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More than linguistic needs and more than one perspective: Reconstructing perspectives of pupils with linguistically and spatially discontinuous school biographies and drawing implications for all school stakeholders

ABSTRACT. In the article we argue for a reconstructive and subject-oriented approach to data collection and analysis in order to reconstruct perspectives of pupils with linguistically and spatially discontinuous school biographies as a basis for needs analysis. The paper takes an in-depth look at a narrative interview with such a pupil using the Documentary Method. Based on the analysed interview passage and with recourse to the praxeologically extended sociocultural theories of SLA, we derive initial implications for schools with pupils with migratory experiences. One crucial assumption is that, in order to create better educational opportunities for children with migratory experiences, school staff need to systematically develop contingency competence. By contingency competence we mean the sensitivity and awareness of the principal openness of human life forms and their diverse possibilities for linguistic, material, and practical expression. Conclusions are drawn on what the required competencies contain and how an inclusive school can be created.

KEYWORDS: (Newly) immigrated pupils, linguistically and spatially discontinuous school biography, social practice, needs analysis, subject-oriented approach, narrative interview, Documentary Method.

1. INTRODUCTION

Migration and the education of pupils with linguistically and spatially discontinuous school biographies[1] is a matter of social and public concern in Europe. Due to current global political and climatic developments as well as the merging of Europe, the topic is also coming into focus across national borders. The schooling of pupils with migratory experiences varies greatly, both from one country to another as well as within individual countries. Education models for newly arrived pupils with any or with little knowledge of the target language range from submersion or immersion programs, two- or one-year preparatory courses to completely separated education (Massumi et al. 2015; Ahrenholz, Fuchs & Birnbaum 2016; Reich 2017: 81–84).

An important didactic principle of schooling and teaching, especially for linguistic development, is the orientation toward learners' needs. Despite this principle, the subjective needs of this special group of pupils play a subordinate role or are even disregarded. Not uncommonly, when surveyed or interviewed, pupils are only addressed as *pupils*, with no holistic orientation to their historical-biographical subjectivity. In most guideline interviews, pupils cannot establish their own subjective relevance. Nevertheless, academic writings about such data collection and analysis often give the more or less inappropriate impression that pupils have been consulted and their views have been adequately captured.

In contrast to this, we argue for a genuinely subject-oriented approach to data collection and analysis (section 2). After drawing on the research context (3.1), the data collection method (3.2) and the interpretation method (3.3), the paper first takes an in-depth look at a narrative interview with a pupil with migratory experience about her school experiences in Germany (3.4). On the basis of the reconstructed experiences and orientations (Bohnsack 2017) and with recourse to praxeological extended sociocultural theories of Second Language Acquisition (SLA) (Daase 2021), we derive initial implications for the design of school enrolment, preparatory language courses, and mainstream teaching. Our crucial assumption is that in order to create better educational opportunities for immigrated pupils, the school staff requires systematic development of contingency competence. Recognising that every human way of life is different and thus capturing the fundamental shapeability of everything possible in human life (Makropoulos 2012), contingency competence goes far beyond the notion of intercultural competence, which has been recently criticised (Auernheimer 2002; Mecheril 2008) but remains in use in most education and teacher training

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[1] The expression "pupils with linguistically and spatially discontinuous school biography" originates from Massumi (2019).

contexts. Finally, conclusions are drawn on how the required competences can be built and how an inclusive multilingual classroom can be created.

2. IMMIGRATED PUPILS AND THE IMPORTANCE OF SERIOUS NEEDS ANALYSES

Contrary to media portrayals, some areas of politics and perhaps the subjective perception, violent migration – i.e., migration resulting from war, threats of violence, state collapse etc. – is not a new phenomenon, not even in Europe. "Violent migration can be described as a signature of the 20th century in a global context simply because of the scale of such movements" (Oltmer 2017: 24, transl. by the authors). While it is to be welcomed that the aspect of refugee migration is now also – albeit with considerable delay – being discussed with regard to its effects on the education system and its stakeholders, narrowing the focus to flight and trauma, as is currently the case, is, in turn, a problem because other types of migration are thereby overlooked. Regardless of the type of migration (labour or refugee migration, to name just two aspects), for children and young people, any migration is more or less involuntary and forced, as they are usually not involved in the parents' or other family members' decision to migrate or flee.

The focus of school practice as well as educational policy is addressing the linguistic challenges of pupils with migration experience and thus their linguistic adaptation to a homogenised German-speaking pupil's body.[2] This approach points to a monolingual habitus of the multilingual school (Gogolin 1994) as well as a needs analysis that focuses exclusively on the objective and product-oriented linguistic needs in the education of immigrated pupils. A multi-perspective linguistic and communicative analysis of needs, on the other hand, must include both the objective requirements of schooling and the subjective needs of pupils and thus inevitably go beyond a purely linguistic needs assessment. Following this requirement, the research questions differ, considering, for example, also pupils' unconscious and contradictory needs and wishes as well as power relations underlying language acquisition and integration processes. Furthermore, giving the pupils the possibility to establish their own subjective relevance during data collection, other research methods than guideline interviews are required.

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[2] In this text, we will not discuss the fact that a considerable proportion of pupils in Germany have a migration background, some of whom have acquired German as an additional language at different times in their biography – which does not necessarily lead to difficulties as often assumed – and that the pupil body has therefore long since ceased to be linguistically homogeneous (or never was, if one includes the diverse dialectal variation in German).

3. RECONSTRUCTING PERSPECTIVES

3.1. Research overview

To illustrate the need for a subjective approach in this area, we use in the following an extract from a narrative interview of a pupil with a linguistically and spatially discontinuous school biography in Bremen (Germany), which we analysed with the Documentary Method. The interview is part of the research project "Language Acquisition in the Context of Spatially and Linguistically Discontinuous School Biographies. Process- and subject-oriented perspectives on preparatory classes in Bremen", financed by the Bremen Senatorial Authority for Science and Ports, in which pupils who had attended a preparatory class some time ago talked about their experiences on the basis of a narrative prompt.

In our research project, we were interested in experiences of pupils with spatially discontinuous school biographies with schooling in Germany and their atheoretical, implicit and incorporated knowledge about these experiences, the so-called orientation frames (see Section 3.3). Thus, we wanted to know which orientation frames shape the schooling and linguistic experiences of pupils with migration backgrounds. Based on this subjective approach the underlying epistemic interest is to draw implications for teacher professionalisation. The starting point of the research project was, on the one hand, the fact that there is a gap in research on the pupil perspective so far (except Massumi 2019; Falkenstern & Ohm 2023). On the other hand – since we are involved in teacher training – our research interest was also didactically driven. Adopting the pupils' perspective provides a strong impulse for research-based learning for the students (future teachers) and for an intensive engagement of the needs of pupils with migratory experiences (Zörner 2020).

Before starting with the study, we give a brief insight into the schooling context in which the research has been undertaken, as the framework conditions for newly arrived pupils in European countries are very different. Based on the fact that education policy in Germany is not part of federal policy, but is a matter for the federal states, the following description of the context in Section 3.1 is also not uniform in Germany. The integration of newly arrived pupils into regular classes varies from state to state and even from school to school due to the fact that legal regulations of the respective federal state are rather recommendations and the concrete implementation depends on the resources of the school (Ahrenholz et al. 2016: 14). Since criteria for the transition to mainstream classes are not only different but also partly obligatory and partly optional, in practice, there is a juxtaposition of individual solutions, which are often decided

by the respective teachers (Gamper & Steinbock 2020: 87). This also affects the content and didactic implementation in the preparatory courses. In the following, we will therefore briefly present the situation in Bremen, Germany's smallest federal state.

3.2. Research context: Schooling of newly arrived pupils in Bremen

Coming to Bremen between 12 and 16 years of age, newly arrived pupils attend cross-age preparatory classes, where they are equipped with basic German language skills for mainstream schooling. A curriculum for these classes has been proposed (Gill, Marx, Reichert & Rick 2019) but has not yet been implemented by the Bremen school board and, accordingly, is not in use in all schools across the federal state. Content, used materials, and didactic approaches thus differ from school to school and possibly even from class to class. The target of the preparatory class is to achieve B1 German language competence in listening and reading comprehension and A2 for writing skills according to the CEFR (Common European Framework of Reference for Languages), even though these targets are not related to the teaching of subject content or methods and are chosen independently of subject requirements. The diagnostic instrument used to determine German language level B1 is the German Language Diploma I (Deutsches Sprachdiplom I, DSD I), which was originally designed for schools outside of Germany. Although it is used in many federal states to decide on the transition of newly immigrated pupils, an empirical validation of the instrument for the assessment of linguistic competences for mainstream education, especially with regard to this target group, has not yet been carried out (Gamper & Steinbock 2020: 89).

Gamper and Steinbock (2020) show that the required competence in DSD I in written communication is higher than in comparable certificate examinations and thus possibly overtaxes pupils of preparatory classes. Regardless of the fact that, in contrast to some other federal states, passing the examination is not mandatory in Bremen in order to transfer to the mainstream classes, this may nevertheless place unnecessary pressure on such classes, which can exacerbate pupils' existing impairments due to trauma. On the other hand, the linguistic targets of DSD I help the teachers by designing preparatory class lessons to see clearly the goal of preparing newly arrived pupils for regular classes with their academic linguistic requirements. Teaching the subject language and content itself is not the main task of pre-course instruction.

After attending preparatory classes and having reached German language competencies between A2 and B1, the pupils continue their learning in main-

stream classes with other pupils of their age according to the general school curriculum. The focus of subject teaching in mainstream classes is still primarily on subject content: A comprehensive implementation of language-sensitive subject teaching is not yet given, since not all teachers have been trained in language-sensitive subject teaching and materials are still lacking. Often there is also a lack of awareness and responsibility on the part of subject teachers that they also have to introduce pupils to the subject or academic language (in addition to their subject content). In recent years, however, there has been an increased awareness that it is important for a better transition into the mainstream classes to already teach academic language and subject content in the preparatory classes (Wulff & Nesser 2019). Nonetheless, the decision to include these crucial contents for pupils' smooth transfer into mainstream classes again lies in the hands of the individual teacher. Additionally, in Bremen, there is no training offered for teachers on German as a second language; the majority of teachers in the preliminary classes are thus not trained for teaching in these settings.

The peculiarity of schooling of newly arrived children and teenagers in Bremen is early integration in regular classes from the very beginning and attending so-called less language-based subjects like Mathematics or Physical Education with their respective mainstream classes. The proportion of mainstream subject lessons to preparatory class lessons is being gradually increased; at the latest, the newly arrived pupils should be integrated after one year of schooling. In the beginning, newly arrived pupils have at least 20 lessons per week in the pre-course, with successive reductions of hours of separate learning. This successive participation schooling model enables at least partial integration of pre-course pupils in the mainstream classes and in that way reduces somehow a dilemma, which every special class for newcomers faces, between targeted support and (long-term) separation (Reich 2017). Nevertheless, the implementation of the partially integrative model[3] recommended by the school authority in Bremen has its problems and fully depends on the resources of the specific school so that this model is sometimes described as exclusion through inclusion (Vogel 2018; Karakaşoğlu, Kovacheva & Vogel 2021).

More than one of ten pupils in Bremen have already attended a pre-course (Senatorin für Kinder und Bildung 2022); studies that provide an in-depth analysis of pupils' perspectives are therefore crucial for developing a basic picture of pupils' needs and challenges and reacting to these needs in creating inclusive classrooms as well as multilingual and multimodal teacher training programs.

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[3] For other models of newcomer's schooling see Massumi et al. (2015) and Ahrenholz et al. (2016).

3.3. Data collection method: Narrative interviews as a way to take a holistic view on the pupils with migratory experience and their historical-biographical background

The theoretical foundation of the narrative interview lies in, among other things, symbolic interactionism, which assumes that human social action is based on individual attributions of meaning, which themselves arise and are changed in social processes of interaction and interpretation (Blumer 1973: 81). Language-biographical narrative interviews do not focus on the product of language acquisition, but rather take a look at the processual, life-historical development in its embedded context (Ohm 2012: 261). In contrast to interviews probing into learners' subjective language needs and content-related meanings, the elicitation of language biographies does not seek to formulate some representations of the learner's inner truth or an objective perspective of their reality. Rather, interview subjects are to narrate about their individual and subjective individual language acquisition experience, the narrating subjects represent and position themselves within their narrated experiences. For this purpose, the interviewer uses a narrative prompt to stimulate the production of a narrative, in which the research subject has the monological right to speak until he or she returns it to the researcher – usually by means of a coda (e.g. "That was my story"). This "dynamic of the impromptu narrative" (Schütze 1987: 237f.) makes it possible to liquefy the inner layering of experience (Schütze 1987: 238), whereby the subject presents or hints at even unconscious, repressed, or theoretically hidden experiences. After the impromptu narrative, the interviewer asks questions that tie in with themes already addressed or hinted at by the narrator and provide detail where possible. Towards the end of the survey, descriptive and argumentative accounts are also elicited in order to "make use of the explanatory and abstracting capacity" of the narrator as an expert and theorist of herself (Schütze 1983: 285).

When piloting the interview in our study, it proved challenging for the pupil to deliver a monologue impromptu narrative due to her age, so that the methodological procedure was changed. First, the pupils were presented with the following chart (see Figure 1) to complete along with the task: "Recall important moments in your life and record them on this line. Evaluate whether these moments were experienced as positive or negative. Joyful moments are entered above the line and less good ones below. Important life events can be, for example, the first day at school, moving to Germany, the first contact with the German language, an achieved goal, the beginning or end of important friendships, the first day in Germany."

Figure 1. Chart to complete by the pupil before the interviewer presents the narrative prompt

Afterwards, a narrative prompt relying on the written events in the chart was used to elicit a ridge free narrative.

3.4. Interpretation method: Documentary Method

The Documentary Method conceptualises two different sorts or levels of knowledge: on one side, the explicit or communicative knowledge and, on the other side, implicit or practical knowledge[4] (Bohnsack 2010 and Figure 2): *The communicative knowledge* is learned on a communicative level (through words) and therefore can be easily communicated but it "does not, however, necessarily play the guiding role in forming an individual's real actions" (Philipps & Mrowczynski 2021: 62–63). Opposite to this, *the practical knowledge*[5], is learned on a performative level (through direct body experience) and consequently "gives orientation to action" (Bohnsack 2010: 100). This knowledge is mostly implicit, so it cannot be elicited by guideline interviews, it has to be reconstructed by the researcher.
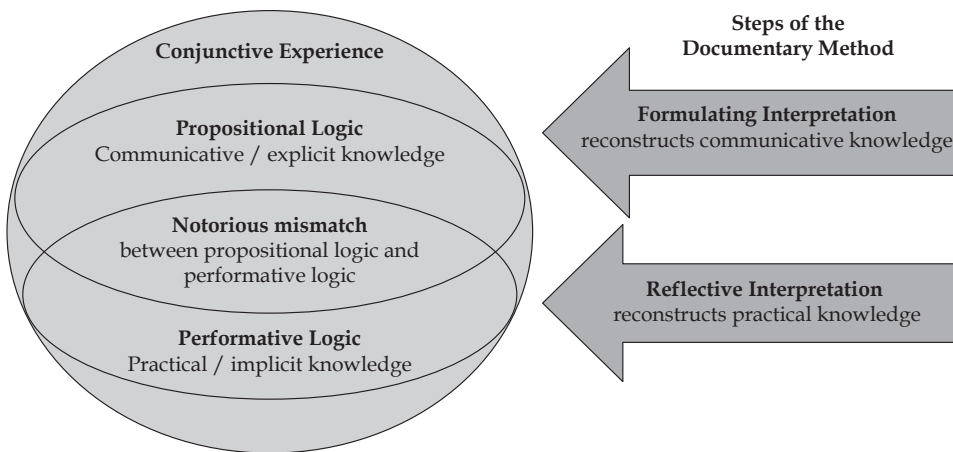
This concept of a double structure of knowledge finds its expression in the stepwise approach to data analysis (see the right side in Figure 2): the first step of data interpretation – formulating interpretation – aims at articulating the *explicit (communicative) knowledge* of participants by topically summarising their narration (see Chapter 3.4.1); the second step of interpretation – reflecting interpretation – reconstructs the interviewee's *implicit (practical) knowledge* by reflecting on the performative level of the interview or on how a person describes his or her personal experience (see Chapter 3.4.2). Thus, the reflecting interpretation focuses on how a topic is elaborated on the formal and semantic levels of language through reconstructing the speech organisation: Is this passage a narrative, a description, an argumentation, or an evaluation (see different colours in Table 1)? Which words, intonation, sentence structures, grammatical structures,

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[4] The tension between explicit and implicit knowledge is complex and cannot be shown in the present article, but see Chapter 4 in Bohnsack (2017) for more.

[5] The practical or implicit knowledge is also called tacit, incorporated, or experiential knowledge (cf. Bohnsack 2010).

etc. does the interviewee use in the data (see, e.g., the use of pronouns, direct or indirect speech in the interpretation below in Sectionr 3.4.2)? By following the steps, the interpreter reconstructs the participant's frames of orientation. Thereby, an orientation frame is "the way a text or action is constructed or the limits within which its topic is dealt with" and the "implicit regularity" of patterns and perspectives in developing a certain topic (Nohl 2010: 201–202).

Figure 2. Double Structure of Knowledge (following Bohnsack 2017: 103) and Steps of the Documentary Method

Bohnsack (i.e. 2010) originally developed the Documentary Method to analyse group discussions, and Nohl (2010: 205) adapted the method for analysing narrative interviews. Nohl (2010) suggests identifying text genres[6], i.e., narration, description, evaluation, argumentation (different colours in Table 1) at the beginning of reflective interpretation. After that, the focus lies on words, intonation, sentences, and grammatical structures etc. While evaluations and argumentations mainly give access to *communicative knowledge*, descriptions and narrations usually give the researcher access to the interviewee's *practical knowledge*. Genre structure is often complex: An interview passage in one genre can interrupt another passage in a different genre or include background constructions in the mode of another one or more genres (for examples see Table 1).

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[6] "Narrative […] gives an account of actions and events that have a beginning and an end as well as a chronological sequence. Description […] gives an account of recurring courses of action or established facts. Argumentations are summaries of the motives, reasons and conditions behind one's own or someone else's actions […]. Evaluations […] are statements about the interviewee's own or someone else's actions" (Nohl 2010: 205).

3.5. Exemplary analysis and findings: Reconstructed experiences and orientation frames of a pupil with migratory experiences

The following paragraphs focus on one excerpt from a 74-minute interview. The excerpt is shown in Table 1. The objective of the interview was to elicit the second-language biography of a pupil as a subjective account. The girl for whom we chose the pseudonym Anna completed her elementary school in her country of origin and then moved to Bremen, Germany with her family approximately at the age of 12. She started visiting a preparatory class and gradually changed to a mainstream one at a comprehensive school there. At the time of the interview, the young woman had just graduated from the school in Bremen at the age of 17 and was planning to start her training as an early education teacher.

Table 1. Data segment in German and translation in English (for Transcription Convention Key see Appendix)

Translation in English	Original Interview Transcript in German
Description	
1 it is I think also (here:0.36)↑	1 es ist glaube ich auch (hier:0.36)↑
2 so w(as:0.4) in ((country of origin)) in the (s)	2 so w(ie:0.4) in ((Herkunftsland)) in die (sch)
3 PRIMARY school because (1.073) there↑	3 GRUNDschule weil (1.073) da↑
4 we ha(ve0.493) (1.893) (um:1.207)	4 wir habe(n:0.493) (1.893) (ähm:1.207)
5 made very much by ourselves so↓ (1.28)	5 sehr viele selber gemacht so↓ (1.28)
6 we were drawing↑ a lot (wich)	6 wir haben viel gemAlt↑ (wich)
7 (uh:0.58) there were (so:0.6) extra lessons	7 (äh:0.58) es gab (so:0.6) extra stUNden
8 where (we:0.5) (1.58) made presents↑	8 wo (wir:0.5) (1.58) geSCHENke↑ gemacht haben
9 for our PArents↑ and so↓	9 für unsere ELtern↑ und so↓
10 I think that also exists HERE↑	10 ich glaube das gibt es auch hIER↑
11 in (PRIMARY schools not only) there↓	11 in (GRUNDschulen nicht nur) da
12 ↓‹‹p› yep↓›	12 ↓‹‹p› ja↓›
Evaluation	
13 SO it is in ((country of origin)) (0.613)	13 ALso es ist in ((Herkunftsland)) (0.613)
14 a little↑ different	14 ein bIsschen↑ anders
15 we HAve more respect for (THE:0.48)	15 wir HAben mehr respekt an (die:0.48)
16 (0.387) TEACHERS than HERE↑	16 (0.387) LEHRER als HIER↑
Description with background construction in Mode of Argumentation and Evaluation	
17 because THERE↑ it is compLETely NORmal	17 weil DA↑ es ist GANZ norMAl
18 when you go to school °hh	18 wenn man in die schule °hh GEHT↑
19 and then jus(t:0.393) (0.82) ‹‹all›	19 und dann einfa(ch:0.393) (0.82) ‹‹all›
20 (because)› so I live in a VILLAGE↑ and	20 (weil)› also ich wohne in ein DORF↑ und
21 we ha(ve0. 387) FLOwers everywhere↑	21 wir habe(n:0.387) überall BLUmen↑
22 and so↓°hh	22 und so↓°hh
23 and THAT (s) normAL↑	23 und DAS (s) norMAL↑

Translation in English	Original Interview Transcript in German
24 if you take a flower↑	24 wenn man ein BLUme↑ nimmt
25 and give it to the teachers↑	25 und ihn die LEHrer↑ gibt
26 but HERE↑ is NOT so	26 aber HIER↑ ist das NICH so
Narrative 27 my TEAcher said (0.4) **Argumentation** 28 because I like↑ (so:0.467) (0.493) to be 29 FRIENDLY↑ to the others (0. 713) 30 I LIKE↑ making others HAPpy 31 (I) want NOTHING in re(TURN:38)↑ 32 but I LIKE making others HAPPY 33 and give SOMEthing ‹‹all› °hhh	27 meine LEHrerin hat gesagt (0.4) 28 weil ich mag↑ (so:0.467) (0.493) 29 FREUNDlich↑ zu die andere sein (0.713) 30 ich MAG↑ andere GLÜCKlich zu MAchen 31 (Ich) will NICHTS zurü(CK:38)↑ 32 aber ich MAG andere GLÜCKlich zu ma- chen 33 und ETwas ‹‹all› zu geben› °hhh
Narrative with background construction in Mode of Argumentation 34 and if I for example h(ERE:0.293)↑ 35 give a FLOwer as a gift 36 then my TEACHER said 37 you do it on purpose↑ 38 so you get a better GRAde ‹‹dim› 39 and then I was like› (0. 9) (what:0.42) ‹‹f› 40 ‹‹laughing› NO› I like 41 I ‹‹dim› do this just so› ‹‹f› 42 because I like this TEAcher↑ 43 NOT because I› (0.52) want 44 to have a BETter↑ GRAde (1.253) ‹‹dim› 45 was NOT↑ in my HEAD› at all	34 und wenn ich zum beispiel h(IER:0.293)↑ 35 eine BLUme schenke 36 dann meine LEHRERin hat gesagt 37 du machst da(x) extra↑ 38 damit du ein bessere NOte bekommst ‹‹dim› 39 und dann war ich so› (0.9) (hä:0.42) ‹‹f› 40 ‹‹lachend› NEIN› ich mag 41 ich ‹‹dim› MACH das nur so› ‹‹f› 42 weil Ich diese lehRErin MAG↑ 43 NICH weil ICH› (0.52) 44 ein BESsere↑ NOte haben will (1.253) ‹‹dim› 45 war GAR NICH↑ so in mein KOPF›
Evaluation 46 but yes↑ ‹‹dim› 47 it's a LIttle different› (0.713) 48 and HERE↑ I see↑ ‹‹dim› NOT so respect 49 as in ((country of origin))› 50 so the pupils↑ behave 51 VERY badly (0.56) to the teachers ‹‹dim› 52 in my opinion› °hh 53 NOT↑ EVERYBODY of course °hh 54 ((drops her pencil on the table)) 55 like↑ (0.86) our HAND↑ 56 there are (0.42) different FINgers 57 so are the PEOple different 58 one can NOT because of one (all) 59 judge everyone else (0.707) 60 but (1.22) (so:0.427) (0.92) yeah↓ (0.5) 61 I don't know 62 they are (is a↑ little bit different)	46 aber ja↑ ‹‹dim› 47 es ist BISSchen anders› (0.713) 48 und HIER↑ seh↑ ich› ‹‹dim› NICH so respekt 49 wie in ((Herkunftsland))› 50 also die SCHÜler↑ benehmen sich 51 SEHR schlecht (0.56) zu die LEHrer ‹‹dim› 52 meiner meinung nach› °hh 53 NICH↑ JEDER natürlich °hh 54 ((lässt ihren Stift auf den Tisch fallen)) 55 so wie↑ (0.86) unsere HAND↑ 56 es sind (0.42) verschiedene FINger 57 so sind auch die MENschen anders 58 man kann NICH wegen einer (allen) 59 alle ANdere (0.707) beURTEILen 60 aber (1.22) (also:0.427) (0.92) ja↓ (0.5) 61 ich weiß NICH 62 sie sind (ist (n) ↑BISSchen anders)

Source: current study.

In the following, we first present our formulating interpretation and then the reflective interpretation of the above interview passage; it means we will first focus on *what* Anna is saying in the interview excerpt and then on *how* specifically she is saying this. Our goal is to reconstruct orientation frames in which the experiences of the pupil with a linguistically and spatially discontinuous school biography unfold.

3.5.1. Formulating interpretation (focus on what is said)

When asked about her time in elementary school in her country of origin, Anna assumes that many activities she did at her elementary school in her country of origin were also typical for elementary school in Germany (Line 1–12). Anna then remembers something that was different in her country of origin, which is that pupils there had more respect for their teachers (Line 13–16). She cites the common practice of giving flowers as an example of expressing respect for teachers in her country of origin while emphasising the normality of the practice (Line 17–25). In contrast, she shows how this practice is interpreted differently in the context of the German school (Line 26–45): While Anna sees flower-giving as an expression of her personal affection and a way of pleasing the teacher (Line 28–33), the teacher views it as a way to get a better grade (Line 27, 34–45). After that, Anna emphasises one more time that the behavior of the German pupils is not as respectful as that of pupils in her country of origin (Line 46–52). Then Anna limits her evaluation of the German pupils as not respectful by emphasising the fundamental difference of all people (based on the metaphor of people having different fingers) and the impossibility to cover all people with one judgment (Line 53–59). However, she concludes that the German pupils are nevertheless different (Line 60–62).

3.5.2. Reflective interpretation (focus on how it is said)

Homologous[7] to the previous sequence structure, Anna is in a comparison mode (comparing her experiential spaces in her country of origin and Germany) when describing her elementary school years. First, she notes a similarity: activities that she assumes are common to elementary school in both contexts. In doing so, she reports the activities using an inclusive mode: "we […] made

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[7] In the Documentary Method "homologous" is defined as having a similar topic or structure pattern throughout the narrative, namely "continuit[y] across a series of action sequences or narrative sequences about such actions". Homologous structures help to identify the frames of orientations of a narrator (Nohl 2010: 208–209).

very much by ourselves so↓ (1.28) we were drawing↑ a lot […] (we:0.5) (1.58) made presents↑ for our PArents↑" Line 4–9 (see also "we HAve more respect" Line 15, "we ha(ve0. 387) FLOwers everywhere" Line 21). By using "we", the interviewee includes herself in the group of pupils suggesting a positive identification with pupils in her country of origin. This use of "we" contrasts with the use of "they" in the line 64 – "they are (is a↑ little bit different)" –, by which Anna refers to pupils in her German school, not including herself in this group (exclusive mode). Among the typical activities in primary school, she names making presents for the parents, stressing her belief that it is universal practice for young pupils in Germany and her country of origin. Here she frames 'giving presents to important people you look up to as a child' as something ordinary in both contexts known to her.

After describing the assumed similarity between primary school in Germany and her country of origin, Anna mentions a difference in the two spaces of experience she is familiar with, namely (dis)respect toward teachers. The interviewee evaluates pupils in her country of origin counting herself to this group as more respectful when she formulates: "we HAve more respect for (THE:0.48) (0.387) TEACHERS than HERE" (Line 15–16). She justifies this evaluation by describing a specific practice of giving flowers which the pupils in her country of origin use as an expression of respect towards the teachers. With recourse to praxeological extended sociocultural theories of SLA (Daase 2021) we understand practices as "the smallest unit of the social" (Reckwitz 2003: 290) and a "nexus of doings and sayings" that goes beyond that of speech acts (Schatzki 1996: 89). Practices are "typified, historically and socially formatted and thus distinguishable bundles of verbal and non-verbal activities" (Alkemeyer & Buschmann 2015: 171, transl. by the authors). The performance of practice represents a "contingent sequence of all possible life activities" (Alkemeyer & Buschmann 2015: 271, transl. by the authors) and is constituted through a concatenation of practices.

Anna evaluates the practice of giving flowers as something normal for the experiential space in her country of origin. This documents her idea of normality of the practice: "THERE↑ it is compLETely NORmal" Line 17, "THAT (s) normAL if you take a flower and give it to the teachers" (Lines 24–26). Thus, giving flowers to her teachers was natural for her. She describes her environment, which is characterised by the fact that they "have FLOwers everywhere" (the materiality of the practice) and living under such circumstances invites giving flowers as a gift, which also shows the interconnectedness of the material environment and practices. The following utterance "you take a flower and give it to the teachers" (Line 24–25) discloses the naturality of her experience on the material and bodily level as physically performed (the embodiment of the practice). This is something she lived and accordingly materially experienced

and bodily performed (implicit/practical knowledge, see Figure 2) and not just heard about (explicit/communicative knowledge, see Figure 2).

Finishing the description with the comment "and here it is not so" (Line 26), Anna shows her realisation of the different materiality of her other experiential space (that includes different material environment and different bodily performed actions) and also her understanding of different symbolic meanings of actions depending on specific environment what we termed with contingency. After this negative turn, Anna begins a narration about one case in her German school, when her gift to the teacher provoked an unfavourable interpretation. Anna starts to narrate about the comment of her teacher to her making gifts (Line 27), but interrupts her narration with argumentation (Line 28–33), in order to first provide her explanation of this behaviour so that she is in control of how people should perceive her actions. In such a way she emancipates herself from the interpretation of others, learning from experience with her teacher she later talks about how important this explanation is for the preservation of her self-image. Then she portrays in an emotional way her moment of getting to know that the practice she perceived to be normal for a long time in her life is seen differently. The materiality, embodiment, and normalcy of the practice of giving flowers to the teacher contrasts with the communicated judgment of this practice in the other context of the German school given by the teacher: "you do it on purpose so you get a better grade" (Line 37–38). Thus, the interviewee learns this interpretation initially as explicit/communicative knowledge from the teacher.

The narrative interview passage (Line 34–45) makes clear that this confrontation with the teacher is experienced as a highly irritating moment, which is caused primarily by an unexpected judgment of the teacher but also by a notorious discrepancy between the pupils' experienced knowledge and communicated knowledge (see Figure 1). This narrative is the climax of this passage (focusing metaphor[8]), as can be heard in the intensity of her speech. She is therefore processing this moment of irritation during the interview, causing this irritation to manifest itself on a performative level in the interview. Thus, the interviewee uses direct speech ("you do it on purpose so you get a better grade" Line 37–38) to describe the situation; in the reproduction of her own thought in that situation she uses the strongly emphasised and emotionally coloured "NO" (Line 40), making clear her emotional involvement.

The teacher's misinterpretation of the intention behind Anna's gifting of flowers shattered Anna's self-image. This negative perception of presenting gifts[9]

[8] Focusing metaphor is a culminating point in speech, which is characterised by detailed description and high emotionality of narration. It is especially fruitful for identification of central orientation frames (Bohnsack 2010: 104–105).

[9] Also compared to showing affection in other contexts of human life, e.g. giving presents for birthdays to friends and family has no negative connotation.

to people who have a special significance for the pupils is surprising to Anna as she knows that making and then giving presents to parents is common in both of the schools (in Germany and in her country of origin) she attended (see Line 8–9). The roles of parents and teachers are similar to Anna. She also prioritises relationships above all (Line 30, 32 and passim in the whole interview). That is why Anna feels a contradiction between showing affection to people she relates to in her school environment in Germany vs. her country of origin. The teacher's comment is so unexpected and inappropriate to Anna's self-image that it hurts her. Anna perceives that she is not just told that the practice of flower-giving is not typical for German schools, but she herself is evaluated by a person she looks up to and is attached to. The teacher's interpretation of her action is completely negative; the words of her teacher shake her self-image. Anna furthermore receives feedback that is incompatible with her own experienced subjectivity (Line 28–33). She is struggling to restore her self-image, so she emphasises in this context that it is only about generosity and that she does not expect anything in return (Line 41–45). She thus positions herself as a person who is kind, defining kindness as "making others HAPPY" (Line 32, 30). This positioning documents her desire to distance herself from her teacher's evaluation of her actions while also not allowing it on the part of the interviewers.

To conclude this interview passage, the interviewee returns to her evaluation of German pupils as less respectful than in her country of origin (Line 46–52, see Line 13–16). To compare the pupils in Germany to those in her country of origin, she uses a hand metaphor that people are as different as fingers on a hand, making it impossible to evaluate a group based on one person (Line 53–59). Despite the hand metaphor, she concludes the sequence in an exclusionary mode by still referring to her class as "a little different" and using the pronoun "they" (Line 60–62).

To summarise our analysis of the whole interview passage, we can say that after the description (Line 1–12) of her typical primary school activities, the interviewee starts with an evaluation (Line 13–16) of pupils in her country of origin as more respectful towards teachers. Then she provides an exemplification for that while describing (Line 17–25) a specific practice of flower-giving as an expression of respect and narrating (Line 27, 34–45) about how one teacher in her German school perceived this practice; in this narrative, the interviewee inserts an argumentation (Line 28–33) in order to first provide her interpretation of her actions and to save her self-image in such a way towards the interviewers. At the end of the passage, the interviewee turns back to the evaluation (Line 46–62) of how disrespectful German pupils are, with which she started. A frame construction, therefore, manifests itself: the interviewee comes full circle by ending with an evaluation that connects to the evaluation at the beginning. On the surface, it appears that Anna is narrating this experience to evaluate German pupils as

different (i.e. less respectful) than those in her country of origin and give evidence for this evaluation. But a closer look at the culminating point (Line 27–45) reveals her deep emotional aspiration to restore and preserve her subjectivity.

3.5.3. Reconstructed orientation frames

This data segment illustrates the clash of orientation frames (see 3.3): Anna orients to establishing social contacts and maintaining relationships, while she also describes the interpretation frame of the teacher as centred around school performance and assessment through her institutional role. Because of this collision of orientation frames, the pupil experiences the negative comment of her teacher as a threat to her established relationship with her teacher, as well as a total mismatch to the way she sees herself. In sociocultural and most of all poststructural oriented research in Second Language Acquisition (Pavlenko & Lantolf 2000), the self of a person is not regarded as something static and stable but as dynamic, contradictional, and co-constructed by discourses and interactions with significant others, for which the term subjectivity is used instead of identity. As there is a complex connection between language, human consciousness, and experience, language acquisition always means a transformation of the person. In situations like the one presented in the analysed interview passage, the safety of the ontogenetic security of the subjectivity is shattered. "To be ontologically secure is to possess, on the level of the unconscious and practical consciousness, answers to fundamental existential questions which all human life in some way addresses" (Giddens 1991: 47). The pupil, therefore, has to invest in the reconstruction of the ontogenetic safety of her subjectivity (Daase 2018).

Typical for Anna's narration is also the comparison orientation, which we could identify through the opposition of "here" and "there" or "we" and "they". Through this comparison, she realises that concepts of *normality* may differ in various contexts. What is mainly happening in this data segment is that the pupil analyses what she did and what the teacher's reaction was, and she tries to understand the meaning of that reaction. The interpreted passage illustrates the process of how a pupil with migratory experience can be challenged to see her own actions from someone else's perspectives while facing the alternative interpretation of her own action that contradicts her practical, bodily-experienced knowledge. In other words, such experiences as Anna described in the analysed interview passage confront a pupil with the contingency of human life. It means that contingency as a frame of orientation could occur through circumstances pupils with migratory experiences are confronted with and could challenge them to build the contingency competence, that is, to understand and accept the fact

that there are several ways a material environment can look like and also several ways to perform and to interpret the same action within a given environment. What is important to stress is that this competence cannot be automatically built with migratory experiences, but needs opportunities for reflection, which Anna possibly had through her participation in interviews (including ours and also for some local newspaper before) about her life. Getting the possibility to tell her story, to unfold her experiences and being heard, she is able to reflect on the experience, to get aware of this contingence of human life.

4. CONCLUSION: IMPLICATIONS FOR THE SCHOOLING OF PUPILS WITH MIGRATORY EXPERIENCES

Coming back to our underlying epistemic interest of drawing implications for teacher professionalisation based on this undertaken subjective approach to orientation frames of pupils with a linguistically and spatially discontinuous school biography we can conclude that contingency competence plays a crucial role not only for newcomers in any community of practice, for example, in school or respective classes, but for the whole school and all its stakeholders. Using this data excerpt as an example, it is possible to show what constitutes this contingency or arbitrariness competence and how it can be learned. The understanding of competence which underlies this text is not individualistic, but social – it is not only migrated pupils who have to learn German or get to know how to be a pupil in a German school, but the whole school, the whole educational system has to develop interactively a certain competence to enable these pupils to participate fully in the practices of the school (Daase 2021). Ultimately, this means that *all* stakeholders must train themselves in contingency skills together, mutually, and consistently, and that educational institutions must provide or establish the reflexive places and times to do so. Components of the contingency competence include:
- Active participation and involvement in different experience spaces (in the case of the interviewed pupil: her experience spaces in the home country's school and her German school);
- Ambiguity: allowing multiple interpretations of one's own or others' actions;
- Ability as well as the possibility and the support despite the ambiguity of one's own experiences to revive and establish a coherent subjectivity;
- Allowing multiple concepts of normality.

The term contingency thus turns our attention less to what is the case and what actually happens and rather emphasises the non-necessity or the principal

openness of human forms of life – which is constituted by language and social practices. By contingency competence we refer to the sensitivity and awareness of this principle of openness of human life forms and their diverse possibilities of material and linguistic expression, which is crucial for multilingual schools. Mecheril (2008) created the term *Kompetenzlosigkeitskompetenz* (lit.: competence-lessness competence) against a technologically oriented concept of intercultural competence in the course of an abbreviated and one-sided understanding of culture and as a critique of the fact that the cultural-ethnic *others* do not usually appear as addressees of so-called intercultural competence (Mecheril 2008: 16). With the concept of contingency competence, we want to expand beyond Mecheril's concept, which refers to migration and people who are read as ethnically different, to *all* pupils and a society that is fundamentally diverse in many areas.

The other implication that can be drawn from the analysed interview passage is that teachers should not rely only on communicative or verbally transmitted knowledge by interacting with their pupils but to take their practical or bodily experienced knowledge into account (see Figure 2): When repeated experiences of pupils outside of formal institutions or their experienced knowledge contradict the desired practices at school, trying to establish the rules or behaviours relying on singular language comment cannot be effective. On the other hand, it is important to make institutional rules transparent to newcomers through explicit explanation without judgement and allegations towards the actions and motives of pupils stressing teachers' institutional obligations. For the problem described in the passage is that the pupil perceives the teacher's comment as putting a certain intention into her action that the pupil did not have; thereby, the interpretive authority clearly belongs to the teacher. The contingency competence means thus, among other things, entrusting interpretive authority to the counterpart and distancing oneself from evaluative judgements.

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APPENDIX

GAT2 Transcription Conventions

(0.5) / (2.0) measured pause of appr. 0.5 / 2.0 sec. duration (to tenth of a second)
<<laughing >> laughter particles accompanying speech with indication of scope
(may i) assumed wording
: lengthening
SYLlable focus accent
↑ smaller pitch upstep
↓ smaller pitch downstep
<<all>> forte, loud
<<dim>> diminuendo, increasingly softer
<<p>> piano, soft
<<f>> forte, loud
° hh inbreath of approximately 0.5-0.8 sec. duration
° hhh audible inbreath of approximately 0.8-1.0 sec duration
((Herkunftsland)) changes in transcription for anonymisation or characterization of a non-linguistic event
See also: Selting, M. / Auer, P. / Barth-Weingarten, D. / Bergmann, J. / Bergmann, P. et al. (2011). A system for transcribing talk-in-interaction: GAT 2: Gesprächsforschung. *Online-Zeitschrift zur verbalen Interaktion*, *12*, 1–51. http://www.gespraechsforschung-ozs.de/heft2011/px-gat2-englisch.pdf

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Więcej niż potrzeby językowe i więcej niż jedna perspektywa: rekonstrukcja perspektyw uczniów o nieciągłych językowo i przestrzennie biografiach szkolnych oraz implikacje dla wszystkich interesariuszy szkoły

ABSTRAKT. W artykule opowiadamy się za rekonstrukcyjnym i zorientowanym na osobę biorącą udział w badaniu podejściem do gromadzenia i analizy danych w celu zrekonstruowania perspektyw uczniów o nieciągłych językowo i przestrzennie biografiach szkolnych jako podstawy do analizy potrzeb. Przyjrzano się dogłębnie wywiadowi narracyjnemu z takim uczniem przy użyciu metody dokumentarnej. Opierając się na analizowanym fragmencie wywiadu i odwołując się do prakseologicznie rozszerzonych socjokulturowych teorii SLA, wyprowadzamy wstępne implikacje dla szkół z uczniami o doświadczeniach migracyjnych. Jednym z kluczowych założeń jest to, że aby stworzyć lepsze możliwości edukacyjne dla dzieci z doświadczeniami migracyjnymi, pracownicy szkoły powinni systematycznie rozwijać kompetencje na wypadek sytuacji awaryjnych. Przez takie kompetencje rozumiemy wrażliwość i świadomość zasadniczej otwartości form życia ludzkiego oraz ich różnorodnych możliwości ekspresji językowej, materialnej i praktycznej. Na takiej podbudowie autorki wyciągają wnioski, jakie komponenty obejmują kompetencje na wypadek sytuacji awaryjnych i jak można tworzyć szkołę integrującą opartą na nich.