# Translation AND Translanguaging

Investigating linguistic and cultural transformations in superdiverse wards in four UK cities

**Cardiff** 







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## **Foreword**

**Professor Charles Forsdick,** AHRC Theme Leadership Fellow Translating Cultures



'Translating Cultures' is one of four thematic programmes currently supported by the Arts and Humanities Research Council (AHRC). In a world increasingly characterised by transnational mobility and globalised connections, the theme foregrounds the importance of understanding communication within, between and across diverse contexts. 'Translating Cultures' addresses this challenge by studying the role of translation, understood in its broadest sense, in the sharing and interpretation of languages, values, beliefs, histories and narratives.

The theme currently includes a portfolio of over 100 grants, focused on key concepts such as multiculturalism and multilingualism. It explores the zones within, across and between which translation occurs, and encourages understanding of the role of those intermediaries who perform translation work. Central to this activity is a cluster of three large grants, of an unprecedented scope and scale for the AHRC, to which 'Translation and Translanguaging' (TLANG) belongs. In its study of four multilingual cities, this project has made an invaluable contribution to our theme. The emphasis on translanguaging has revealed the innovative modes and practices on which everyday translation depends; the focus on co-produced research with partners from museums, libraries, law, sport and business has shown the complex linguistic ecologies of contemporary British cities. The linguistic ethnographies of 'Translation and Translanguaging' provide a striking illustration of the dynamic, creative multilingualism of the UK, reminding us of the importance of languages in everyday life, and presenting linguistic diversity as a major resource and not an impediment to social cohesion. I welcome this report, and hope that it will inspire future work in collaboration with a wide range of community partners.

# THE TLANG PROJECT

Professor Angela Creese. Principal Investigator, **TLANG Project** 





We view 'cultures' not as fixed sets of practices essential to ethnic groups, but rather as processes which change, and which may be negotiable. In multilingual communities speakers are not confined to using languages separately, but rather they 'translanguage' as they make meaning through whatever repertoires are available to them. If we are to develop the successful cities of the future it is crucial that we understand how people in superdiverse cities communicate across borders that might once have appeared prohibitive. In comprehensive. detailed accounts of interactions in four superdiverse cities, the TLANG project demonstrates how people communicate in everyday encounters with difference.

# ...THE TLANG PROJECT INVESTIGATES COMMUNICATION IN MULTILINGUAL CITIES FROM AN INTERDISCIPLINARY PERSPECTIVE.

The TLANG project investigates communication in multilingual cities from an interdisciplinary perspective. The project is a collaboration between academic researchers from a wide range of disciplines, nationally and internationally, including business, law, heritage, sports and exercise sciences, linguistics, social policy, and education. It is also a collaboration between academic researchers and networks of organisations whose user groups will benefit from outcomes of the research, including partners from museums, libraries, legal practice, sport, business, and the third sector.

Across the four cities we conducted ethnographic research in four phases. The phases were organised thematically, so that across the cities there was a common focus. The phases examined communication in sites related to business, heritage, sport, and legal advice. This shared gaze meant that the four research teams could meet together for collaborative analysis. Research sites have

included markets, corner shops, libraries, community arts, a karate club, a capoeira group, legal advice centres, and more. Linguistic ethnography is painstaking, labour-intensive work, as researchers observe and record the communicative practices of people going about their everyday lives. More than a million words of field notes have been written, hundreds of hours of audio-recordings transcribed, thousands of online and social media messages analysed, scores of interviews conducted. This report presents a summary of the findings of the research in one of the four cities.

More extensive reports are available on the TLANG website:

## www.birmingham.ac.uk/generic/tlang/publications/index.aspx

This report is highly relevant and timely as superdiverse cities are planned for the future, not only in the UK, but globally.

## **CARDIFE**

How do people who come from different backgrounds rub along when they live together in twenty-first century cities? How do the hugely varied cultures, statuses, languages, expectations, norms, abilities, fears and hopes that are united, from both aroundthe-corner and across-the-globe, intertwine? How can cities, witnessing immeasurable diversity and change, continue to thrive? The journey of the TLANG project in Cardiff has allowed insights into how people communicate in this multilingual city where such diversity and change is commonplace. To answer these question, we have been fortunate to be allowed into the lives of individuals who gave us access to their workplaces, homes and digital lives. We have travelled to vibrant, aromatic shops, hushed libraries, drizzly football pitches and transformational legal advice sessions. In these social spaces, we have watched and asked about how social life unfolds. We write and speak about what we have seen and heard in ways which we hope will capture things accurately and informatively. When we present our research, we show how we were engaged and educated, everywhere we went, and we share what we learned so that contemporary societies can better understand themselves and their futures.

The Cardiff study was based in Cathays, Roath and Splott in central Cardiff. We followed the action between these locations. Residents of the city expressed contrasting views about how multilingual and multicultural these places are. However, the research identified diversity layered on diversity. It demonstrated innovative, creative and influential ways that people used their communicative resources when they encountered others. People were not 'stuck' in isolated, separated languages and when they communicated, they were not 'stuck' in only words, writing and speaking. Speakers of Arabic were our starting point and they showed us how to examine some of the trajectories of that language as it is used in Cathays, Roath and Splott. Arabic, with its many histories, significances and uses provided a rich way to understand these places and the people we met there. We also encountered many other languages, including Welsh. As a backdrop to the study, the Welsh capital city placed multilingualism centre stage. We have observed ways in which Welsh entwines with other languages which have come to the city, including English.

Although our research uses labels like Arabic, English and Welsh, we found that people are not always constrained by these labels when communicating in speech, writing or online. In other words, we found Translanguaging as people communicated between and within languages. For us, "data" means written notes, audio and video-recordings, photographs, screen-grabs and drawings of interactions. In combination, these forms of data allowed us to consider communication not as occurrences of individual, competing languages but instead in its full, rich complexity as a flexible and ever-changing way of understanding and seeking to be understood.

We collected our data, in line with the wider project, in four phases. The first phase concerned business and, for this, we studied a shop where food and cooking equipment were sold. The second concerned heritage and, in this phase, we moved to a library complex, a melting pot, for people from different backgrounds. The third phase addressed the theme of sport which brought us to a sports coach of football, tennis and table tennis. Finally, we addressed the theme of law and joined a legal advocate who worked with destitute people who were seeking asylum. In each phase, we focussed on a key participant. These individuals provided us an entry point and focal point for each phase. All of the key participants knew some Arabic and English and all used languages in combination with one other and with other communicative resources.

Phase 1:

## THE WORLD IN A SHOP: DOING BUSINESS, DOING LANGUAGES

The shop on which we focussed in the business phase was in the heart of Cathays. Our key participants in the shop were Mr and Mrs B who jointly rented and ran the shop, staffing the counter, managing stock, supervising the butcher who also worked there and serving customers. Mr and Mrs B were, between them, in the shop for up to 12 hours each day as well as working at home.

Mr and Mrs B were from Iraq. Their customer base was broad. some customers travelling considerable distances to buy specific products. Many people brought Arabic to the shop when passing through on their way to or from the nearby Mosque, Local people brought English and Welsh when finding ingredients and students and others brought an array of languages which featured when they spoke to one another, and at the counter. This was, then, a richly multilingual environment and the multilingualism became a resource for business and social connection

Over our 16 weeks in the shop, it emerged that this place was many different things to different people

and even to the same person on different occasions. For example. sometimes a customer would come in to make a quick purchase almost silently. The items bought, shopping bags and the exchange of money became their resources to make meaning. On other occasions customers would have short, predictable conversations whilst buying. Sometimes, however, the shop counter became extremely social. People would spend several hours there, chatting with Mr and Mrs B or with the butcher who was himself a voracious language-learner and commanded five languages. Shop conversations ranged around topics from politics and war to dentists, travel and children.



Mr and Mrs B at work in the shop





Labelling products and stocking the shelves

## 09

Food was also a common focus and conversations about recipes, flavours and the memories evoked by food were a great leveller.

As well as being a simple shopping venue and a space for building social relationships with multiple people, the shop was a place to get help and solve problems. Some of this was routine, involving giving directions or providing advice about what vegetables were in season at which times of year. Some was less predictable and illustrated the extent to which the shop was embedded in a community of regular visitors. These visitors came in to borrow or store personal property, to ask for information about local amenities, to get opinions, advice or information on matters of lifestyle as impactful as marriage. Sometimes the shopkeepers too took the opportunity to ask for help and advice from those who entered the shop. Recognising these multiple functions of the shop and its intimate position in people's lives, presents "community" not as simply a collection of people who happen to live in one place nor a set of people who happen to originate from one place. Rather, community, as it came to life in the shop, was about transience and consistency as people rubbed along together. Community was something evolving, flexible and constructed by a mixture of people, purposes and ideas.





**Customers and conversations** 

## Getting help in the shop, multilingually

Customer	{  want to ask you the er sweets that   find in the shop   live in} city centre	أمرالك ال ء الجلويات الـذي الـقاها بـالـمجل أن ا مراكن - city centre
Mr B	{yes yes}	<u> </u>
Customer	{what's the name of this shop Tisco Tesco}	شام المحل هذا كيسكو كسكو
Mr B	و اي اي {ah Tesco yeah yeah}	
Customer	(the er sweets which they have) والمالي	
Mr B	{yeah}	
Customer	{er I mean can one eat them don't they have fat} like er	ي عني يقدر الواحد يالثالها ما فسيها دمون ء
Mr B	[by Allah you have to check them read them] له لازم تشریف احقراها	
Customer	په (yeah)	
Mr B	(you have to read by Allah sometimes they have and sometimes they don't so if you find it er) vegetable oil {this means} okay {and if you find it for example er} animal fat {you stay away from it like this I mean (.)} gelatine {things like this} [opens till] {there you have five ten twenty thirty forty fifty)	ئىقىرا دا يالىلە، بورات يېڭىدىن سېمەا وبىرات لىا فىباذا ئىلىقادا د vegetable oil ، يېغىزى vekay واۋا ئىلىقىدادا مىئلا ، animal fat ئىسىسىتىن جەن دا دا ئىلىقلى يېغىزى gelatine الىشىرىخىلىك دادى چىزىك خېمىرة چىمىرى ئىلىكىدىن أرسىخچىن

As well as being a space for community interactions, the shop was also a place for family. Mr and Mrs B's two children were frequent visitors after school and at weekends and the shop became an extension of family life for them and their parents on these occasions. Mrs B would quietly soothe one of her girls, stroking her hair behind the counter after a long day. The other girl would paint a wooden bird box and, for several weeks, it appeared around the shop on a shelf here or there, as a reminder of the girls even when they, themselves, were absent. The shop was also a major influence on the family's home life. Mr and Mrs B would process orders at home, Mr B sometimes dictating orders to Mrs B in English, a language she wasn't otherwise confident in. The children would play with a toy shop set and discuss their parents' work.

Ultimately, the shop closed down soon after our fieldworks ended. Rising rent and food costs, combined with people's inability to absorb these costs in higher prices, was making the business unsustainable despite hard and inventive work from Mr B to try to elicit help and advice to keep the business afloat. The shop was converted and is now student housing.

## **Key points**

- Multilingual businesses make valuable and significant contributions to society in ways which are not easily counted, acting as multifaceted community hubs:
- Multilingual businesses offer services and support to customers and other visitors which go well beyond sales;
- In transient workplaces like shops, there may be few distinctions between home and work;
- Multilingual business owners will obtain help with their enterprises in innovative ways because they find it difficult to access support with aspects of doing business which are UK-specific:
- Business is transient. City buildings shift purposes and these shifts come to characterise local places.



Family life in the shop



The shop in family life at home





The shop becomes accommodation: Changing times in Cathays

Phase 2:

# HERITAGES IN CONTACT: LIBRARIES AS INTERSECTIONS

To investigate heritage in the multilingual city, we moved to a local University's library service. Here, we worked with our key participant, Kurda, who had come to Cardiff via Manchester and Iraq having spent the first six years of her life in Iraqi Kurdistan. Kurda had made Wales her home during the preceding 20 years of her life and had been instrumental to others doing the same through her involvement in a Kurdish community organisation.

A speaker of Arabic, Kurdish Sorani and English, Kurda was close to her three adult children who each had responsible professions in different British cities. Kurda maintained close contact with family in other parts of the world too by telephone and Skype and found that contact a great comfort both when her husband was working overseas for prolonged periods and when one of her geographically remote family was taken ill. Kurda had good friends and neighbours in Cardiff and very strong relationships with her colleagues. Kurda's life was, thus, characterised by the multiplicities of heritages: heritage embodied in library work with its traditions and routines; heritage in herself and her life trajectory across continents, heritage in her family and their progress as independent adults, heritage in her family 'back home' and heritage in her friendships across spheres of her life. Her languages were woven into this tapestry with none of them confined to only one sphere.



Kurda at work in the library

The University library was itself a place of heritage. The thud of the library stamp, the hushed tones of the readers and the smell of the old volumes all contribute to the sense of libraries as special, distinctive places with particular resonances for many users. Yet this heritage was flexible and constantly reinforced and evolving through repetitive actions and interactions that took place there. This was illustrated by the more recent additions to the library scene: the bleep of the barcode scanner checking-out books; the chat of the students working together in designated collaboration zones and the banks of computer terminals providing digital resources.

Kurda

**Amal** 

Kurda

Amal

Kurda

Frances

Kurda

**Frances** I remember when it stopped

Kurda

## Nostalgia about change in the library

Customer

Mrs H Customer

Mrs H they haven't got self-issue, oh right I'll do that for you now

> [pause] okay that's going to back to the Arts and Social right let's have a look [pause] your books are all due back

today so-

Customer

Mrs H if you're in uni-

Customer got a borrowing block because there was a-

Mrs H

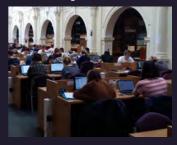
Customer

## Negotiating borrowing in the library

#### Library technologies old and new



## Different heritages in the libraries







We conducted our fieldwork in two different library buildings and heritage of a different sort was foregrounded in each although in both cases heritage was bound up with the status of the University and the centrality of libraries to University life. One of the two libraries was based in a grand, oak-clad hall. There, photographs of the room as it had been in times past greeted visitors at the entrance and the wooden furniture. panelled-decor and traditional layout dominated by rows of shelves and a silent reading room were a statement about the seat of learning. The other library claimed a different aspect of the character of the University, its progressive, forward-looking side: bright, airy and colourful, steel and glass, with books at a discrete distance and prominent space given over to collaborative study rooms. It emerged that part of the heritage of libraries involves change - changing spaces. technologies, activities and users. This change was embedded in University and, ultimately, Government policy, an institutional heritage.

This theme enabled us to consider heritage as it is embodied in people through their networks and activities and in places through their design, furnishings and norms and the activities they facilitate.

We were also very interested in heritage as a lived social process and the library afforded many opportunities to observe how heritage was constantly created and re-created through interactions in this public space. The apparatus of libraries, such as structures of return dates. fines and reminders, foster a collectivist ethos through the sharing of communal resources. This ethos is central to the tradition of libraries in Britain and is embodied in the many philanthropic Victorian libraries arrayed across Cardiff. This collective, collaborative spirit could be observed to have become brittle in the contemporary, commercial, commodified university library where student fees have created a service economy in which books, like professors, are often seen as property in new ways. Thus, conversations at the library service desk were frequently about negotiating this tension between the 'old' heritage of sharing in libraries and the 'new' influence of 'having'. Kurda's communicative skills enabled her to perform such negotiations elegantly.

## **Key points:**

- Heritage and languages combine and interweave in individuals;
- Heritage is a lens through which to recognise the value of individuals as points of contact for many different histories;
- Heritage is embodied in institutions which evolve, creating cumulative heritages, according to factors including policy and social change;
- Heritage is enacted through repetitive interactions in institutions;
- Heritage is filtered through individuals who can mediate change through their communicative practices.

Phase 3.

## **SPORT TOGETHER:** FOOTBALL CONSTRUCTING **FUTURES**

The third phase of the Cardiff TLANG project was concerned with sport. Here, we worked with a coach who we met early in the TLANG study and who had been eagerly waiting for his turn as a key participant to come around. Ahmad, who originally hailed from Sudan, had also lived in Holland before coming to Wales.

Ahmad was passionate, even evangelical, about sport, particularly its benefits in promoting health and social cohesion. He organised his time in Wales around a wide range of part-time jobs and volunteering, all involving sports coaching. In his free time, he also regularly attended a gym. He lobbied for support for sports in Sudan whenever the opportunity arose. When Ahmad had to move around the city he rarely missed an opportunity to walk. His active lifestyle would have been a model for recent Welsh legislation on staying active (e.g. the Future Generations (Wales) Act (2015)).

Our observations with Ahmad took place in three locations and in relation to two sports (football and table tennis). These are: a football class attended by pupils of 6 to 11, within the school day in a small park in the Splott area of Cardiff: a weekend football club which involved boys of 6 to 16 playing during their leisure time in a large park in Roath; and a table tennis site in the Butetown area of the city at a Friday night youth club for local teenagers. In the various locations and sport settings, English, Dutch and Arabic with a little Welsh were used by the participants as well as other languages which the boys used or were learning. The coach sometimes drew on the boy's languages deliberately to involve them fully.



Ahmad: Our sports Key Participant

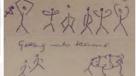
This was a site in which it was perhaps predictable that meaning would be made through means beyond the spoken. However, the diversity of other means was striking. Ahmad communicated with the boys through speech but also by blowing a whistle which was tied around his neck, through spatial gestures such as pointing, through demonstration, through conventionalised movements such as nodding, head-shaking and thumbs up and through his position on the playing field. This final means was particularly interesting. Ahmad used position to provide structure to his spoken language.

### Training together









Our notes in the sports site

He would stand here for instructions and over there for encouragement whilst moving to a third spot for more disciplinary talk.

Our work with Ahmad showed the potential for social contact through sport to create strong social bonds. We observed new class members develop as team-players and form friendships over time. We also saw the potential of sport to dismantle divisions which can arise when languages are not shared. In Splott, a new member arrived who knew little English. The group's shared orientation to a collective task rendered this largely irrelevant: the group functioned and attained their goals irrespective of language. The coach's ability to involve the boy supplemented the effects of this sharing.

Sport was, then, transformational. It transformed the players who developed not only physical skills and fitness but also their ability to work with others, to think strategically and to persuade. The engaging use of multiple languages and other ways of making meaning appeared to be instrumental to the success of this undertaking.

In this site, our key participant engaged with the research in a distinctive way by undertaking his own interview-based study on languages and sports. His interviews revealed how people who work and play in sports contexts in Cardiff view these activities. His study design provided insights into how Ahmad's life in the city was structured and marshalled through sport.

Ahmad	boys stop stop I didn't say start
Boy	[speaks in the distance]
Ahmad	{no no} go that's it wait
Boy	[speaks in the distance]
Ahmad	okay show me quality {come on Name1}
Boy	
Ahmad	
Boy	[speaks in the distance]
Boy	it's my turn I didn't do it
Ahmad	oh sorry go dribble stop come on Name2 you can- get your ball get your ball you can't miss this one
Boy	[speaks in the distance]
Ahmad	my days my days Name1 Name1 yes

#### Coaching across languages

#### **Key points:**

- Sport provides opportunities for languages to be used and combined seamlessly;
- Sport enables young people to work together and have fun in a multilingual environment;
- In sporting contexts languages and other forms ways of making meaning combine with great creativity and to great effect;
- Sport provides for people to find their way and find their place in new cities and with new languages;
- The research study provided a genuine opportunity for our key participants to become independent researchers on their own terms.

## Phase 4:

# LAW IN TRANSIT: LEGAL ADVICE AND CHANGE

The law case study in Cardiff was based in a former church which had become a support and social centre for new migrants and the local community being predominantly used by people seeking asylum.

Our key participant in this site was Laura who was the centre manager but, as a trainee lawyer, spent a good deal of her time offering advice, support and advocacy to centre clients. Laura was the only Cardiff key participant who described herself as monolingual. She had been raised in an English-speaking family in Europe, mainly England. However, her language practices led us to view 'monolingual' as a label which did not give full credit to her ability to draw on languages and conversations about languages to accomplish a range of functions which supported her work.

Laura's legal advice related to asylum support. This is the financial aid which is available to people seeking asylum if they can prove that they are destitute. At the time of our work, those who could prove destitution could be awarded £35.00 per week in this circumstance. Legal support on this matter is precarious. There is very little provision in Wales for asylum support advice and shortly after we finished our fieldwork Laura left her post and the legal advice aspect was not reinstated.

In this setting, we observed Laura's interactions with people from a range of places but also a range of social backgrounds, family contexts, ages, abilities, trajectories to Wales, educational levels. work histories and so on. This was, then, a truly superdiverse clientele which Laura oriented to as having great value. The location of the legal support work in a drop-in centre enabled the legal aspects to be integrated into clients' social lives.



Laura at work

Previous research has shown that legal actors tend to dominate lay people during legal encounters. This may happen inadvertently, even when giving advice with positive intentions. Here, in contrast, Laura systematically dismantled power structures both in her relationships and conversations and in the wider legal system. She did this in a range of ways, pervasively and to great effect. For example, to dismantle her position as powerful or dominant over clients she would humanise herself with anecdotes and show that she valued the client by asking



Signage at the centre



Giving and receiving legal support with the help of an interpreter

just like you explained to me, she's- listen just because she's a solicitor doesn't make her any better than you doesn't make her any-, you know she's human being just like everybody else you can speak to her just like you spea

Client oka

Laura yeal

Client okay no problen

Laura she's not- you know she-, it's her job to try to speak to-

Client okay no problem

Laura don't get worried about speaking to her

she's there to serve you

Client okay

#### Empowering a client to speak to a solicitor

about their experiences, particularly their language use and knowledge. In doing this, she consistently oriented to the clients as both experts in specific spheres and as people who existed beyond their immediate circumstance of seeking asylum. In these conversations, clients were not "victims" and were not monodimensional. Simultaneously, Laura worked to illustrate that the legal system beyond her office was not to be seen as intimidating. As a matter of course, she presented solicitors, asylum officials and procedures as not to be feared.

Laura's role in providing advocacy and support to people who she valued and respected led her to identify with the people she helped. As she became a central character in the drama of a move to Cardiff for many people her orientation towards them was empowering for them. For Laura, the boundary between work and home life was blurred or even invisible as she dedicated herself to supporting others drawing on all of the resources and social networks she could.

## **Key points:**

- Legal advice, support and advocacy can be empowering and transformative, rather than assuming that the client is passively stranded in a formal process:
- Those who seek asylum are in a precarious position and find the very existence of support uplifting;
- Legal advice too is precarious and, despite its demonstrable value, arises by chance and disappears just as easily;
- Conversations about languages other than English and Welsh can be empowering by showing that languages are valued as part of a person's self and identity;
- Those who come to the UK seeking asylum are diverse along many dimensions and have much to offer through that diversity.

## **SUMMARY**

Throughout the TLANG project in Cardiff we saw, heard, discussed and wrote about the way that multiple languages are a communicative resource which become richer still when combined with other ways of making meaning. We learned a great deal about the way that our key participants contributed to society in Cardiff through a matrix of languages and people. Though we only focussed on four social contexts (business, heritage, sport and law) it was very clear that the presence of multiple languages is a resource which should be supported and valued for individuals and for society as a whole.

## Research team

The core TLANG team in Cardiff is Dr Frances Rock, Amal Hallak, and Piotr by many colleagues and students some of whom became particularly involved. contributed research and Dr Nick Wilson and Dr Tereza Spilioti both advised on specific work phases. Members of Cardiff Discussion and Study Group have been very supportive of the work and the Cardiff TLANG Local Advisory Group have made invaluable contributions. We are indebted to our key participants who took us on such fascinating and valuable journeys and to the many people with whom they work and lived who allowed us access to some of their most personal moments.

## LOOKING FORWARD

On the basis of the TLANG project in Cardiff, we have organised several events for the local community:

- November 2016: Belonging: Happiness in the City (Funded by the ESRC as part of the 2016 Festival of Social Science);
- September 2017: Collaboration with Women in Theatre on the play "Summer Times" which was performed twice at Oasis, Cardiff;
- October 2017: One-stop-shop for mobile EU citizens (Collaboration between TLANG, Migrant Rights Network and Cardiff University supported by the European Union and the Open Society Foundations):
- 2017-18: Collaboration with Quarantine Theatre and National Theatre, Wales on "English" a performance on themes of migration, language learning and global English.

The team's involvement in the research will continue to inflect their future research methods and interests as well as future teaching.

#### Research team

Further research findings and summaries of TLANG work in Cardiff are in the Working Papers series on our website:

## http://www.birmingham.ac.uk/generic/tlang/index.aspx

Summaries of the case studies, by theme, are in the Working Papers series:

Creese, A., Baynham, M., and Trehan, K. (2016). Language, Business and Superdiversity: An overview of four case studies. Working Papers in Translanguaging and Translation (WP. 1).

Creese, A., Blackledge, A. & Robinson, M. (2017). Translanguaging: Heritage for the future (WP. 21).

Creese, A., Zhu Hua, Li Wei & Thompson, J. (2017). Movement in the city: An overview of sports case studies (WP. 25).















