icht mehr, und ich geb es zu, und ich finde es interessant und wichtig in die Kirche zu gehen. *(I always was the only one that went to church and that's why I didn't want anyone else to know. But now, it doesn't bother me anymore, and I tell my others, and I am finding it interesting and important to go to church.)*

Interviewer: Und in welche Kirche geht ihr? *(And in which church are you going?)*

NM: Ehm, die heisst ‚the free church', also ich finde sie ist eine sehr gute Kirche. *(Ehm, it is called, free church, I believe it is a really good church.)*

Interviewer: Ist das eine deutsche Kirche? (*Is it a German church?)*

NM: Nein, es ist eine englische Kirche, aber der ehm, der Minister ist sehr nett, und er macht es auch so das es jeder verstehe kann und ehm, auch bringt er Sachen da rein, die auch die Kinder verstehen koennen, also, damit alle ein größeres Verständnis dafür haben, das finde ich sehr gut. *(No, it really is a protestant church, but ehm, the minister is really nice, and he makes it so that everyone can understand it and ehm, he also includes things that children understand, so that everyone has got a better understanding. I like it.)*

Interviewer: Danke, dass du das mit mir geteilt hast. Also, was gibt es noch, ehm du hast eine Schwester, ne? (*Thanks for sharing this with me. So, what else is there, ehm, you have a sister, right?)*

NM: Ja, ich habe zwei Schwestern, also eine ist in Katja's Klasse und die andere ist noch zwei Klassen unter ihr. (*Yes, I have two sisters, so one is in Katja's class and the other one is two years below her).*

Interviewer: Und wie sprecht ihr untereinander? *(and how do you speak between each other?)*

NM: ehm, es ist eigentlich eine Kombination aus Englisch und Deutsch. Also, A, die jüngste spricht besser Englisch, aufjeden fall, ehm, und man merkt es ihr auch an, dass sie es schwieriger findet, ehm auf Deutsch zu reden, weil dann tut sie manchmal englische Woerter rein, sowie litrallich... wie literally. (*Ehm, it is actually a combination of English and German. So, A, the youngest speaks better English, in any case, ehm, and you can also see, that she finds it harder to speak German, because sometimes she adds English words like 'litrallich'.. like literally.) – family language*

Interviewer: Interessant, erzähle mir mehr darüber. *(interesting, tell me more about this).*

NM: Ja, wir haben manche solche Wörter, die sie sich ausdenkt, und ehm Amelie spricht relativ gut beides, aber auch leichter Englisch, und macht es auch oefter, waehrend ich bin, ich spreche Englisch besser, aber nachdem ich in Deutschland war, bin ich besser in Deutsch, und ehm, wenn ich mit meinen Schwestern rede, dann versuche ich eher Deutsch zu reden, damit wir, ehm... also ich möchte es nicht verlieren, und ich möchte, dass es genauso gut ist wie mein Englisch. Weil ich finde es wichtig zwei Sprachen zu sprechen, dass ist ne richtig coole Sache. Und ehm, ja aber untereinander reden wir meistens ein Misch-Masch aus Deutsch und English. *(Yes, we do have such words at times, that she makes up, and ehm, Amelie speaks both languages relatively good, but also finds English easier, and speaks it more often, unlike I am, I speak English better, but whenever I come back from Germany, my German is better, and ehm, when I talk to my sisters, then I try to speak German, so that we, ehm… so I don't want to lose my German, and I want it to be as good as my English. Because I believe it is important to be able to speak two languages, that's a real cool thing. And ehm, yes, but when we're together we speak a mix of English and German). – family language*

Interviewer: Interessant und mit deiner Mama sprichst du nur Deutsch? *(Interesting, and with your mother you speak German?)*

NM: Ja mit meiner Mutter nur Deusch und das ist eh schon immer so gewesen, also wenn ich mit ihr Englisch rede, also, wenn meine Freunde da sind, dann ist das so richtig komisch. *(Yes, with my mother I only speak German and it's always been this way, so if I speak English with her, I mean, when we have friends around, then it is a bit awkward).* – *family language*

Interviewer: Also, was meinst du mit komisch? *(So what do you mean with awkward)?*

NM: Also, mit meinem Vater rede ich nur Englisch, obwohl er auch Deutscher ist, ehm weil es ehm, dadurch können wir halt beide Sprachen gleich gut. *(So, with my dad, I only speak English, although he is German, because ehm, through him we can speak both languages equally good).* – *importance of relations*

Interviewer: Ja, das hatte mir dein Vater schon erklärt. Ok, ich denke du musst zurueck in die Klasse. Ehm danke. Danke fuer Deine Zeit. *(Yes, your dad had explained this to me already. Ok, I think you have to go back to your class. Thank you for your time).*

Appendix F: First Round Coding & Second Round Coding

Table 8: First round coding – from codes to categories (Post-structural Discourse Analysis) - Deductive

Research Question	Category	Example
Overarching RQ		
What kind of LI do young people attending a German Saturday school construct or negotiate?	Category 1: **Confronting and Resisting Language Ideologies**	Students' creative meaning making (translanguaging space), pushing boundaries between named languages
Mesosytem	Category 2: **Confronting Power and Authority Structures**	Resisting and changing power structures
Sub-questions a) What role does the German Saturday School play in these constructions? Macrosystem (Power Relations)	Category 1: **Ideologies (Language)** Category 2: **Power and Authority Structures** Category 3: **Pedagogical Constraints**	Parents' biographies, teachers' biographies Parents' expectations, A-Level syllabus (competence), monolingual mindset Lesson planning, A-Level syllabus, classroom management
b) What role(s) do organic linguistic repertoires play in these constructions? What kind of languages, styles, accents, registers, linguistic practices are involved? Microsystem, as shaped through Macrosystem	Category 1: **Linguistic Repertoires** Category 2: **Ideologies around Languages**	Learning experience, biography, transnational experience Language learning experience, parents' biographies, students' biographies experience

Source: *Fieldnote/Interview data*

Appendix F: Table 9:

Second-round coding for working with Linguistic Repertoires and Identities: From Categories to Themes

Research Question **How can we understand students' Identity construction through organic linguistic repertoires?**	**Microsystem** **Theme: Biography**	**Mesosystem** **Theme: Creative Language Use**	**Macrosystem** **Theme: Experiences &Language Use**
a) Category; organic linguistic repertoires	1. Importance of relations 2. Students' biographies (migration, out of school activities) 3. Popular culture	1. Encouraging Creativity 2. Secret Languages/Family Languages	1. Political climate – Discourse around Languages (varieties etc) 2. Local factors (A-level syllabus) - Educational Discourse 3. Teachers' beliefs (e.g. constructed through political climate in East-Germany, own migration biography) -Culture
b) Complex identities	1. Understanding own biography (language portraits) – self-perceptions	1. Use of humour	1. Confronting and resisting power and authority structures 2. Confronting and resisting language ideologies

Table 9: Source: Fieldnote/Interview data

Appendix G: Table 11 Findings

RESEARCH QUESTION	**ANSWER (FINDINGS)**
WHAT KIND OF LI DO YOUNG PEOPLE IN A GERMAN SATURDAY SCHOOL CONSTRUCT OR NEGOTIATE? INTERPLAY OF MICRO, MARCO & MESO-SYSTEM	Complex, fluid Instead of bilingual- plurilingual Some aspects hidden in classroom discourse Contest school language ideologies Influenced by German history, popular culture, culture Creative-meaning makers
RQ SUB- ROLE OF GERMAN SATURDAY SCHOOL AND WIDER DISCOURSES (EDUCATIONAL, HISTORICAL ETC.) ***MACRO-SYSTEM***	Flexibility in terms of language use negotiated through teacher's experience, biography, beliefs, repertoires Language practices partly influenced by A-Level syllabus, parent's expectations Shaped student's knowledge of German as a language and culture Safe space helping students' to explore a variety of identity options
FIRST SUB-QUESTION: HOW CAN WE UNDERSTAND STUDENTS' IDENTITIES THROUGH ORGANIC LINGUISTIC REPERTOIRES?	Through language portrait work *Language learning experiences shape OLR and respectively identity* Languages, language varieties, strongly associated with identity and status – unpick the beliefs that have shaped young people's views on e.g. language varieties

RESEARCH QUESTION	ANSWER (FINDINGS)
MICRO-SYSTEM	Diverse OLR linked to family out of school practices and popular culture Through Observations/Interviews Factors shaping language practices e.g. teacher's beliefs, her beliefs about languages, language learning in general, personal experiences
ROLE OF ORGANIC LINGUISTIC REPERTOIRES IN THESE CONSTRUCTIONS (2ND SUB-QUESTION). ***MICRO-SYSTEM***	Bonds with friends, positioning in wider discourses e.g. through secret languages (at school) Languages, language varieties, dialects, accents associated with identity and status
WHAT KIND OF LINGUISTIC PRACTICES ARE INVOLVED? 3RD SUB-QUESTION ***MESO-SYSTEM***	Dynamic/flexible bilingualism as linguistic classroom practice Translation work- Translanguaging Translanguaging practices (unconsciously) Negotiated/ constructed through teacher's repertoire as well as the young people's repertoires

Table 11: Findings

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