Working Papers in

Urban Language & Literacies

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Abstract

There are now over 1 million pupils in UK schools who speak English as an additional language (EAL). In intensely diverse contexts such as London this has thrown up new hybrid ways of using language. Rather than languages living neatly side by side, they mix and mingle, with individuals drawing on two or more languages at once as they communicate and express themselves. This phenomenon is referred to as "plurilingualism" in the *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages* (Council of Europe, 2001). The educational and creative potential of plurilingualism goes largely untapped within mainstream schools and cultural initiatives which tend to channel young people into using one language at a time. The goal may be multilingualism, but this is pursued through monolingual learning experiences.

Multilingual Creativity is about engaging positively with the reality of plurilingualism and is an umbrella term for the current range of projects and research across schools, arts/cultural organisations and universities, which grapple with celebrating, drawing a dividend from and further developing such linguistic skills. This report presents findings from a review[1] of current practice, identifying five key principles associated with successful projects in *Multilingual Creativity*. Each of the main sections in the report is divided into a practical explanation based around an example project, and a theoretical perspective which highlights a related concept drawn from sociolinguistic and educational research and explains its potential use for practitioners on the ground. This report contributes to a wider endeavour of sharing insights, models and theoretical approaches amongst the different partners involved in *Multilingual Creativity* projects, in order to promote greater collaboration and constitute a more joined-up sector.

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[1] This review was sponsored by the Economic and Social Research Council and carried out by Sam Holmes (Centre for Language Discourse and Communication, King's College London) in collaboration with the Gulbenkian Foundation and the Free Word Centre.

Introduction

Dominant paradigms of language teaching tend to envisage monolingual contexts: English as an Additional Language (EAL) is for accessing the school curriculum in English; Modern Foreign Languages (MFL) are for functional encounters with non-English-speaking foreigners; Community Languages often stake out a defensive space with the intention of equipping second and third generation immigrants to use their parents' or grandparents' language *instead of* English in family or community settings. These paradigms reflect a common assumption about how languages are used, what Jørgensen et al. (2011) refer to as the 'monolingual norm'. According to this understanding, '[i]ndividuals may be so-called "multilinguals", but their behavior at any given time should be "monolingual"' (p33). Languages each have their own place and time, and any mixing or hybridisation is beyond the realm of "normal" practice. In contrast to this, Jørgensen et al. describe a 'polylingualism norm[2]', whereby:

> 'Language users employ whatever linguistic features are at their disposal to achieve their communicative aims as best they can, regardless of how well they know the involved languages; this entails that the language users may know - and use - the fact that some of the features are perceived by some speakers as not belonging together.' (p34)

This encompasses a vast range of linguistic behaviours, from a reviewer describing a new restaurant as possessing "a certain *je ne sais quoi*", to a second generation British-Pakistani teenager judiciously switching to Urdu when asking his Grandmother for extra pocket money.

This complex reality of how we use language can pose a challenge for educators seeking clearly defined linguistic structures and rules to impart to their students. This is an area where collaboration between teachers and arts practitioners can be fruitful. A teacher's approach can be very focused on building. It often starts with planning out the edifice of knowledge and skills a child needs according to the prescriptions of the curriculum, then takes stock of what foundations they already have, before using all this to design the scaffolding required to support the next bricks. Vygotsky's (1978) notion of the 'zone of proximal development' (ZPD) has been very influential in forming this approach. The ZPD is the area of activity which a child can undertake *with support*, as opposed to tasks the child has already mastered or activities which are completely beyond their current ability. Vygotsky recommends focusing on the ZPD as the most efficient space for learning and development to take place. When this concept is taken up within the pressurised environment of teaching, it can lead to a strong emphasis on outcomes. There is a perceived necessity to have a very clear vision of the edifice of knowledge and skills which a child must attain, in order to map out what they have, and have not, already mastered. The approach of arts practitioners can be quite different and often starts with an element of destruction. Those foundations a child has can be a prison of limited and limiting conceptualisations which stymie creative potential. Once this is exposed children are empowered to become architects as well as brick-layers. Arvon's *(M)Other Tongues*[3] creative writing courses provide a good example of this, as participants are encouraged to prioritise expressing their ideas over employing conventions of literacy.

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[2] Broadly the same phenomenon is referred to as "plurilingualism" in the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (Council of Europe, 2001).
[3] http://www.arvon.org/schools/mother-tongues/

The children hop from one language to another, drifting in and out of conventional spelling, in order to get their stories out in the best way they know how. Rather than limiting their narratives to the words and concepts they can express in one standard language, the children disregard these restrictions and write stories which reflect their own individual linguistic repertoires. The resulting narratives are both more complex and more detailed than the texts the children produce when limited to what they can write in one standard language.

For multilingual learners, the opportunity to connect with their full linguistic repertoire is about more than writing good stories. It is both a social and educational necessity. Freire and Macedo (1987) point out that '[o]nly those who have power can decide what constitutes "literacy"' (p18), highlighting the disempowerment that students with non-standard (and in the UK non-English) literacies experience in formal learning contexts. Legitimising these literacies can therefore contribute to the empowering of multilingual learners. Cummins (2000) specifically advocates a focus on 'critical language awareness', whereby students are encouraged to 'compare and contrast their languages' (p98) and investigate 'the status of different language varieties and power relations associated with language policies and practices'. Underpinning this is Cummins' conviction that 'knowledge generation' (p50) and 'identity negotiation' are 'two sides of the same coin'. Although multilingualism carries the potential for cognitive benefits, multilingual learners need to have their language skills legitimised in order to take full advantage of them. Anderson and Chung (2011) suggest that creativity has a particular role to play here, both drawing on and boosting the 'greater flexibility of thought' (p552) multilingual learners are credited with. Considering the figure of 1 million pupils in UK schools who have EAL, this suggests huge potential for creativity. However, engaging with this can be a daunting prospect for educators and arts facilitators inculcated with the 'monolingualism norm'. Projects which connect with *Multilingual Creativity* provide a way forward, demonstrating successful strategies for engaging with plurilingualism.

This report sets out five principles which have emerged from a review of successful projects in the field of *Multilingual Creativity*:

1. Plurilingualism over monolingual usage
   - An openness to hybrid practices – the use of different "languages" within the same utterance or activity.
2. Exuberant smatterings over fluency
   - "Bits of language" as opposed to "fluency" as a legitimate goal in language learning.
3. Reflexive exploration over linguistic "common sense"
   - Participants' own language practices are a focus of enquiry.
4. Collaborative endeavour over individualisation
   - Collaborative activities draw on the pooling of repertoires within the group.
5. Investment over "immersion"
   - Genuine desire to participate is fostered, instead of a reliance on "immersion" through the interdiction of English.

While individual projects do not necessarily engage with all of these at once, they provide a useful framework for understanding what successful initiatives in *Multilingual Creativity* can look like.

Principle 1: Plurilingualism over monolingual usage

An openness to hybrid practices – the use of different "languages" within the same utterance or activity.

Example project

**Critical Connections – Multilingual Digital Storytelling
(Goldsmiths, University of London)**

Goldsmiths University's Critical Connections project on multilingual digital storytelling (MDST), supported by the Paul Hamlyn Foundation, involves pupils from a range of language supplementary schools in the UK, as well as schools in other countries. Pupils create and share short films, choosing their own topic under a suggested overarching theme such as 'Journeys' or 'Inside out'. Within these, pupils draw on their full *linguistic repertoires* (see explanation below), blending English and the other language they are studying as they see fit. In the supplementary school setting pupils may be: i) British-born with very little knowledge of the "community language"; ii) recent arrivals in the UK and fairly new to English; or iii) anywhere in between these poles. The open format of MDST allows them to engage fully both with the creative endeavour and with their broader linguistic skill set.

Two films, *Making Profiteroles* and *Fariz' Freeze Dance Story*, by students from the Arabic Peace School, showcased on the Critical Connections website[4] exemplify the range of linguistic strategies this approach makes available. Although at first glance the films appear to be essentially "in Arabic" with English subtitles, careful viewing reveals the language use

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[4] https://goldsmithsmdst.wordpress.com/showcase/peace-school-showcase/

to be more complex. The films make use of multiple visual and audio formats for presenting language, including captions, subtitles and voiceovers. The majority of both films consist of spoken Arabic with English as well as Arabic subtitles, but this is not straightforward translation. The Arabic is at times more detailed than the English, and there are other sections where English goes untranslated. In *Making Profiteroles* for example, the English caption "You are what you eat…" appears with no Arabic translation, while backing music in *Fariz' Freeze Dance Story* is in English, these features apparently requiring no further explanation. These diverse strategies suggest that the films, beyond simply putting across a narrative simultaneously in two languages, are actually providing a means of voicing the way multilingual learners experience and take up languages: at times directly translating; at other moments simplifying or elaborating in more detail as they transfer between languages. Some of the Arabic narration in *Fariz' Freeze Dance Story* was clearly a challenge for the presenter, and in parts he mimes along to the voiceover. This shows how the film format allows for linguistic tasks to be broken down and reassembled, enabling students to bring in parts of their repertoire that they may not otherwise have the confidence to expose.

Vicky Macleroy, Senior Lecturer in English in Education at Goldsmiths, sees MDST's refusal to sit neatly within any of the monolingual paradigms (EAL, MFL, Community Languages) as its major strength. Rather than being a tool in the service of monolingual language acquisition, MDST puts the individual and their creative vision first. This project legitimises plurlingualism, giving students an opportunity to enlist their full linguistic repertoire within a creative endeavour.

Theoretical perspective

'Linguistic Repertoire'

The 'polylingualism norm' (Jørgensen et al., 2011) outlined in the introduction, describes a situation where individuals have access to words, phrases and concepts from a range of languages. Although these linguistic resources might be categorised within dictionaries and textbooks as "belonging to" specific languages, they are drawn on by individuals in much more fluid and hybrid ways. Rather than being rigidly segmented within an individual's mind, they contribute to a common 'linguistic repertoire'. Blommaert and Rampton (2011) define this concept as referring to:

> 'individuals' very variable (and often rather fragmentary) grasp of a plurality of differentially shared styles, registers and genres, which are picked up (and maybe then partially forgotten) within biographical trajectories that develop in actual histories and topographies' (p6).

Individuals pick up different bits of language at home, at school and in other contexts, all of which combine to form their linguistic repertoire. The linguistic repertoire of a young Londoner might include:
- a growing knowledge of Standard English literacy picked up at school;
- a vernacular London English used with friends and siblings, including elements of a London Jamaican Creole;
- some spoken conversational Arabic picked up from grandparents, reinforced during occasional extended trips to Tunisia;
- a reading knowledge of Koranic Arabic studied at the mosque;

- some knowledge of an adapted "text speak" Arabic employing Roman script, used on social media;
- snippets of French studied as MFL, alongside snippets of Tunisian-inflected French picked up from grandparents;
- greetings, insults and other short phrases in a range of languages picked up from multilingual peers.

The Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR) (Council of Europe, 2001) distinguishes between multilingualism as 'the co-existence of different languages in a given society' (p4) and 'plurilingualism' whereby individuals build up 'a communicative competence to which all knowledge and experience of language contributes and in which languages interrelate and interact' (p4). The notion of a 'linguistic repertoire' captures this sense of various linguistic ingredients contributing to a common skill set. The multilingual classroom then does not just involve languages cohabiting within the same space, they cohabit and mingle within individuals and within interactions between individuals. MDST provides students with an opportunity to engage creatively with the full spectrum of their own linguistic repertoire.

Principle 2: Exuberant smatterings over fluency

"Bits of language" as opposed to "fluency" as a legitimate goal in language learning.

Example Project

Felix und Franzi (Goethe Institut)

Felix and Franzi are part of a set of German language learning resources produced by the Goethe Institut aimed at primary schools. Felix (a frog) and Franzi (a duck) are hand puppets which live inside a German post-box provided to each classroom as part of the scheme. These animals emerge from the post-box when the pupils sing a special German song. During these German lessons, the animals "whisper" to the teacher "in German", who then translates these messages into English for the pupils. When pupils want to speak directly to the animals they must use German, and so are motivated to draw on the German phrases presented in clips and other materials within the resource packs. Although this "whispering" and translating technique was developed to deal with the shortage of primary teachers sufficiently fluent to deliver in German, it has a useful educational consequence: pupils are motivated to use snippets of German due to the "real" (albeit fictional) communicative situations facilitated by the puppets.

Traditionally, the concept of "role play" has heavily influenced how speaking activities are organised in MFL classrooms. Assessed role plays

form a significant part of MFL GCSE final assessments, and so this structure is often worked into classroom activities right from the start in order to prepare students to achieve highly within this format. Students are rewarded for reproducing particular grammatical constructions and making use of a wide range of language, whilst maintaining accuracy and confidence in their delivery. The core principle underpinning role play is that this continuous conversation is all carried out *within the target language*. This links back to the point in the introduction about the 'monolingual norm' (Jørgensen et al., 2011) wherein the objective of language learning could be seen as gaining sufficient fluency to facilitate *monolingual* interaction. The Felix und Franzi model allows for something quite different: interaction through snippets of German, also employing English as a legitimate tool. Rather than memorising chunks of language to be reproduced as a demonstration of "fluency", pupils confronted with Felix and Franzi use exuberant snippets of German in their desire to communicate with the puppets.

Theoretical perspective

'Linguistic resources'

Mainstream models of language teaching tend to envisage a progression towards "fluency". In accordance with the 'monolingual norm' (Jørgensen et al., 2011), the goal is to be able to engage in monolingual interaction in the language being studied. This goal sets a very high bar for learners and overlooks the great potential for making use of snippets of language right from the start.

An alternative approach is to legitimise the reality of how individuals incorporate features associated with various languages. Blommaert (2013) notes, '[p]eople do not use "Languages", they use *resources* for communication' (p4, original emphasis). These 'resources' (vocabulary, linguistic concepts, styles and genres) could be drawn from a range of "Languages", depending on the experience of the individual. An individual's combined resources comprise their 'repertoire' (see Principle 1). A focus on 'resources' as opposed to 'languages' carries implications for the language classroom. Rather than casting learners as struggling through the foothills in a grand ascent towards eventual "fluency", they are empowered from day one to be adding 'resources' to their global 'repertoire'. Snippets of languages which learners acquire do not have to be banked for future use in "fluent" monolingual interactions. Instead, learners can employ their new knowledge from day one, incorporating it into their repertoire for use alongside other linguistic resources. This is already the state of play amongst multilingual school students, who are often eager and comfortable to borrow resources such as greetings (and expletives) from the "home" languages of their peers.

Principle 3: Reflexive exploration over linguistic "common sense"

Participants' own language practices are a focus of enquiry.

Example Project

The London Wordscape Project (Gulbenkian Foundation)

The London Wordscape Project consisted of a series of multilingual creative writing courses funded by the Gulbenkian Foundation. Modelled on Arvon's residential '(M)Other Tongues' programme, these school-based courses involved workshops where students could use English alongside their "home" language to complete creative writing activities. An explicit feature of these courses was the exploration of students' linguistic repertoires. The following description of a course for Chinese students in a Haringey secondary school exemplifies this:

> 'The workshops were slotted into an existing after-school Mandarin GCSE course for six "native speakers" and I ran the sessions jointly with Lee Yee, a Mandarin and Cantonese language teacher. At the beginning of the second workshop I drew a large Venn diagram on the board, the left-hand circle labelled "English", and the right-hand circle labelled "汉语" (Mandarin). I then provided each student with a series of different coloured post-it notes: three greens for them to label with the names of their three closest friends; three pinks for their closest family members; three oranges for their favourite singers, three blues for their favourite

places, and so on. The idea was they then stuck these up on the appropriate region of the Venn diagram. If they generally interacted with or associated something or someone with English then it would go on the left, if Mandarin then on the right, if a mixture then in the cross-over section in the middle. The outside of the diagram was reserved for things or people associated with "other languages". I had run this activity several times with other language groups and it always generated a lot of interest, typically showing that music was often an Anglophone thing while food definitely was not. Family members tended to drift from right to left as you moved down the generations. However, on this occasion a good half of the post-its ended up outside of the circles. When I asked the students about this it turned out that all of them were from the same city in China, Fujian, and they conducted a large part of their lives in what they called "Fujian dialect". These students were also fluent in Mandarin, and so were making the most of the GCSE course on offer, but it was a stretch to call this their "community language".'
(Holmes, 2015, p6-7)

The example above highlights how standardised, named languages do not account for the diversity of linguistic repertoires amongst actual language users. By prompting learners to reflect on their repertoires they can be encouraged to think about the full range of linguistic resources (see Principle 2) they have access to, as well as the labels and connotations attached to these. The fact that the "Fujian dialect" speakers described above found themselves in a Mandarin class links to the political and economic clout which Mandarin wields, rather than to its primacy in their day-to-day lives. The Venn diagram exposed the more complex linguistic ecology these students operate in, mapping out the potential linguistic resources they could bring to bear on their creative endeavours. Rather than giving students the choice of writing "in Mandarin" or "in English", they were encouraged to combine whichever linguistic resources they felt best for the job at hand.

Theoretical perspective

'Language ideologies'

There's an old adage of ambiguous provenance, well-known amongst sociolinguists, that "a language is a dialect with an army and a navy". This captures the traditionally strong correlation between political power and linguistic recognition. Part of getting students to reflect on their linguistic repertoire and the choices they make in relation to it, is thinking about the connotations attached to the languages they have access to. These connotations can be understood as 'language ideologies', what Kroskrity (2004) describes as a 'ubiquitous set of diverse beliefs, however implicit or explicit they may be, used by speakers of all types as models for constructing linguistic evaluations and engaging in communicative activity' (p497). These beliefs shape how we understand what it means to use a particular language, so while for many in the UK French may carry associations of sophistication, Punjabi has been associated with a 'threat to "Britishness"' (Blackledge, 2002). This also operates at the level of different varieties, with Standard English occupying a privileged position over other forms. However, George Osborne's apparent use of Estuary English to demonstrate solidarity when talking to supermarket staff in Kent (see Masters, 2013) shows that language ideologies are complex and tightly bound up with the context in which language is used.

Gal and Irvine (1995) identify three key processes underpinning the operation of language ideologies: iconicity, recursiveness and erasure. *Iconicity* refers to the way language can be

seen as an iconic representation of its speakers, 'as if a linguistic feature somehow depicted or displayed a social group's inherent nature or essence' (p973). An example of this is the idea that German has particularly complex grammar, representative of a supposed predilection for rationality on the part of Germans. *Recursiveness* involves 'the projection of an opposition, salient at some level of relationship, onto some other level' (p974). Beaudrie and Fairclough (2012) give the example of the opposition between English and other languages in the USA, writing that 'all non-English languages are seen as suspect, but distinctions are made among different languages, with Spanish seen as particularly un-American and dangerous' (p1955). Not only is there a hierarchical relationship *between* English and 'all non-English languages', this hierarchy is also echoed *within* the 'all non-English languages' category. *Erasure* refers to the large scale brushing-under-the-carpet of anything which contradicts the notions outlined above. Although conveniently simple conceptions such as "national character" and "dangerous languages" can be challenged by examining how people actually behave, they still underpin "common sense" ideas about language. Highlighting the ideological nature of these assumptions can provide a way into legitimising an individual's full linguistic repertoire. John Agard (2004) engages with this in his poem 'Listen Mr Oxford Don', which includes the lines:

> 'I ent have no gun
> I ent have no knife
> but mugging de Queen's English
> is the story of my life'

Critical reflection on linguistic "common sense" can enable young people to follow in Agard's footsteps and make their own choices about how they want to use language.

Principle 4: Collaborative endeavour over individualisation

Collaborative activities which draw on the pooling of repertoires within the group.

Example project

Translation Nation (Stephen Spender Trust and Eastside Education)[5]

Translation Nation, developed by the Stephen Spender Trust and Eastside Educational Trust, engages with the diverse linguistic repertoires present in urban classrooms. The primary strand of this project entails 3 days of workshops, usually with Year 5 pupils, where stories are brought in from home in other languages and translated as a collective endeavour. Pupils work in

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[5] http://www.stephen-spender.org/translation_nation.html

mixed groups, perhaps only one of them with any knowledge of the original language of the story. It is this person's job to explain the sense of the tale to the others, then they all have a role in finding the best ways to say this in English. The vast majority of the work is focused on this stage, articulating the story in English. Children discuss the appropriate tone and how to render the voices of particular characters. They pool their knowledge of a range of English registers, creating translations where a Chinese emperor may speak in the Queen's English, or where a group of Egyptian children communicate in the repertoire of young Brixtonians. Unlike traditional language teaching models which focus on an individual learner's progression towards fluency, this project focuses on collaborative creative output drawing on a pooling of skills.

## *Theoretical perspective*

'Conviviality'

The notion of collaborative endeavour is a direct recognition of the complex and hybrid communities present in UK schools. Rather than segregating into neatly bounded ethnolinguistic blocks, young people mix and mingle in their interactions and associations at school. Gilroy (2004) describes 'convivial metropolitan cultures of the country's young people' (p232) rooted in 'factors of identity and solidarity that derive from class, gender, sexuality and region'. Language and ethnicity then are not necessarily preeminent identifiers which keep groups apart. A London schoolchild may feel more direct attachment to their local area and its inhabitants, than the country of birth of their parents. Young people get absorbed into local ways of being, and these can have a stronger pull than ethnolinguistic heritage. Indeed, Gilroy points to second and third generation immigrants whose 'local sense of entitlement leaves them reluctant to make common cause against racism and xenophobia with more recently arrived refugees and asylum seekers' (p238). Any affiliations on the basis of "community language" or ethnic minority status occur within a local context, and this local element cannot be ignored. Many young people see themselves first and foremost as English-speaking Londoners, with other linguistic and ethnic ties slotting in within this. The taking up of these ties may also fluctuate from situation to situation, embraced at times and disavowed at others. A London-born child of Somali parents may play up their Somaliness to claim association with Mo Farah's latest sporting success, but play it down when confronted with a new classmate, freshly arrived from Mogadishu with limited English and at the bottom of the social pecking order at school. Engaging with young people on the level of language then requires an acknowledgement of their interconnectedness as a peer group, not a forced fragmentation into supposed "community" groupings. The collaboration involved in Translation Nation draws on the different repertoires in the group, whilst simultaneously recognising their locally rooted common language of English.

Principle 5: Investment over "immersion"

Genuine desire to participate is fostered, instead of a reliance on "immersion" through the interdiction of English.

Example project

Languages Challenge (Capital L Routes into Languages)[6]
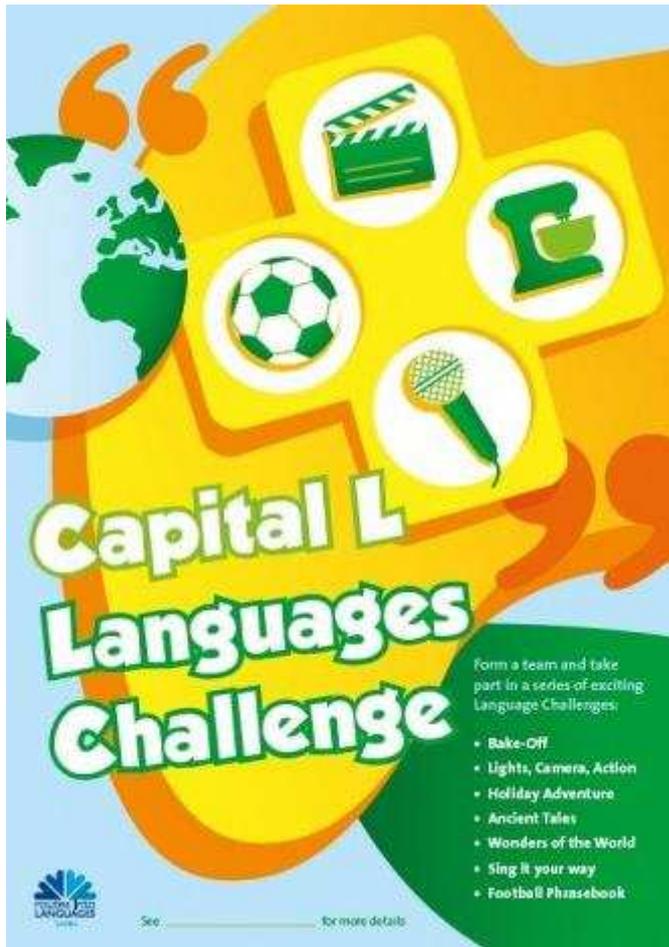
The Languages Challenge, organised by Capital L Routes into Languages, is a national competition where teams of students complete 6 creative activities involving different languages. These range from recording and translating an oral story from another language to researching and presenting an athlete from another country in that athlete's own language. These tasks bring in a range of skills, from film-making and poster design to interviewing and translating.

The project promotes *investment* through its emphasis on student choice and creativity. Participants have a high level of autonomy, able to form their own teams, select which activities they will complete and decide for themselves which languages to use and what format to present each response in. The activities are not only varied but also open-ended enough to allow participants to customise their responses, drawing on their own particular interests. In the 'Lights, Camera, Action' task for example, participants choose a scene from any sitcom, film or factual programme and re-enact it in another language. The choice of content and language is completely up to them, and this level of ownership of the process stimulates investment in the outcome. Unlike in an environment of enforced "immersion", learning is facilitated through ownership as opposed to conformism. Participants do not *have to* use another language, they *choose to* in order to fulfil a creative brief.

Theoretical perspective

'Democratic creativity'

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[6] https://www.routesintolanguages.ac.uk/london/activity/4097

The report 'All Our Futures: Creativity, Culture and Education' (1999) from the National Advisory Committee on Creative and Cultural Education (NACCCE) sets out a definition of 'democratic creativity' which 'recognises the potential for creative achievement in all fields of human activity; and the capacity for such achievements in the many and not the few' (p30). This is in direct contrast to the 'sectoral definition' which is directly linked to 'creative arts' and 'creative industries' (p28) and the 'élite definition' which 'focuses on the great men and women who have produced or made path-breaking compositions, paintings, inventions or theories' (p28). Creativity can therefore be seen as relevant across the full range of disciplines and scales of activity. This is particularly important considering the significance it can hold for learners. As the NACCCE write, '[w]hen individuals find their creative strengths, it can have an enormous impact on self-esteem and on overall achievement' (p6). Democratic creativity can therefore provide one useful way into the kind of investment in learning outlined above.

Creativity cannot be reduced to just "using your imagination". The NACCCE (1999) write:

> 'Creativity is not simply a matter of letting go. Serious creative achievement relies on knowledge, control of materials and command of ideas. Creative education involves a balance between teaching knowledge and skills, and encouraging innovation.' (p6)

They identify four key characteristics behind creative activity:
i.   imagination
ii.   purpose
iii.   originality
iv.   value

Creativity is therefore defined as: '**Imaginative activity fashioned so as to produce outcomes that are both original and of value.**' (p30, original emphasis)

Central to this type of endeavour is a temporary muting of critical voices. The NACCCE write:

> 'Deferment of judgment is an invaluable element as we produce ideas and then stretch them and connect them imaginatively as far as they can go. Although there is always a stage, maybe many stages, where critical appraisal is necessary, if only to assess coherence and relate ideas to evidence, practicability, utility and audience response, generative thinking has to be given time to flower. At the right time and in the right way, rigorous critical appraisal is essential. At the wrong point, criticism and the cold hand of realism can kill an emerging idea.' (p34)

Appropriate time and space are therefore required in order to foster creativity. The pressures of a "language immersion" environment could work against this if they inhibit expression. Craft (2001) writes that 'creativity may be impeded where there is undue time pressure, over-supervision, competition, or where choices are restricted and evaluation is expected' (p25). She warns of the negative impact that the 'tightening of control around both curriculum and pedagogy' (2003, p118) is having in this area. The organisation of learning is also key, and Craft raises the concern that 'where the curriculum is taught as discrete subjects, this may constrain learner and teacher creativity, in discouraging thinking about themes which cross the subject boundaries' (p119). The cross-curricular nature of the Languages Challenge is particularly useful then in promoting creativity, but this approach is not easy to replicate

within the restrictions of the curriculum. This then poses a challenge for schools and other organisations working in this area. Jeffrey & Craft (2004) highlight the central role of practitioner expertise, writing that 'the relationship between *teaching creatively* and *teaching for creativity* is an integral one. The former is inherent in the latter and the former often leads directly to the latter' (p90, original emphases). Attempting to pin down and package creative approaches for the benefit of teachers and other practitioners could therefore be something of a contradiction in terms, reducing the space for their own creative input. The value of the Languages Challenge as an example then lies in the potential for educators and arts facilitators to adapt its approach to different objectives and contexts.

Conclusion

Harris' (1997) writing on 'Romantic Bilingualism' exposes how diversity is often misunderstood within education. He describes the tendency for schools to assume homogeneity within linguistic and cultural groupings and overlook the '[s]ignificant level of claimed use of local vernacular English or multiethnic vernacular' (p20), as well as lack of expertise in, and often ambivalence or resistance to the 'putative community language' (p21). The case of "Fujian" speakers outlined in relation to Principle 3 emphasised that "community languages" are often far more complex than this label implies, both in terms of the "community" of speakers, and the actual repertoires they have access to. Within the London Wordscape Project, many of the students enjoyed using their "community language" for interaction during workshops but felt much more able to express themselves in English when it came to actually writing. What often gave them the most satisfaction was engaging with the English repertoires normally barred from formal learning environments, and the anthologies they produced contained high quality writing which drew on the kind of local multi-ethnic vernaculars described by Harris. An openness to the local, as well as the global, is therefore vital when connecting with the linguistic practices of young people.

The common thread running through the five principles outlined in this report is an alertness to this kind of complexity, both in the ethnolinguistic backgrounds of young people, and in how these play out and interact in local contexts. Vertovec (2007) has coined the term 'superdiversity' to refer to the sheer complexity behind ethnic affiliations and linguistic practices which has emerged from more recent immigration, writing that:

> 'Compared to the large-scale immigration of the 1950s – early 1970s, the 1990s – early 2000s have seen more migrants from more places entailing more socio-cultural differences going through more migration channels leading to more, as well as more significantly stratified, legal categories (which themselves have acted to internally diversify various groups), and who maintain more intensely an array of links with places of origin and diasporas elsewhere.' (p1043)

This diversity is not accounted for in public policy and Vertovec stresses the need to consider 'the conjunction of ethnicity with a range of other variables when considering the nature of various "communities", their composition, trajectories, interactions and public service needs' (p1025). While traditional multicultural approaches in the UK have sought to promote 'tolerance and respect for collective identities' (p1027), this has often entailed a fair amount of pigeon-holing. Vertovec emphasises both the demographic diversity within foreign-born groups, and the variety of ways that they maintain links with people and territories beyond the UK. Individuals do not belong to neatly bounded communities, and nor do languages.

Engaging with superdiversity and the complex linguistic configurations it throws up may seem a daunting task, but the successes of projects outlined in this report suggest that the potential benefits are significant. Also, the issue is not a completely new one. Silverstein (2013) argues that '[w]hat […] we term the "English" language has, in fact, existed under conditions we might well term "superdiversity" since the end of the 8th century C.E.' (p7). Intermingling and hybridity are not recent phenomena, but ever-present features of routine language use. However, the rise of nationalism in the Nineteenth Century and the concomitant stress on 'national' languages has heavily influenced dominant understandings of what a language *ought to* be: standardised and shared by all those within the national territory to the exclusion of "dialects" and "foreign" languages. The challenge for projects engaging with *Multilingual Creativity* then is as much about breaking down entrenched misconceptions about language, as connecting with diverse and emergent linguistic practices. The principles set out in this report provide a starting point in this endeavour.

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